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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS STUDIES

IN

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

VOL. VI

FEBRUARY, 1920

No. 1

LA COLECCIÓN CERVANTINA

DE

LA SOCIEDAD HISPÂNICA DE AMÉRICA

(THE HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA)

EDICIONES DE DON QUIJOTE

Con introducción, descripción de nuevas ediciones, anotaciones y nuevos datos bibliográficos

POR

HOMERO SERÍS, Ph.D.

University of Illinois
Corresponding Member of The Hispanic Society of America

PRICE \$1.50

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
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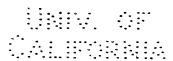
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EN PREPARACIÓN POR EL MISMO AUTOR:

La Colección Cervantina de la Sociedad Hispánica de América: Ediciones de las obras menores y de los Libros de Caballertas.

Indice analttico de la Bibliografia critica de Rius.

Suplemento a la Bibliografía crítica de Rius.



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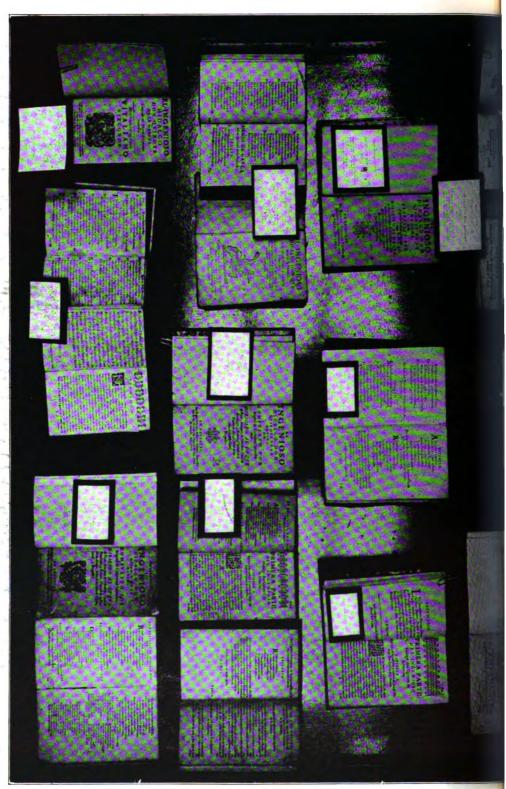


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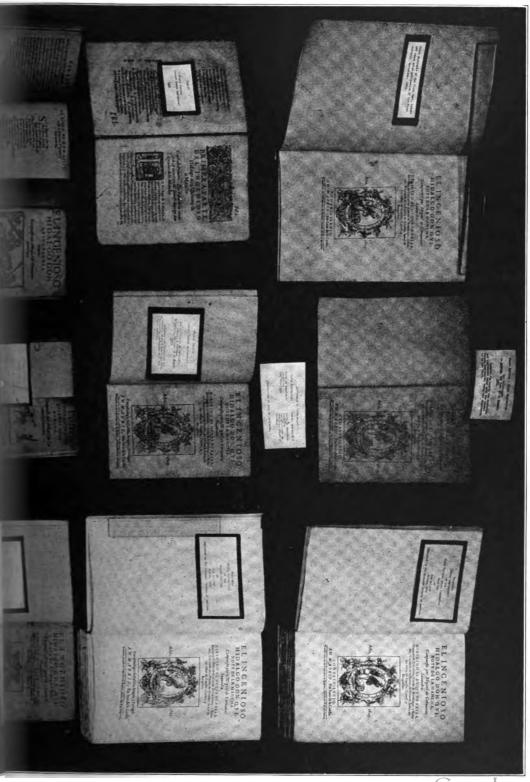
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Homenaje de Homero Serís





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INTRODUCCIÓN

Con el objeto de conmemorar el tercer centenario de la muerte de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, la Sociedad Hispánica de América, celebró en abril de 1916, en la planta baja de su museo de la ciudad de Nueva York, una exposición de las ediciones de las obras de Cervantes y de la librería de Don Quijote, escogidas entre los tesoros bibliográficos cervantinos que posee su riquísima biblioteca.

Esa hermosa exposición, en la cual vimos algunas ediciones que no encontramos en la *Bibliografia crítica* de Rius,¹ nos sugirió la idea de realizar un examen detenido de cada una de las ediciones de las obras de Cervantes de la *Biblioteca* de la *Hispanic Society of America*, y formar un repertorio de las mismas. Hé ahí el origen de la presente obra.

Podrá formarse una idea del valor de la colección cervantina de la Sociedad Hispánica, si se recuerda que a ella pertenece en la actualidad la famosa biblioteca sevillana del marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros, la más rica en ediciones de las obras del Príncipe de los Ingenios españoles si se exceptúa la de D. Isidro Bonsoms de Barcelona, quien acaba de donarla a la Biblioteca de Cataluña de la misma ciudad.

Sabido es que el ilustre fundador y Presidente de The Hispanic Society of America, el benemérito hispanista norteamericano, traductor en verso inglés y anotador del Poema del Cid,¹² Mr. Archer M. Huntington, adquirió la susodicha biblioteca, para cuya enajenación, dice Rodríguez Marín, "dí inocentemente el primer paso . . . que había de apartarme de ella por siempre jamás."²

- ¹ Bibliografia critica de las obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra por D. Leopoldo Rius. Madrid-Villanueva y Geltrú, 3 tomos: 1895, 1899 y 1904.
- ¹⁸ Poem of the Cid. Text reprinted from the unique manuscript at Madrid by Archer M. Huntington. 3 vol. New York. Vol. I: Text, 1897. Vol. II: Translation, 1901. Vol. III: Notes, 1903. Véase el juicio crítico por R. Menéndez Pidal, en la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, Madrid, t. 10, 1904, p. 218.
- ² El Fundador de "The Hispanic Society of America," artículo por Francisco Rodríguez Marín (El Bachiller Francisco de Osuna). A B C, Madrid, 8 de Agosto de 1907. Reimpreso en el libro Burla burlando... menudencias de varia, leve y entretenida erudición por F. Rodríguez Marín. Madrid, 1914, 2°. ed. ps. 90–98. Reproducido en Las Novedades de Nueva York del 23 de abril de 1916.

El marqués de Jerez poseía, según manifiesta Rius, todas las ediciones del Quijote en español; las ediciones príncipes de las Obras menores de Cervantes y un gran número de las otras ediciones; varias traducciones del Quijote y de las Obras menores, y una infinidad de libros, folletos y escritos relativos al excelso manco y a sus obras. Muchas de las ediciones raras con encuadernaciones preciosas y artísticas.

Mr. Huntington enriqueció aún más tan espléndida colección con otras adquisiciones, y hoy es poseedora la Hispanic de ejemplares procedentes de las bibliotecas de Salvá, Clemencín, Fermín Caballero, Cañete, el Marqués y Señor de Liédena, Dr. Mead, Richard Ford, Knapp, Ormsby, etc., llegando hasta el punto de contar dos y a veces tres ejemplares de ediciones raras, como, por ejemplo, de Don Quijote, dos de la primera de Lisboa de Rodríguez de 1605; dos igualmente de la segunda de Cuesta de 1605; tres de la primera de Bruselas de 1607; tres de la primera de Italia, Milán, 1610; tres de la segunda de Bruselas de 1611 y dos de la tercera de Bruselas de 1617. Hemos hallado además en su biblioteca uno de los seis únicos ejemplares que se tiraron sobre vitela de la magnífica edición de Pellicer, Madrid, 1797-98, de que carece la colección de Bonsoms, y los tres únicos ejemplares siguientes: único ejemplar conocido de la edición de Don Quijote de Sevilla, sin año, pero con la licencia de 1731 (no. 34 de nuestro repertorio); único ejemplar conocido de la de Lisboa de 1775 (no. 49), e igualmente único ejemplar conocido de la edición de la Galatea de Baeza de 1617, el cual no logró ver Rius.6

Y, lo que es más importante aún para la bibliografía cervantina, hemos encontrado en aquella mina, diez y ocho nuevas ediciones de Don Quijote, (cuya lista damos en el Apendice) una del siglo XVII, tres del XVIII y catorce del XIX, las cuales desconoció el eximio bibliógrafo de Cervantes, Leopoldo Rius, y, por ende, no figuran en su obra monumental.

Aun hay más: al cotejar las ediciones de la *Hispanic* con las descritas por Rius, hemos topado con catorce, asimismo del *Quijote*, (de las cuales va igualmente la lista al final) cuyos ejemplares difieren de los que conoció aquél.

³ No obstante, la *Hispanic* carece de dos ediciones primitivas: la segunda edición de la *Primera parte*, de Valencia de 1605, llamada AL, y la tercera de la *Segunda parte* impresa asimismo en Valencia en 1616.

⁴ Bibliografia critica, t. I, p. 381.

⁵ Dicha colección carece también de otras diez y ocho ediciones del *Quijote* que posee la *Hispanic*. V. la lista en el *Apéndice*.

[•] Op. cit., tomo I, p. 104, no. 203.

Ya dijo Rius al fin de su introducción: "No pretendo haber terminado esta *Bibliografía* sin muchos vacíos y no pocos yerros. Llenar los unos y corregir los otros será tarea que agradeceré a todos los cervantistas que puedan y quieran hacerla."

Nosotros aportamos aquí nuestro grano de arena.

Ya hemos visto algunos de esos, vacíos; veamos ahora otros. Rius ignoró la existencia de ejemplares de ediciones primitivas de las obras de Cervantes en bibliotecas particulares de Inglaterra tan valiosas e importantes como la de Stanley,⁸ la del Duque de Devonshire en Chatsworth,⁹ de Henry Huth,¹⁰ y de Locker-Lampson en Rowfant, y en las no menos ricas de Wendell Prime¹¹ y Elihu D. Church ¹² en los Estados Unidos; de todas las cuales se publicaron magníficos catálogos.¹³

El de la *Bibliotheca Stanleiana* del Coronel Stanley, fué formado en 1813 por R. H. Evans, quien se encargó en Londres de la venta en subasta pública de la espléndida colección de raros y hermosos libros que la constituía.¹⁴

J. P. Lacaita fué el autor del extenso catálogo (4 vol. en 4°), publicado en Londres en 1879, de la Biblioteca de Chatsworth. No trae descripción pormenorizada y hay errores. La edición de Cuesta de 1605 que da como primera, es en realidad la segunda.

En 1880 vió la luz en Londres el catálogo, en cinco tomos, de la Biblioteca de Huth, con descripciones bibliográficas y anotaciones. Bajo la dirección de Mr. Henry Huth, escribieron aquél los señores Ellis y Hazlitt. Mr. Huth falleció, en 1878, dos años antes de la impresión del catálogo, y a su muerte su segundo hijo Alfred Henry Huth conservó y aumentó la biblioteca; pero al fallecimiento de éste, ocurrido el 14 de octubre de 1910, la preciada colección se vendió en pública subasta en Londres en los años de 1911 a 1913, excepto cincuenta libros y manuscritos que su último posesor legó al Museo Británico, al cual otorgó el derecho de elección. Para la venta se publicó, a la sazón, por Sotheby, Wilkinson y Hodge, otro catálogo puesto al día, en tres volúmenes o

⁷ Tomo I, p. VIII.

⁸ Se vendió en pública subasta en Londres, en 1813.

⁹ Hoy día adquirida completa por Mr. Henry E. Huntington, de Nueva York.

¹⁰ Desperdigada en pública subasta en Londres, de 1911 a 1913.

¹¹ Donada a la Biblioteca de Lenox de Nueva York en 1893.

¹² Adquirida igualmente por Mr. Henry E. Huntington.

¹³ Véase la lista bibliográfica en el Apéndice.

¹⁴ El ejemplar de dicho catalogo que se conserva en la *Hispanic Society* tiene marcados con tinta, al margen, los precios que alcanzaron los libros. En su respectivo lugar copiamos tales datos.

porciones: el primero en 1911, el segundo en 1912 y el tercero en 1913. Las bibliotecas de Locker-Lampson, fallecido en Rowfant el 30 de mayo de 1895, de Prime y de Church, muerto éste en 1908, existían en tiempos de Rius; pero los catálogos de la primera y de la última no se imprimieron hasta después de la muerte del autor de la Bibliografía crítica. El de la biblioteca de Locker (apéndice del de la de Rowfant) salió a luz en Londres en 1900, y el de Church, redactado por George W. Cole, se dió a la publicidad en Nueva York en 1909.

Tampoco llegaron a conocimiento de Rius los ejemplares existentes en las bibliotecas públicas de Lenox¹⁵ en Nueva York, del Congreso de Washington, de la Plata en la República Argentina y en la Nacional de Rio de Janeiro.

De todos ellos damos noticia sucinta al tratar del respectivo ejemplar de la *Hispanic Society*.

'En la bibliografía que da Rius de las bibliografías de Cervantes, se notan algunos huecos. De la obra de Nicolás Antonio no cita más que la primera edición, manifestando que el autor sólo señala el exiguo número de tres ediciones de Don Quijote, una de la Galatea, etc. No menciona para nada la segunda edición, corregida y considerablemente aumentada por Pérez Bayer, en la cual se registran seis ediciones del Quijote, cinco de las Novelas, cinco de los Trabajos, y se agrega que preparaba Cervantes Las Semanas del Jardín y la segunda parte de la Galatea.

Deja de citar asimismo la importante obra de Gallardo, Zarco del Valle y Sancho Rayón, Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de libros raros y curiosos, en la que se describe, entre veinticuatro ediciones de obras de Cervantes, 18ª un ejemplar de la segunda edición de Cuesta del Quijote con la particularidad de presentar la errata idalgo sin h en la tassa, de lo cual sacaron una deducción errónea los autores del suplemento al Manuel du Libraire de Brunet, como se verá en su lugar.

Hemos tratado de llenar esos huecos y otros, en la lista bibliográfica que publicamos en el *A péndice*, a la cual adicionamos las obras posteriores a la de Rius, hasta nuestros días.



¹⁵ Hoy día forma parte de la Biblioteca Pública de Nueva York.

¹⁶ Tomo I, ps. 371-380. También peca por exceso, como por ejemplo, al citar el Dictionnaire Larousse (V. Foulché-Delbosc, Revue Hispanique, VII, 1900, p. 535.). Rius debié haber relegado a un apéndice esa sección XVIII, en vez de incluirla en el cuerpo de la obra, con numeración sucesiva.

¹⁷ Tomo I, p. 371.

¹⁸ Bibliotheca Hispana Nova . . . Matriti, 1783-1788, t. II, p. 133.

^{18a} Tomo II, 1866, cols. 385-396.

Finalmente, ciertos errores y erratas deslizados en la magna obra a que nos venimos refiriendo, seb los salvamos en los números correspondientes del repertorio, y luego, para mayor comodidad del lector, los reunimos en forma de lista en el *A péndice*.

Hora es ya de que expongamos el plan seguido en nuestro trabajo. Seguimos el mismo orden de Rius, con las modificaciones indicadas por Foulché-Delbosc en su juicio crítico acerca de la Bibliografia de aquél, 1º conservando, empero, el sitio preferente a Don Quijote, dejándolo así fuera del orden estrictamente cronológico, con el fin de facilitar el cotejo. En las ediciones de la obra maestra de Cervantes no alteramos el orden cronológico de Rius, sino para colocar los facsímiles inmediatamente después de sus respectivos originales, o y para salvar un evidente error de colocación, como la trasposición que existe entre los números 196 y 197, el primero de una edición de 1888 y el segundo de una de 1887. Anteponemos las traducciones inglesas del Quijote a las francesas, pues aquéllas fueron las primeras de todas; separándonos de Rius, quien las invierte por error, según va apuntó Foulché-Delbosc. En efecto, Tomás Shelton fué el primer traductor del Ouijote, vertiéndolo al inglés en 1612, mientras que Oudin no lo tradujo al francés sino dos años después, en 1614. Rius, en realidad, no se decide, a este respecto, en pro de uno u otro;²¹ pero Foulché-Delbosc es concluyente en su referido artículo. Morel-Fatio ha dicho asimismo: "Inglaterra precedió a Francia en el conocimiento del Ouijote y puede considerársela, desde muchos puntos de vista, como la segunda patria de su autor."22

Las traducciones a otros idiomas, las disponemos igualmente por riguroso orden de fechas de las primeras ediciones, y no por el inexacto en que las pone Rius.²²⁴

Dividimos por siglos las ediciones de cada una de las obras de Cervantes. Sólo describimos con cierta extensión las del siglo XVII. De todas éstas transcribimos las portadas íntegras, a trueque de incurrir en algunas repeticiones, pues, como es sabido, las más ligeras disimilitudes entre ellas, tales como el tipo de letra, la división de los renglones, las

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^{18b} Además de los ya señalados por Foulché-Delbosc. V. op. cit., VII, ps. 535-536.

¹⁰ Revue Hispanique, v. VII, 1900, p. 530-539.

²⁰ Marcamos los facsímiles con el mismo número del original, seguido de una letra: a, b, etc., según la fecha de su publicación.
²⁰ Tomo I, p. 254.

²² Revue des Deux Mondes. Paris, 1 Juin 1916. Morel-Fatio ha escrito también un juicio sobre la Bibliografia de Rius. V. Bulletin Hispanique, 1900, t. II, p. 210.

²²⁶ V. Revue Hispanique, vol. cit., ps. 531-532.

erratas y los escudos, viñetas, florones, filetes, etc. sirven para identificar distintas ediciones o variedades de una misma edición.

En las ediciones del siglo XVIII no hacemos la transcripción de las portadas, a menos que se trate de una nueva edición, o variedad que difiera de la de Rius. Ponemos el lugar y la fecha primero, con el objeto de facilitar su busca, y, a continuación, el pie de imprenta, el número de volúmenes y el tamaño, como hace la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid en su Catalogo de la exposición cervantina. Luego insertamos una nota muy breve, excepto en los casos que acabamos de citar, en donde nos extendemos.

Por último, de las ediciones de los siglos XIX y XX, damos únicamente una lista escueta, con expresión del lugar, año, pie de imprenta, volúmenes y tamaño, con las mismas excepciones mencionadas anteriormente, que se convierten en regla con las ediciones posteriores a 1895, fecha en que se detuvo la bibliografía de Rius.

Acaso parezca nuestra labor un tanto desigual; pero es debido al deseo en nosotros de no repetir inútilmente descripciones y noticias que pueden hallarse en la tantas veces citada obra de Rius.

Cerramos nuestro repertorio con las ediciones de las obras de "la librería de Don Quijote": libros de Caballerías, etc., existentes en la Hispanic Society, del mismo modo que hace la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid en su Catálogo referido; las cuales no inserta Rius por haberse ceñido a las obras de, y acerca de, Cervantes. La biblioteca de la Hispanic atesora, en libros de Caballerías, hermosas ediciones de extraordinaria rareza, algunas de que carece la Nacional de Madrid, como, entre otras, la del Tirant lo Blanch de Valencia de 1490; Oliveros de Castilla y Artus DAlgarbe de Burgos de 1499, único ejemplar conocido; Amadis de Gaula de 1519, y Palmeirim de Inglaterra de Evora de 1564.

Frecuentemente, en el curso de nuestro trabajo, hacemos referencia a la bibliografía cervantina en general, sirviéndonos principalmente de las obras de Salvá, Asensio, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Henrich, Cortejón, *British Museum* y, sobre todo, Rius. En la actualidad el Sr. Givanel está redactando el catálogo de la colección de Bonsolns, y recientemente ha salido a luz el primer tomo, que no ha llegado todavía a nuestras manos. La lista completa de las bibliografías, catálogos y artículos que se han tenido en cuenta va, como ya se ha manifestado, en el *A péndice*.

²⁸ La edición más antigua del *Amadis de Gaula* que posee la Nacional de Madrid, es la de 1531.



Constituyen el presente volumen, que abarca ciento noventa y un números, las ediciones de *Don Quijote* en español. Al ocuparnos en la príncipe, hacemos la historia bibliográfico-crítica de ella y de los descubrimientos sucesivos de las discrepancias que la distinguen de la segunda de Cuesta, ya que ningún bibliógrafo había compilado antes de ahora esos datos de una manera completa, pues aun los de Rius²⁴ son incompletos y no guardan estricto orden cronológico. A esas discrepancias añadimos otras, advertidas por nosotros en las portadas y en el cuerpo del libro. (No. 1).

Otros varios descubrimientos bibliográficos hemos tenido la fortuna de realizar, tales como los que se expresan a continuación:

Una disimilitud entre las portadas de los ejemplares de la primera edición de Cuesta que hemos logrado confrontar, la cual los divide en dos grupos o variedades. (No. 1).

Una nueva impresión de la edición príncipe, o quizás una nueva edición de Cuesta del mismo año de 1605, con 143 variantes en el texto (ejemplar modificado de Salvá). (No. 2.)

Las diferencias entre las portadas de las dos variedades de la primera edición de Lisboa de 1605, no detalladas antes por ningún bibliógrafo. (No. 3.)

Errores de numeración de cuatro folios de la segunda edición de Cuesta, que no hemos visto tampoco consignados por bibliógrafo alguno. (No. 5.)

Tres pormenores de la portada de la tercera edición de Cuesta de 1608, no señalados anteriormente por nadie. (No. 8).

Errata de Saria por Sarria en la portada de la segunda edición de la Segunda parte, de Bruselas de 1616, dejada de apuntar por los bibliógrafos. (No. 13).

Y otras de menor cuantía.

En el Apéndice insertamos lo que sigue:

Primero: Lista de las obras y artículos sobre bibliografía de Cervantes.

Segundo: Lista de las ediciones de *Don Quijote* en español que no se hallan en la obra de Rius y se encuentran en la biblioteca de la *Hispanic Society*.

Tercero: Lista de las ediciones de *Don Quijote* en español, cuyos ejemplares de la *Hispanic* difieren de los descritos por Rius.

Cuarto: Lista de las ediciones de *Don Quijote* en español de que carece la colección de Bonsoms (1905) y que posee la *Hispanic*.

²⁴ Tomo I, ps. 2 a 4, 8 y 78.

Quinto: Algunos errores de la obra de Rius, y Sexto: Algunas erratas de la obra de Rius.

Al final damos un índice alfabético de nombres propios (impresores, editores, anotadores, comentadores, lugares, etc.) y títulos, la ausencia del cual en el trabajo de Rius tanto se siente. Para facilitar, por otra parte, la busca de las ediciones por el año de su publicación, se imprime en el cuerpo del libro, al pie de cada página, la fecha correspondiente a la última edición que contiene dicha página.

Por lo que toca a la parte iconográfica, reproducimos en facsímile, además de las portadas de las ediciones príncipes de la primera y de la segunda parte de *Don Quijote*, la del ejemplar modificado de Salvá y las de las siguientes, que se reproducen ahora por primera vez: Madrid, 1723, Pedro del Castillo; Sevilla, [1731]; Lisboa, 1775, y Salisbury, 1781.

Como se habrá notado por lo expuesto, nuestro trabajo, al par que un repertorio de la colección cervantina de la Sociedad Hispánica de América, aspira a ser una modesta contribución al Suplemento a la Bibliografía crítica de Rius, so obra que se echa de menos y que nosotros nos proponemos publicar más adelante, utilizando los datos que hemos ido recogiendo en bibliotecas públicas y particulares de Europa y América.

No terminaremos esta introducción sin hacer constar nuestro agradecimiento al Dr. E. L. Stevenson, Secretario de *The Hispanic Society of America*, y, a la sazón, Bibliotecario interino, y al Dr. E. C. Hills, nombrado Bibliotecario posteriormente, por habernos allanado la tarea, proporcionándonos toda clase de facilidades para poder examinar con detenimiento los ejemplares de la colección. Debemos asimismo gratitud al Sr. A. D. Savage, Jefe del salón de lectura de la biblioteca de la misma, y al eminente hispanista Profesor John D. Fitz-Gerald, de la Universidad de Illinois. Nos complacemos en darles a todos las más expresivas gracias.

Homero Serís

Nueva York, septiembre de 1917.

³⁶ Faltan a la *Iconografia de las ediciones del Quijote* . . . de M. Henrich. Barcelona, 1905. 3 t.

²⁸ V. otras contribuciones citadas en el Apendice I, nos. 42, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50 y 55.

FACSÍMILE DE LA PORTADA DE LA EDICIÓN PRÍNCIPE DE "DON QUIJOTE." (No. 1).

(A la vuelta,)

ELINGENIOSO HIDALGO DON QVI-

XOTE DE LA MANCHA,

Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra.

DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE DE BEIAR, Marques de Gibraleon, Conde de Benalcaçar, y Bañares, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de las villas de Capilla, Curiel, y Burguillos.



1605.

EN MADRID, Por Ivan de la Cuesta.

Vendescen casa de Francisco de Rubles, libiero del Rey não señor.

EDICIONES DE DON QUIJOTE

EDICIONES DEL SIGLO XVII

PRIMERA PARTE

EDICIÓN PRÍNCIPE PRIMERA DE CUESTA

Madrid, 1605 (Impresa en 1604) Licencia: 26 Set. 1604.

1 EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON QVI- | XOTE DE LA MANCHA, | Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauedra. | DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE DE BEIAR, | Marques de Gibraleon, Conde de Benalcaçar, y Baña- | res, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de | las villas de Capilla, Curiel, y | Burguillos. | Año, [Escudo: Post Tenebras spero lvcem] 1605. | con privilegio, | EN MADRID, Por Iuan de la Cuesta. | [Filete.] | Vendese en casa de Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey não señor.

Un vol. en 4° de 12 folios preliminares sin numerar; 312 numerados y 4 más sin numerar de texto, y 4 folios de tabla asimismo sin numeración.

Privilegio para Castilla únicamente.

La licencia real fechada en Valladolid a 26 de Setiembre de 1604. El testimonio de las erratas, en Alcalá a 1° de Diciembre de 1604. Y la tassa, en Valladolid a 20 de Diciembre de 1604.

Edición príncipe y primera de Cuesta. Como es sabido, se ignoró su existencia durante cerca de dos centurias.

En 1777, Bowle, en una carta al Dr. Percy,¹ fué el primero en consignar que existía "también otra edición de la primera parte del mismo año y lugar" [Madrid, 1605], aunque no logró verla ni supo que era la primera. En la edición del *Quijote* del mismo Bowle, impresa en Salisbury el año de 1781, y en el prólogo a las *Anota*-

¹ A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Percy, concerning a new and classical edition of Historia del Valeroso Cavallero Don Quixote de la Mancha, por J. Bowle, publicada por B. White en Londres en 1777, p. 33-34. (Cita de Fitzmaurice-Kelly y Ormsby en la Introducción a la Primera edición del texto restituido de Don Quixote, Edimburgo, 1898, t. 1 ps. XV, XVI y XXX).

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- PO AMMI AMBORLAS

ciones,² fechado a 23 de Abril del mencionado año, al tratar de las ediciones originales, describe "primeramente" la de Juan de la Cuesta de 1605, con la "Licenza de imprimir en Portugal," es decir, la segunda de Cuesta, y añade, de acuerdo con lo que ya había manifestado en su carta al Dr. Percy: "Consta que uvo otra del mismo año, lugar, y forma."

Pellicer, en 1797, no hizo sino citar la noticia dada por el hispanista inglés. He aquí las palabras del cervantista español: "el señor Bowle añade que en Madrid se hizo otra [edición] el mismo año de 1605."³

Cuarenta y dos años después de la primera indicación de Bowle, Navarrete, en 1819, logró ver la nueva edición y la tomó equivocadamente por la segunda. "Nosotros—escribe—hemos logrado examinar y cotejar ejemplares de ambas ediciones, y no sólo son distintas, sino que la academia ha logrado aprovechar algunas variantes de la segunda." Variantes que eran en realidad las formas originales de la primera edición.

Navarrete, pues, la Academia y Ticknor, entre otros, cayeron en ese error.

Lo deshizo, en 1826, D. Vicente Salvá, pues aunque en un principio manifestó que no había medios de descubrir cuál de las dos ediciones era la primera, (V. su Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books... London, 1826, p. 36, n° 430), luego cotejó cuidadosamente dos ejemplares de ambas, y notó que el corrector de la obra en la edición que lleva el privilegio sólo para Castilla, fecha su testimonio de las erratas a 1° de Diciembre de 1604, y que el privilegio para Portugal que contiene la otra está fechado el 9 de Febrero de 1605, y por consiguiente, no pudo insertarse en aquélla, sino en la siguiente, que es, por lo tanto, la segunda. Véase el susodicho Catalogue, (Supplement to the Spanish books [231]) ps. 233-34, n° 2377. Más explícito aun es en su trabajo: ¿ Ha sido

² Tomo 3, ps. IX y X.

³ Vida de Cervantes, por Juan Antonio Pellicer en su ed. del Quijote, Madrid, 1797, t. I, p. XCVII.

⁴ Vida de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra por D. Martín Fernández de Navarrete. Publicala la Acad. Esp. Madrid, 1819, ps. 495-96.

⁵ Asensio dice 1829 en su Catalogo de la Biblioteca Cervantina, Valencia, 1883, p. 7, e igualmente Rius, op. cit., t. I, p. 2. El ejemplar de la Hispanic Society tiene la fecha de 1826.

juzgado el DON QUIJOTE segun esta obra merece?, cuando escribe: "El certificado de las erratas de ésta, [la ed. que dice sólo con privilegio] que es lo último que se imprime siempre, lleva la fecha del primero de diciembre de 1604; de consiguiente, no pudo incluirse en ella el privilegio para Castilla, Aragon y Portugal, que es del 9 de febrero de 1605, ni estaba en orden que fuese más extenso el privilegio de la primera edición que el de la segunda." No he visto esta cita indicada por ninguno de los bibliógrafos que me han precedido. En lo tocante a las diferencias entre ambas ediciones, el propio Salvá señala en el mencionado Catalogue, (loc. cit.) la del privilegio de las portadas y las de más bulto de las segundas y terceras hojas. Más tarde en el Catalogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá se consignan otras, como veremos más adelante.

Brunet⁸ y Graesse⁹ copiaron a Salvá en 1860.

En 1863, Hartzenbusch¹⁰ descubrió las notables variantes del texto de los capítulos XIX y XXVI y la falta en la primera edición de los pasajes del hurto del rucio en el XXIII, y de su hallazgo en el XXX, y siguiendo a Salvá, a quien cita, afirma que es indudablemente la primera edición aquélla cuyas erratas estaban corregidas en 1º de Diciembre de 1604 y se publicó sin más privilegio que el ordinario para Castilla.

En 1872 se publicó el Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá, redactado por D. Pedro Salvá, y allí " se señalan las diferencias de Benalcaçar y Burguillos en la portada de la primera, y Barcelona y Burgillos, erratas, en la de la segunda, y la del pasaje del rosario del cap. XXVI, discrepancia ésta cuyo descubrimiento se debe, como acaba de manifestarse a Hartzenbusch.

El Supplément del Manuel du Libraire por G. Brunet y P. Deschamps, en el cual no me he ocupado antes de ahora para seguir estrictamente el orden cronológico, pues no se publicó hasta 1878-80, contiene la siguiente nota¹² que traduzco: "He aquí otra ob-

- ⁶ Artículo publicado en los dos primeros números de *El Liceo Valenciano*, (1840) y reimpreso en el t. 2, p. 659 de los *Apuntes para una Biblioteca de Escritores Españoles Contemporáneos* por D. Eugenio de Ochoa. París, [1840].
 - ⁷ V. los citados Apuntes, t. 2, p. 665, nota.
 - ³ Manuel du Libraire, 5^a ed. Paris, 1860, t. I, col. 1747.
 - Tresor de livres rares et precieux . . . t. II, Dresde, 1860, p. 105.
- · 10 Ed. del Ouijote de Argamasilla de Alba, 1863, t. I, prólogo, ps. XX-XXII.
 - ¹¹ Tomo II, ps. 37 y 38, n^{os} 1543 y 1545.
 - ¹² Tomo I, 1878, p. 235, 1° col.

servación que permitirá reconocer las dos ediciones descritas en el Manuel: la que lleva el privilegio de Valladolid, de 20 de diciembre de 1604, se titula: 'el Ingenioso Idalgo de la Mancha'; mientras que la de Valladolid, de 26 de setiembre de 1604 dice 'el Ingenioso Hidalgo de la Mancha." Todo esto es una sarta de errores. No existe en ninguna de las dos ediciones privilegio fechado a 20 de diciembre de 1604, sino que es la tassa la que lleva esa fecha en ambas. Ninguna "se titula" el Ingenioso Hidalgo de la Mancha, sino El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Ovixote de la Mancha. Sólo en el texto de la tassa y en el del privilegio para Castilla se lee: El ingenioso Hidalgo de la Mancha. Y en cuanto a lo de Idalgo sin h, ya lo había apuntado doce años antes Gallardo; pero de muy distinta manera. En el tomo II de su Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de libros raros y curiosos, publicado en 1866 por Zarco del Valle y Sancho Rayón, al describir¹⁸ un ejemplar, que corresponde con la segunda edición de Cuesta, aunque no lo hace constar así, consigna lo que sigue: "Tasa (Le titula 'El ingenioso idalgo de la Mancha . . . '): En Valladolid, a 20 días del mes de Diciembre de 1604 años." De modo que de esto se deduce solamente que un ejemplar de la segunda edición de Cuesta, que Gallardo tuvo a la vista,¹⁴ presentaba en la tassa la errata de idalgo sin h, y no lo que dedujeron con tan poco tino los autores del Supplément del Manuel du Libraire, quienes, a no dudarlo, se basaron a su modo en Gallardo.

Es de extrañar que Rius no rectificara esas equivocaciones del suplemento de obra tan importante como la de Brunet, y aun causa más extrañeza el hecho de que ni Salvá—cuyo catálogo se publicó seis años después de haber salido a luz el tomo II del Ensayo de Gallardo,—ni el mismo Rius confirmaran o desmintieran la existencia de esa errata tan capital, o por lo menos se hicieran eco de ella. Yo no he tropezado con tal errata en ninguno de los ejemplares originales o facsímiles que he logrado ver.

La aprobación para imprimir la primera parte del Quijote, que faltaba a todas las ediciones, fué descubierta por el infatigable Rius¹⁸

¹³ Columna 387, n° 1764.

¹⁴ Así lo recalca él al final de la descripción: "este ejemplar que tengo a la vista." Loc. cit.

¹⁶ Y no por Pérez Pastor, a quien atribuye el hallazgo el Sr. Givanel, en el prólogo a la *Iconografia de las ediciones del Quijote* . . . de M. Henrich, Barcelona, 1905, ps. XIV y XV.

en 1886 en el Archivo de Alcalá de Henares, según carta que dirigió a Pérez Pastor, y que reprodujo aquél en el tomo II, p. 226 de su *Bibliografía crítica*. La fecha de la *aprobación* es de 26 de Septiembre de 1604.

El autor anónimo del catálogo de la biblioteca de Heredia, después de enumerar las diferencias que hasta entonces (1892) se conocían, añade lo que a continuación va traducido: "Además,—pormenor que no encontramos señalado por bibliógrafo alguno—los 4 últimos folios del texto que están sin numerar en la primera edición de Madrid, están en ésta [la segunda de Cuesta] numerados del 313 al 316." Aunque no se había señalado concretamente, se deducía esa diferencia de la descripción de Salvá en el Catálogo de su biblioteca, la cual pasó a ser propiedad del susodicho Sr. Heredia, quien la vendió más tarde en París, desperdigándola en pública subasta.

Y, coincidencia curiosa, en el mismo año de 1892, el ilustre cervantista Fitzmaurice-Kelly publicó en Londres The Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra... with a Tentative Bibliography from 1585 to 1892, y en la p. 329, al describir la 2º ed. de Cuesta, escribe estas palabras que traduzco: "En esta edición los 316 folios están todos numerados."

En 1895 dió a luz la casa de Montaner y Simón de Barcelona una lista de las ediciones del Quijote en la pág. 45 del número extraordinario de La Ilustración Artística de Enero de dicho año, dedicado "al inmortal libro D. Quixote de la Mancha," y en una nota se expresa que "la primera parte se empezó en 1604 y existe en el Museo Británico con un certificado que acredita se imprimió en 1° de diciembre de 1604, pero no se publicó hasta 1605." No existe tal certificado en el ejemplar de la biblioteca del Museo Británico de Londres; lo que hay es el referido testimonio de las erratas fechado en Alcalá a 1° de Diciembre de 1604, y que se halla al folio segundo vuelto del ejemplar de la edición príncipe que se conserva no sólo en aquella biblioteca, sino también en la Nacional de Madrid, en la de la Academia Española, en la de Bonsoms, donada hoy al Instituto de Estudios Catalanes de Barcelona, en la

¹⁸ Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia. Deuxième partie. Paris, 1892, p. 374.

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Nacional de París, en la del Congreso de Washington y en la de la Sociedad Hispánica de Nueva York.^{16a}

Rius, en el primer tomo—publicado en 1895—de su obra monumental, da la descripción bibliográfica completa de ambas ediciones¹⁷ y señala por primera vez los errores de numeración de cinco folios de la príncipe. Consigna las diferencias y variantes que las distinguen, en el mayor número hasta entonces apuntado, aunque no son todas, como veremos más adelante. Entre las primeras se debe corregir una equivocación que se le deslizó al concienzudo y minucioso bibliógrafo, pues escribe¹⁸ Privilegio con u al referirse a la portada de la primera edición, cuando en realidad está escrito con v. En la de la segunda es donde se halla impreso con u.

El descubrimiento realizado por D. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, y hecho público en 1897,19 de unos asientos en el Libro 1º de la Hermandad de Impresores de Madrid, en que aparecen "2 Don Quixotes, a 83 pliegos" ingresados en el ejercicio de 1604 a 1605, "destinados para aumento de los fondos de la Hermandad," hizo creer a tan benemérito investigador en la existencia de una edición del Ouijote de 1604, pues dedujo torcidamente que el ingreso se había efectuado antes del 26 de Mayo de 1604. El Sr. D. José María Asensio, en el informe de fecha 17 de Abril de 1897, que presentó a la Academia de la Historia sobre el citado libro del Sr. Pérez Pastor, aclara el punto manifestando que no justifica la primera nota que los libros estuviesen todos en poder del Mayordomo de la Hermandad, Robles, desde el 26 de Mayo de 1604, sino que esos libros formaban su cargo desde dicha fecha hasta el 11 de Junio de 1605, que fué cuando hizo entrega al nuevo Mayordomo Paredes, "diciendo de un modo bien terminante que aquéllos habían ingresado durante

¹⁶⁸ V. otros errores del citado número de La Ilustración Artística señalados por Ashbee en su Iconography. London, 1895, p. 173.

¹⁷ Págs. 1-4 y 7-8.

¹⁸ Pág. 2.

¹º Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos recogidos y anotados por. . . . D. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor . . . Madrid, 1897. (Documento nº 38, ps. 138-140 y 285-295). Este es el verdadero título y la verdadera fecha de la obra de Pérez Pastor, y no los que cita Rius, t. II, 1899, p. 76, nº 126, y, siguiéndole, Givanel en el prólogo a la Iconografia citada, Barcelona, 1905, p. XIV, nota. En ambos lugares se da como título el de Nuevos documentos referentes a Cervantes y a su familia, descubiertos y publicados por D. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, y el año de 1896.

el ejercicio de 1604 a 1605." Y los eminentes hispanistas Foulché-Delbosc y Fitzmaurice-Kelly, en un razonado artículo escrito en colaboración,20 que vió la luz en la Revue Hispanique de Noviembre de 1897,²¹ analizan detenidamente los referidos asientos y los argumentos aducidos por Pérez Pastor, rebatiendo éstos uno por uno. y llegando a la conclusión de que los libros enumerados se recibieron entre el 26 de Mayo de 1604 y el 11 de Junio de 1605, y que si se admite que se catalogaban por el orden de su recepción, los dos ejemplares del Don Ouixote, por hallarse en el penúltimo renglón de la lista, debieron de haber llegado a la Hermandad muy pocos días antes del 11 de Junio de 1605. Por último, opinan que la fecha de publicación de la verdadera edición príncipe de la primera parte de la obra maestra de Cervantes, puede fijarse con una aproximación de tal naturaleza que satisfaga a las exigencias más escrupulosas: puesto que la tassa es de 20 de Diciembre de 1604, fué preciso el tiempo materialmente necesario para la impresión de la misma y su inclusión en el cuerpo del libro, y, por lo tanto, puede afirmarse que el volumen se puso a la venta en Enero de 1605.22 Pérez Pastor reconoció y rectificó su error en el segundo tomo de los Documentos cervantinos, publicado en 1902, 22 manifestando que al volver a examinar con más detenimiento el libro de la precitada Hermandad, y copiar en toda su integridad los asientos respectivos, de los que transcribe, a plana y renglón, las cuatro páginas que contienen los referentes al Quijote, halló que "en el libro borrador se anotó la entrega de los dos ejemplares del Quijote

19th V. Boletin de la R. Academia de la Historia. Madrid, t. XXX, 1897, (ps. 399-413), p. 411.

²⁰ Y no únicamente por el segundo, como expresa Rius, t. II, p. 228, y, al seguirle, Givanel en el mencionado prólogo, p. XV. Añadiré que el artículo se intitula *Une pretendue édition de la première partie de Don Quichotte antérieure à 1605*.

²¹ En vez de Marzo de 1898, según dice por error el mismo Rius, *loc. cit.*, e igualmente Givanel en la nota de la p. XV, op. cit. No está de más agregar que el artículo susodicho se halla en las ps. 215-234 del tomo IV de la ya citada Revue Hispanique.

²² Véase asimismo: J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, artículo en la Revista critica, Madrid, Jul. de 1897, ps. 203-204; The Athenaeum, London, 17 Jul. 1897, y Posdata a la Introducción de Don Quixote, primera edición del texto restituido . . . Edimburgo-Londres, 1898, t. I, p. lvi-lvii.

Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos . . . Tomo II, Madrid, 1902, Apéndice 4°., ps. 561-568.

al recto de la hoja 91 y en esta misma plana están los asientos de las limosnas que se recibieron en la Hermandad con fecha 15 de Mayo de 1605"; deduciendo que "se puede tener por seguro que en tal día, poco más o menos, se entregaron los dichos dos ejemplares del Quijote." Y posteriormente, en su Bibliografía madrileña,220 al dar cuenta de la edición príncipe de Don Quijote, expone: "Con respecto a la fecha de la publicación hemos de advertir que fué en los primeros días del mes de Enero del año 1605, no a mediados de Mayo del mismo año, porque esta segunda fecha se refiere única y exclusivamente a la entrega de dos ejemplares del Quijote a la Hermandad de Impresores de Madrid."

Por último, D. Clemente Cortejón, en su edición crítica del Don Quijote, cuyo primer tomo apareció en 1905,2 hizo el cotejo más minucioso que existe entre las dos ediciones de Cuesta de 1605.2 Mas en la historia del texto del Quijote comete un error al asegurar que la Academia Española, en 1780, "confundió el orden de las susodichas ediciones," esto es las que acaba de citar "las dos primeras [de Cuesta] en 1605, y en 1608 la tercera." Ello no es exacto; lo cierto es que la Academia ignoraba a la sazón, como todos en España, la existencia de la verdadera edición príncipe y no habla sino de la única edición de Cuesta de 1605 que se conocía entonces, a la que llama primera y de la de 1608, a la cual califica de segunda. He aquí textualmente sus palabras: "Para la primera parte se han tenido presentes la primera edición hecha en Madrid por Juan de la Cuesta el año de 1605, y la segunda hecha también en Madrid y por el mismo impresor año de 1608."

Por la historia bibliográfica que antecede de las dos primeras ediciones de Cuesta, de 1605, se ve la parte que a cada cual corresponde en el descubrimiento de las diferencias entre las antedichas ediciones. Salvá y Hartzenbusch son las dos figuras que más descuellan. Lo que escapó a la perspicacia y diligencia del pri-

²²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 567.

²⁰⁰ Tomo II, Madrid, 1906, p. 85, 1°. col.

²⁸ El II se publicó en 1906, el III en 1907, el IV en 1909, el V en 1911 y el VI, que se debe a los continuadores, D. Juan Givanel Mas y D. Juan Suñé Benajes, en 1913.

²⁹a Op. cit., t. I, ps. LXXXVII-CXLI.

²º Primera edición crítica del Quijote, t. I, Madrid, 1905, p. XXIX.

²⁵ Ed. del Quijote de la Academia Española, Madrid, 1780, t. I, prólogo, p. V.

mero, descubriólo el segundo, y el trabajo de ambos fué redondeado y completado luego por Rius y Cortejón. Mas aun escaparon a ellos y a los demás bibliógrafos ciertas discrepancias que yo he advertido, y de las que doy cuenta a continuación:

EN LA PORTADA

Primera edición de Cuesta:

Segunda edición de Cuesta:

Línea 3: Después de LA MANCHA hay una coma.

Línea 4: La M de Miguel es una versal cursiva.

Línea penúltima: Es más corta que la última.

Después de LA MANCHA hay un punto.

La M es de distinta fundición con rasgos curvos.

Ambas líneas tienen igual longitud a simple vista.

Las medidas exactas de la penúltima y última líneas son las que siguen:

1º ed.

2º ed.

Línea penúltima: 93 milímetros

Id. última: 102 mm.

101 milímetros 103 mm.

La diferencia, pues, entre las dos últimas líneas es, en la 1º ed., de nueve milímetros y en la 2ª, sólo de dos. Esta desemejanza es, en realidad, más compleja de lo que a primera vista parece, puesto que la disímil longitud de ambos renglones es causa de que en la edición príncipe la E con que empieza la penúltima línea venga a quedar encima de las letras nd de Vendese de la última; la primera D de MADRID, sobre las ra de Francisco, y la D final sobre la d de la partícula de; la P de Por encima de la b de Robles; la I de Iuan sobre la l de librero, y la C de Cuesta sobre la y de Rey; mientras que en la segunda edición, la primera E queda sobre las letras Ve de Vendese; la primera D de MADRID, encima de las Fr de Francisco, y la D final sobre la R de Robles; la P encima de es, la I sobre la primera r de librero y la C encima de las letras nr de la abreviatura não. Por otra parte, en la A de MADRID de la segunda edición de Cuesta se nota más marcadamente la distinta fundición del tipo, advirtiéndose sobre todo en el rasgo izquierdo que es mucho más corto que en la primera, en la cual pasa de la línea inferior, mientras que en la segunda, no.

EN EL CUERPO DEL LIBRO

En la segunda edición de Cuesta se corrigieron los errores cometidos en la primera al numerar mal los folios 8, 18, 183, 285 y 310; pero se deslizaron otros nuevos, a saber: los folios 14, 16, 186 y 254 están numerados por equivocación: 4°, 15, 166 y 245, respectivamente.

Sorprende que Rius, quien descubrió las erratas en la foliación de la edición príncipe, dejara de investigar las de la segunda.

Las desigualdades tipográficas entre ambas ediciones, comenzando por la diferente, si bien parecida fundición o tipo de letra, son innumerables. Señalaremos únicamente las más visibles.

Las lamparetas del final del *Prologo* y del fin del Cap. XXVII, fol. 148, son muy desemejantes en las dos ediciones. La S con que empieza la poesía "Al libro de Don Qvixote de la Mancha, Vrganda la desconocida," es mayor en la primera edición, en la que abarca dos renglones y medio; por uno y medio en la segunda.

Las versales de adorno que encabezan los capítulos IIII, VI, XVIII, XX, XXVII, XXX, XXXIII, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVIII, XLI, XLIIII, XLV(numerado por error XXXV), XVLI, XLVII, XLVIII, XLIX, L, LI y LII son distintas según que se trate de una u otra edición. Resalta principalmente la desigualdad en las siguientes: la L del Cap. IIII, en la 1º ed. es negra en fondo blanco, y en la 2ª ed. es blanca en fondo negro; además el contorno del marco en que está encerrada aquélla tiene bordes redondeados y cuatro entrantes; al paso que en la 2º es un cuadrado perfecto. Lo propio sucede con la L del Cap. XVIII. Y viceversa con la E del Cap. XXXIII: blanca sobre fondo negro en la 1º, y negra sobre fondo blanco en la 2º, a más de la distinción del marco. Por el contrario, la E del XLVI es negra en la 1º y blanca en la 2º. En la O del XLVII de la 1º hay un paisaje y en la de la 2º un amorcillo. La A del XLVIII, la H del XLIX, la B del Cap. L, la T del LI y la G del LII son negras en la 1º y blancas en la 2º. Por último, al comienzo de la Tabla de la 1º ed. se halla una P de adorno correspondiente a la palabra Primera y en la 2ª ésta no la tiene, y en cambio se ve una C de adorno que corresponde a Capítulo, la cual no existe en la príncipe.

Y para terminar este minucioso y árido cotejo, necesario empero en moderna bibliografía, consignaré lo siguiente: el Cap.

XXIIII comienza en la primera edición en el folio 114 vuelto, y en la segunda, en el 115, debido a haberse añadido en ésta el pasaje del hurto del rucio que abarca más de una página del Cap. XXIII. La Carta de don Quixote a Dulzinea del Toboso principia en el fol. 129 en la 1ª ed., y en la 2ª empieza y termina en el 129 vuelto. Además la versal de adorno no es igual en ambas, y el nombre Dulzinea está impreso con z en la 1ª y con c en la 2ª. El Cap. XXVI en la 1ª se halla en el fol. 131, y en la 2ª, en el 131 vuelto. El principio del XXXI se lee en la príncipe en el fol. 172, y en la 2ª en el 172 vuelto. Ello se debe al aumento en ésta de una página en el cap. XXX con el episodio del hallazgo del asno. Por fin, el encabezamiento del Cap. XXXIII está colocado en el fol. 182 en la 1ª y en el 182 vuelto en la 2ª, y el del XXXIIII en el 195 en la 1ª y en el 195 vuelto en la 2ª.

Pero aun sin salir de la edición príncipe, he advertido en la portada de los ejemplares que he logrado confrontar, una diferencia que los divide en dos grupos, como si formaran parte de dos impresiones sucesivas. Unos tienen en la penúltima línea, después de EN MADRID una coma, y los otros, no. Pertenecen al primer grupo el ejemplar de la Hispanic Society (antes del Marqués de Jerez), el de la Biblioteca de Bonsoms, actualmente en la Biblioteca de Cataluña, (V. el facsímile de la portada en Rius, t. I, p. 3, y en la Iconograssa de las ediciones del Quijote de M. Henrich, no. 1), y el de Huth (facsímile en el Catalogue of the . . . Library of . . . Henry Huth; London, Second portion, 1912, p. 405). Y corresponden al segundo, el de Salvá (V. la copia tipográfica de la portada en su Catalogo, t. II, p. 36) y el de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (V. el facsímile en el Catálogo de la exposición celebrada en el 3er. centenario de la publicación del Quijote, 1905, p. 7).

Pudiera ser esa discrepancia proveniente de haberse compuesto, a la mitad de la tirada, nueva portada para reemplazar a la primitiva, cansada ya, o sea desgastada por la impresión.

Para cerrar estas notas referentes a la edición príncipe de Don Quijote, añadiré que en la lista de ocho ejemplares de la misma que da Rius en la página 4 del tomo I, es preciso suprimir uno y añadir dos. Ha de descartarse el de la biblioteca del general Sr. Fernández San Román, pues, según el propio Rius expone en la p. 393,

dicho ejemplar, que se halla hoy en la Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia, no es de la primera, sino de la segunda edición de Cuesta. Y hay que agregar el de la colección de Huth²⁶ y el de la Hispanic Society, antes del marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros. El ejemplar de Huth perteneció a Claude Pellot, Primer Presidente del Parlamento de Normandía, y conserva el ex-libris de éste.²⁷ Un ejemplar de la edición príncipe se vendió, según Watts²⁸ en la venta del Barón Seillière, en 1888, por 113 libras esterlinas.

1a Anteportada: FACSÍMILE | DE LA PRIMERA EDICION | DE | DON QUI-JOTE DE LA MANCHA. | [Filete] | Primera parte. [Impreso con tinta verde].

Portada: [Un escudo con una aurora boreal, impreso en tinta roja, y sobre los rayos de aquélla, en líneas convexas, se lee:] Primera obra reproducida en el mundo | por la | foto-tipografía. | [Dentro de una banda diagonal, que atraviesa el escudo, se halla el siguiente título en tinta verde:] La primera edicion del ingenioso hidalgo | Don Quijote de la Mancha, | compuesto por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. | Primera parte, | reproducida en facsímile, después de 266 años, por la Foto-Tipografía, | y publicada por su inventor el coronel Don Francisco Lopez Fabra | bajo los auspicios de una Asociación Propagadora de la que son | Presidente el Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Hartzenbusch, autor de las notas de esta edición, | y Secretario el Sr. D. Carlos Frontaura. | [Filete] | Barcelona.—MDCCCLXXI á LXXIII. |

En el ángulo superior izquierdo del escudo hay un medallón con el busto de Cervantes sobre un pedestal en el que se lee: Miguel | de | Cervantes | y encima de aquél, una corona de laurel sustentada por dos figuras de mujer, que simbolizan, la de la izquierda, la Tipografía y la de la derecha, la Fotografía. En la parte superior del medallón, en línea semicircular, la siguiente leyenda: Inauguración de la Foto-Tipografía.

En el ángulo inferior derecho del escudo hay un cuadro en el que está impreso con tinta roja lo que sigue: Colaboradores | — | Ge-

W. Catalogue of the famous Library of printed books . . . collected by Henry Huth, and since . . . augmented by his son Alfred H. Huth. Fosbary Manor, Wiltshire. 2nd portion. London, 1912, p. 405, no. 1415.

²⁷ V. el mismo catálogo de la nota anterior, 2nd portion, p. 405.

²⁸ Henry Edward Watts. Miguel de Cervantes, his life and works. London, 1895, p. 258.

rente. I. S. D. Martin Botella. | — | Fotografía: D. Antonio Selfa. | Paniconografía, D. Manuel Fernández. | Papel de Capellades. D. Santiago Serra. | Imprenta. D. Narciso Ramirez. | Medalla. D. Juan Yturralde, dib. |

Sigue el facsímile de la edición príncipe y, al final, 7 hojas sin numerar. Ejemplar encuadernado en medio becerro.

1b Facsímile de la edición príncipe de la primera parte de Don Qvixote, publicado por The Hispanic Society of America en Nueva York en 1905.

Un vol. en 4° de 337 hojas.

2 primeras en blanco.

3ª h. cara: "Note: This Edition consists of one hundred numbered copies. Number—." Vuelta en blanco.

4ª Portada.

Sigue como el original: Tassa, testimonio de las erratas, licencia, dedicatoria, prólogo y versos. Texto, folios 1-312 y 4 más sin numerar. Tabla, 3 folios y 1 página, más 5 pág. en blanco.

En las cubiertas el sello de The Hispanic Society of America.

Se hicieron tres tiradas en la imprenta de De Vinne de Nueva York: la primera de cien ejemplares numerados, en papel de Arnold hecho a mano, encuadernados en pergamino, la segunda de doscientos numerados asimismo, en papel italiano hecho a mano, encuadernados en tela, y la tercera de quinientos en papel de superior calidad hecho a máquina.

Para conmemorar el tercer centenario de la publicación del libro inmortal, se hizo este facsímile del ejemplar hoy propiedad de la Sociedad Hispánica de Nueva York, antes de la biblioteca del marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros.

Otra edición facsímile económica se publicó en Barcelona en 1905, en dos volúmenes en 12° (el 2° es de la 1° ed. de la segunda parte), en la colección de la *Enciclopedia literaria*, t. VII y VIII, al módico precio de 4 pesetas. La reproducción es un tanto pálida, pero bastante legible. Mi ilustre maestro M. Morel-Fatio señala con elogio la iniciativa del editor barcelonés de la *Enciclopedia literaria*, que publicó este facsímile.²⁰

²⁹ V. Cervantes et le troisième Centenaire du 'Don Quichotte.' Brunswick, 1906, p. 13.

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La Academia Española acaba de imprimir otro facsímile, que forma parte de las "Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, facsímile de las primitivas impresiones," que tiene en curso de publicación.

Las ediciones facsímiles de la *Hispanic Society*, de la *Enciclope-dia literaria* y de la *Academia* no se hallan incluídas en la bibliografía de Rius por ser posteriores a ella.

NUEVA IMPRESIÓN de la EDICIÓN PRÍNCIPE

2 EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON QVI- | XOTE DE LA MANCHA. |

Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauedra. | DIRIGIDO AL

DVQVE DE BEIAR, | Marques de Gibraleon, Conde de Benalcaçar,

y Baña- | res, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de | las

villas de Capilla, Curiel, y | Burgillos. | Año, [Escudo: Post

TENEBRAS SPERO LVCEM] 1605. | CON PRIVILEGIO, | EN MADRID,

Por Iuan de la Cuesta. | [Filete.] | Vendese en casa de Francisco

de Robles, librero del Rey não señor.

Un vol. en 4°, de los mismos folios que la edición príncipe, a plana y renglón con ella; pero con las discrepancias en el texto que a continuación se expondrán.

Pero antes veamos cómo tuve la buena suerte de descubrirlas. Al mismo tiempo que se celebraba en abril de 1916, la exposición cervantina de la Hispanic Society, se efectuó en la Biblioteca Pública de Nueva York otra exposición de las obras de Cervantes, organizada por Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, Conservador de manuscritos de dicha biblioteca. Al visitarla me detuve ante el ejemplar de la edición príncipe de la primera parte de Don Quijote que allí se exponía, y al pronto noté discrepancias en la portada que la diferenciaba de la de los ejemplares hasta entonces conocidos.

Hice gestiones para poder examinar el ejemplar y se me informó que no pertenecía a la Biblioteca, sino a un bibliófilo neoyorquino que deseaba ocultar su nombre, quien lo había prestado a aquélla sólo para su exhibición.

Llaméle al punto la atención al Presidente de la Hispanic Society, Mr. Archer M. Huntington, quien algunos meses después logró adquirirlo con destino a la biblioteca de dicha sociedad, per-

ELINGENIOSO HIDALGO DON QVI-XOTE DE LA MANCHA.

Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruanses Saauedra.

DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE DE BEIAR, Marques de Gibralcon, Conde de Benalcaçar, y Bañares, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de las villas de Capilla, Curiel, y Burgillos.



CONPRIVILECIO.

EN X AD RID, Por Ivan de la Cuesta.

Vendefe en cala de Francisco de Robles, horero del Rey nio señor-

FACSÍMILE DE LA PORTADA DE LA NUEVA IMPRESIÓN DE LA EDI-CIÓN PRÍNCIPE. (No. 2). (A la vuelta.) mitiéndome así hacer un estudio detallado y completo del rarísimo ejemplar. Gracias le sean dadas, pues, al benemérito hispanista norteamericano.

Rastreé los antecedentes del precioso libro y logré primero deshacer el incógnito de su anterior posesor, cosa que me era indispensable para indagar la procedencia del ejemplar. El afortunado bibliófilo neoyorquino no era otro que Mr. Henry E. Huntington, primo del Presidente de la Sociedad Hispánica de América. Mr. Huntington lo obtuvo en la venta de la biblioteca del no menos distinguido bibliófilo norteamericano Elihu D. Church, fallecido en 1908, quien a su vez lo había adquirido a la muerte del poeta inglés Locker-Lampson, acaecida en Rowfant (Inglaterra) en 1895, v éste había logrado que se le adjudicara en la subasta efectuada en París, en 1892, de la biblioteca de D. Ricardo Heredia, poseedor que era, como se sabe, de la de Salvá. De modo y manera que el ejemplar de que se trata es el mismísimo de Salvá, que pasó de la biblioteca de éste a la de Heredia, después a la de Locker-Lampson, luego a la de Church y, por último, a la de Mr. H. E. Huntington. Mas en esa odisea sufrió modificaciones, como ahora se verá.

En el Catálogo de Salvá (1872)³⁰ se halla la descripción del ejemplar y una copia tipográfica de la portada que concuerda con la que se conoce como de la edición príncipe. Dice Benalcaçar, Burguillos y CON PRIVILEGIO únicamente, tiene una coma después de LA MANCHA, la M de Miguel es una versal cursiva sin rasgo alguno y el penúltimo renglón es más corto que el último. Mientras que la portada actual, aunque dice Benalcaçar y CON PRIVILEGIO, presenta la errata Burgillos que hasta ahora no se había visto sino en la segunda edición de Cuesta. Además hay, como en ésta, un punto después de LA MANCHA, en vez de una coma; la M de Miguel tiene rasgos curvos, y los dos últimos renglones son aparentemente de igual longitud. En cambio, le falta para ser la segunda la errata Barcelona y el Con privilegio de Caftilla, Aragon, y Portugal.

Sigamos el camino ya trazado, recorrido por el ejemplar de Salvá, con el propósito de resolver el enigma. En el segundo tomo del catálogo publicado en París en 1892, con motivo de la venta en

²⁰ Tomo II, p. 36, número 1543.

pública subasta de la biblioteca de Heredia, se lee la siguiente nota al pie de la descripción bibliográfica del libro: "Exemplaire de Salvá (num. 1543), grand de marges, et couvert depuis d'une riche reliure au chiffre de M. Ricardo Heredia, mais avec le titre et quelques ff. très habilement refaits." Subrayo yo. De manera que, después, es decir, al pasar a ser propiedad de Heredia, se había encuadernado lujosamente con la cifra del conde y se había rehecho muy hábilmente la portada y algunos folios. Y, en efecto, en lo tocante a la primera, en el facsímile de la misma publicado en el referido catálogo, 22 aparece con los cambios que ofrece actualmente y que la hacen diferir de la que poseía en tiempos de Salvá.

En el apéndice del catálogo de la biblioteca de Locker-Lampson (1900), donde se describe el mismo ejemplar, se hace constar la errata Burgillos y la de la signatura P3 por S3, y se manifiesta lo que traduzco a continuación: "La portada, el folio ¶¶2 y un fragmento de 13 letras del folio 161 se han suplido en facsímile. El pasaje del rosario se halla al f. 132. . . . Este ejemplar procede de las colecciones de Salvá y Heredia, del último de los cuales lo adquirió Federico Locker en 1892. El catálogo de Salvá describe el libro como perfecto; el autor del catálogo de Heredia lo describe, años después, como imperfecto, con la portada y dos o tres hojas, según dice, sustituídas en facsímile [el original dice, como hemos visto: la portada y algunos folios muy hábilmente rehechos]; pero no el folio 132 que identifica la edición. El libro, según cuidadoso examen hecho por las autoridades bibliográficas del Museo Británico se halla actualmente en perfecto estado excepto la portada, el folio ¶¶2. y un fragmento de trece letras en el folio 161, que se han suplido en facsímile, según antes se ha dicho."

Y, por último, del catálogo de la biblioteca de Church (1909), por George W. Cole, 4 tomo los subsiguientes nuevos datos: 4

forming a part of the Library of E. D. Church. New York, 1909. Vol. I, num. 228, p. 289 y 290.

a Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia. Deuxième partie. Paris, 1892, p. 372.

²² Op. cit., p. 371. * An Appendix to the Rowfant Library. A Catalogue of the Printed books, manuscripts, autograph letters, etc. collected . . . by the late Frederick Locker-

Lampson. London, MCM, p. 115. * A Catalogue of books consisting of English Literature and miscellanea . . .

En el ejemplar de que se trata, dice, hay ahora una extensa nota suscrita por Michael Kerney y fechada a 28 de mayo de 1892 y dos notas en lápiz del poeta Locker-Lampson.

Traduzco la primera de éste y la de aquél, que son las que se relacionan con este asunto:

"Mr. Kearney³⁵, persona muy perita y bibliófilo sumamente experimentado, que ha trabajado durante muchos años con Mr. Bernard Quaritch, me envió el siguiente testimonio, a instancias de Mr. Q.[uaritch]:"

"Cervantes, Don Quixote. Madrid, Iuan de la Cuesta, 1605. Es positivamente la primera edición y está en perfecto estado excepto un fragmento del folio 161, el cual se ha reemplazado en facsímile. Se han utilizado dos ejemplares para formar éste completo. El que sirvió de base estaba sucio y manchado y el encuadernador se vió precisado a lavarlo tanto que varias hojas (las 138, 139, 143, 176, 240, 241 y las cuatro de la tabla) lucen de dudosa autenticidad; pero estoy persuadido de que todas son genuinas. Al libro, por consiguiente, no le falta nada, si se exceptúan las trece letras del folio 161, que ya hemos mencionado."

· A continuación hace constar que contiene en el folio 132 el pasaje del rosario para hacer el cual "rasgó vna gran tira de las faldas de la camisa, que andauan colgando, y diole honze fiudos, el vno mas gordo que los demas," pasaje modificado en las ediciones posteriores, "excepto sólo en la de Lisboa que apareció casi inmediatamente después de la príncipe." En esto se equivoca Mr. Kerney, pues tampoco se modificó en la segunda edición de Lisboa, o sea la de Crasbeeck.

Pero Mr. Kerney no dice nada respecto de la portada ni del folio ¶¶2.

En la página 291 del propio catálogo se reproduce en facsímile la portada y coincide en todo con la reproducción del catálogo de Heredia.

Hasta aquí los antecedentes. Ahora describiré el ejemplar modificado de Salvá tal como lo hallé al entregármelo el Sr. Huntington en la biblioteca de la *Hispanic Society*, sin repetir, desde luego, lo que coincide con la descripción impresa en el catálogo de

³⁵ El apellido Kerney se escribe también Kearney. Locker-Lampson usa esta forma; en cambio el posesor firma *Kerney*.

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aquél y lo que se ha publicado en los de Heredia, Locker-Lampson y Church. Después haré un estudio comparativo completo del texto, cosa que nadie ha hecho antes de ahora, y en el cual se verá que he descubierto nada menos que 143 variantes, la mayor parte de las cuales no se halla en ninguna de las ediciones de Cuesta de la primera parte hasta ahora conocidas, lo cual me suministra una base bastante sólida para creer en el descubrimiento de una nueva impresión de la edición príncipe, si no de una nueva edición.

Antes de todo, el preciado libro se halla embutido en un primoroso estuche de piel de zapa de color rojo.

Sacado de él, lo primero que atrae la mirada es la lujosa encuadernación de tafilete encarnado con encaje y cortes dorados hecha por Chambolle-Duru. Abierto, se ven dobles guardas jaspeadas, y dos hojas en blanco al principio y otras dos al final añadidas por el encuadernador. Conserva los ex-libris de Heredia, Frederick Locker y E. D. Church; en una de las hojas en blanco se lee una copia manuscrita de la descripción del ejemplar inserta en el Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá, y al final una nota en lápiz en inglés, en la que se hace referencia a la descripción hecha por el mismo Salvá en el Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books de la librería de éste, 124 Regent Street, London, 1826, del mismo ejemplar quizás. Más adelante se halla pegada una nota impresa en francés que, entre otros datos sabidos, dice lo que a continuación traduzco: "Hermoso ejemplar de Salvá(núm. 1543), de grandes márgenes; encuadernado posteriormente con lujosa encuadernación con el monograma del Sr. Ricardo Heredia. Altura: 200 mm." Esa altura, hay que añadir, es de la hoja con los márgenes. La anchura de la misma es de 137 mm. Las medidas de la plana en el texto son de 168 x 98 mm. como promedio, pues algunas planas varían un tanto.

Luego, en inglés, otra nota importantísima que ha permanecido inédita hasta ahora y que traduzco a renglón seguido:

"El Sr. Graves del Museo Británico cree que este ejemplar de la primera edición de Don Quixote fué un ejemplar muy sucio que ha sido muy lavado y en ciertos lugares remendado. Está de acuerdo en que la portada ha sido fabricada según una descripción impresa y según la portada de la segunda edición. Además, rechaza como genuina la hoja ¶¶2, pues la filigrana difiere de todas

las demás del libro. Se cree que el folio 114 es genuino, pero hábilmente remendado. La palabra ayadaros a la vuelta del mismo, línea 5a, empezando por abajo, se lee ayudaros en el ejemplar del Museo Británico. 25 de marzo de 1899."

La descripción de la portada se ha visto más arriba. Lo que nadie ha hecho constar es la filigrana de la misma, que representa una estrella dentro de un círculo, filigrana de la que sólo se ve la mitad por estar al borde del papel. Esa filigrana no se halla en el resto del libro.

Los folios 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 (por errata 7), y 9 son de diferente papel que el resto del libro y de distinto tipo de letra en el encabezamiento, o sea en la abreviatura Fol. de la primera hoja del texto y en el número respectivo de las demás, y en el título corriente: Primera Parte de don [a la izquierda] y Quixote de la Mancha [a la derecha]; pero los tengo por genuinos.

Están manchados los cuarenta y seis folios que siguen: 37, 73, 80, 100, 101v., 113, 114, 115, 119, 126, 127, 129v., 146, 159, 161, 167, 183, (por error 182), 184, 185, 190, 191, 200, 201, 202, 219, 222, 223, 224, 234v., 239, del 242 al 254, 263, 274 y 299.

Los ciento veinticinco folios siguientes fueron marcados con una cruz hecha con lápiz, y después borrada; pero la marca que ha dejado es bastante para que se la distinga claramente: 100v., 101, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108v., 141v., 148, del 151 al 167, del 170 al 175, del 178 al 197, 199, 201, 203 a 219, 223 a 225, 227, 228, 230, 231, 233, 235 a 237, 239, 242, 243, 247, 250, 252, 253, 257 a 279, 282, y 286 a 288. Acaso las hojas con cruz sean las pertenecientes a uno de los dos ejemplares, que, según Mr. Kerney, se utilizaron para formar el presente, y las que carecen de ella, al otro.

Al margen del f. 77v. hay escrito en tinta que se ha lavado después, el nombre del *Dr. Martin López Rebega* (?). Al margen del 186v. se lee "este libro es de Francisco Gil quien se lo alle que se lo vuelva." Y algo se escribió al margen del f. 230, que se borró.

Por último, el asendereado f. 161 parece que tenía un agujero hacia el centro y se remendó hábilmente con un pedacito de papel en el que se suplieron las letras que faltaban por ambos lados, pero no en facsímile, como se manifiesta, sino, a mi entender, a mano, hechas con pluma. Y la persona que las hizo, o copió mal o copió de un ejemplar que presentaba discrepancias en el texto, pues encuentro tres variantes en las palabras constituidas por esas

trece letras; en el anverso: amio por amo, y una coma después de desse de la que carece la edición príncipe, y a la vuelta: venira y coma en vez de venir a sin coma.

Después del detenido examen que he realizado del libro, y de acuerdo con el autor del catálogo de Heredia, del de Locker-Lampson y las autoridades bibliográficas del Museo Británico, particularmente Mr. Graves, considero genuinas todas las hojas, excepto la portada, el folio ¶¶2 y el fragmento de trece letras del centro del folio 161. La portada ha sido fabricada, como dice Mr. Graves, según una descripción impresa y según la portada de la segunda edición; es decir, se trata, a mi entender, de un facsímile de la portada de la segunda edición de Cuesta, en el que se ha corregido la errata Barcelona y se ha substituído el renglón: Con privilegio de Castilla, Aragon, y Portugal por Con Privilegio; pero, en cambio, se ha dejado de corregir la errata Burgillos. Esto último es de extrañar. ¿Será ese facsímile la reproducción exacta de una portada genuina que presentaba tales peculiaridades y que no se utilizó por hallarse muy estropeada? ¿Sería esa portada la del ejemplar cuyas hojas reemplazaron a las deterioradas del de Salvá, y las cuales (aquéllas) acaso sean las que contienen las variantes descubiertas?

Hé aquí ahora las 143 variantes que he hallado. He comparado el texto de la nueva impresión en que me ocupo con el del ejemplar de la edición príncipe de la *Hispanic Society*. Ha de tenerse en cuenta que ambos textos coinciden en plana y renglón en todas las páginas del libro:

FOLIO	LÍNEA	NUEVA IMPRESIÓN	edición príncip e
1	penúlt.	concluían	concluian
1v.	1	con	cŏ
"	12	Quixana	Quexana
"	17	oluidò	oluidó
"	19	hazienda	haciēda
"	"	llegð	llegð
"	23	compu fo	copu- fo
"	25	parecian	pareciā

³⁵⁶ V. Serís, Homero. *Una nueva variedad de la edición principe del "Quijote."*The Romanic Review, Columbia University, New York, April, 1918, p. 205, penúltimo párrafo. (Hay tirada aparte.)

FOLIO	LÍNEA	NUEVA IMPRESIÓN	EDICIÓN PRÍNCIPE
1v.	29	con razon	cō razō
"	30	tambien	tābien
"	32	merecimiento,	merecimiento [sin coma]
2	12	aun	aū
**	16	eauallero	cauallero
"	23	Falta todo este renglón en	la nueva impresión.
"	24	enfra (cô	enfra scò
"	"	passauan	paslauā
"	32	imaginacion	imaginaciō
2v.	5	gigantes	gigātes
"	8	ahogò	ahogð
"	9	Morgante	Morgāte
"	13	veía	vela .
"	28	cobrasse	cobrase
3	1	auian	auian
"	8	hazia	haziā
"	21	Gonelo	Gonela
"	últ.	exercicio	exexcicio
,,	"	als	a fsi-
4	1	rendido	rēdido
"	4	Mancha	Mācha
"	17	Dulzinea	Dulcinea
4 v.	3	Rozi- nante	Roci- nante
"	23	armiño	armino
"	24	que	
5	6	valcones	balcones
"	14	bronze	bronzes
"	19	diziē- do	dizie do
"	21	Dulzinea	Dulcinea
"	23	riguroſo	fugurolo
"	30	apriessa	apriesa
5 v .	2	que	
"	29-3 0	alme- nos	alme- nas
6	1	parecieron	pareciero
"	17	alguna	alguno
"	18	quanto	quāto

FOLIO	LÍNEA	nueva impresión	EDICIÓN PRÍNCIPE
6	27	que	q
6v.	1	barbada	brida
"	9	Quixote	Quixoto
"	19	ſiēdo	fiendo
,,	21	dno ormir	no dormir
"	23	don	dō
7	4	consentir	cōsentir
"	24	pregūtarõ	preguntarõ
"	últ.	truchelas	truchuelas
7v.	2	que	
"	4	que	q
**	18	pacien- cia	paciē cia
"	24	con fu musica	con mulica
8(7)	1	Cop. III.	Cap. III.
>>	3	pensamiento	pē samiento
"	9	don	ďõ
**	10	ventero	vētero
"	11	ſemejātes	femejates
"	12	mirandole	mirādole
,,	13	que	đ
"	"	leuantasse	leuantase
"	21	tanto	tāto
"	26	incilnado	inclinado
"	27	barruntos	barrūtos
"	29	que	
8(7)v.		mūdo	mundo
9	20	que	
"	31	tan	tā
10v.	23	confiftia	cõliltia
11	4	con	cõ
"	8	alçó	alço
"	11	que	
"	16	efpeda	espada
"	25	quie- ra	quic- ra
"	26	tendria	tēdria
11v.	3	apriessa	aprissa
"	7	agradecien- dole	agradeciē- dole

FOLIO	LÍNEA	nueva impresión	EDICIÓN PRÍNCIPE
12	1	que	q
"	3	tan	tā
"	19	adelante	adelāte
12v.	9	quanto	quāto
13	10	co- migo	cō- migo
"	30	dexo	dexó
13v.	21	hazia	hàzia
14	18	pefa- ua	penfa- ua
"	20	apretó	apreto
14v.	12	orden	ordē
"	29-30	mer cer	mer ced
15	4	con- tra	cδ- tra
"	2 5	acudien- do	acudiē- do
16v.	9	aprouechan- do	aprouechā- do
"	14	arenga	arēga
"	24	quien	quiĕ
81	29	estraña	eftrana
88	28	tā	ta
114v.	5 ^{35b}	ayadaros	ayudaros
115	9	recibi	recebi
"	21	tan	tā
"	23	barbero	cabrero
"	24	comiendo	comiedo
"	25	atontada	atōtada
"	26	de vn bocado a otro	de vn bocado al otro
))	27	que tragaua	ą tragaua
115v.	6-7	interrom- pereis	interrom- pereys
"	7	punto	pūto
"	8	contan- do	contā- do
"	15	cuento	cuēto
	17	mientras	miētras
116	5	intentos	intetos
"	6	quando	quado
"	9	con	cŏ
"	25	trasladaua	trasladaua
	últ.	pedirla	pedir fela
116v.	2	voluntad	volūtad

*b Linea 5 empezando por abajo. Esta variante la halló Mr. Graves. Con ella son 144 las de la nueva impresión.

FOLIO	LÎNEA	nueva impresión	edición príncipe
116v.	18	aueys	deueys
117	2	milmo	meſmo
"	3	hizo	hize
118	1	dezia	dezir
"	3	que	q
"	8	fe le acaba	fe acaba
118v.	21	milmo	meſmo
"	26	Lucinda	Luscinda
161	9	amio	amo
"	11	desse,	desse [sin coma]
161v.	12	venira,	venir a
223	penúlt.		azul
241v.	1	co	cõ
252v.	1	arrastra- se	arrastrar- se
273	penúlt.	en l fuelo	en el fuelo
285(289)	- últ.	dará	dara
286	3	todas	tedas
295 v .	penúlt.	de	do
310(311)v.	10	menos	meros
**	penúlt.	catadura	ca adura
,,	_ ,,	de	do
311	últ.	ricances	alcances
311v.	8	llegarō	llegaro
,,	16	ace- metedores	aco metedores
,,	penúlt.	honoros	honor, y
"	ůlt.	mundos	mundo,
" L	e falta el 1	reclamo del pie de <mark>la</mark> página	, que es el en la edición
	principe		_
Sian *3	10	en ga fine	en ga nos

Sign. *3 10 engaños enganos

Como se podrá observar, algunas de las variantes que preceden son correcciones de erratas de la edición príncipe; pero en cambio otras constituyen nuevas erratas. Considero como erratas corregidas las de los folios y líneas siguientes: f. 3, l. 8 y últ.; f. 5, l. 19 y 23; f. 6v., l. 9; f. 8(7), l. 11; f. 11, l. 25; f. 81, l. 29; f. 88, l. 28; f. 116, l. 5 y l. 6; f. 286, l. 3; f. 295v., l. penúlt.; f. 310(311)v., l. 10 y dos en la penúlt.; f. 311v., l. 8, y f. sign. *3, l. 10. En total: 18.

Por el contrario, tengo por erratas nuevas las variantes de la lista que sigue: f. 2, l. 16; f. 3, l. últ. (afs); f. 5, l. 14; f. 5v., l. 29-30; f. 6, l. 17; f. 6v., l. 21; f. 8(7), l. 1 y l. 26; f. 11, l. 16; f. 13, l. 10; f. 14, l. 18; f. 14v., l. 29-30; f. 115, l. 23; f. 117, l. 3; f. 118, l. 1; f. 223, l. penúlt.; f. 241v., l. 1; f. 252v., l. 1; f. 273, l. penúlt.; f. 311, l. últ. y f. 311v., l. 16, penúlt. y últ. Que suman: 23. Hay, pues, mayor número de nuevas erratas que de corregidas. Además, falta todo un renglón, el 23 del folio 2.

Se notará asimismo el uso frecuente de la n o m después de vocal en vez de la tilde encima de aquélla, aunque se da el caso contrario, si bien muy rara vez. La sustitución de la c por la z en Dulzinea, Rozinante, hazienda. El cambio de los acentos: grave por agudo o circunflejo y viceversa; el abandono de la abreviatura q, imprimiéndose que con todas sus letras; el empleo de dos si en lugar de una, y de la s corta por la larga, aunque esto último una sola vez.

Finalmente, mismo por mesmo (f. 117, l. 2 y f. 118v., l. 21), apriessa por aprissa (f. 11v., l. 3), recibi por recebi (f. 115, l. 9), barbada por brida (f. 6v., l. 1), con su musica por con musica (f. 7 v. l. 24), de un bocado a otro por de un bocado al otro (f. 115, l. 26), pedisla por pedissela (f. 116, l. últ.), aueys por deueys (f. 116v., l. 18) y se le acaba por se acaba (f. 118, l. 8).

Existen, pues, variantes de cuatro clases: correcciones de erratas, nuevas erratas, diferencias ortográficas y, por último, y esto es lo más importante, lecciones distintas.

Todo ello me induce a creer que no se trata simplemente de cambios realizados durante la tirada de la edición príncipe, con el objeto de corregir las erratas a medida que se iban notando; sino de una nueva impresión, de una nueva tirada de la primera edición de Cuesta, o acaso de una nueva edición del mismo impresor. A Cortejón le bastó descubrir menor número de variantes: 135, en la edición de Valencia de Mey de 1605 conocida por AL, para tenerla por una edición distinta y no por una variedad de la del mismo impresor, lugar y fecha, conocida por LA, impresas ambas a plana y renglón igualmente. De ese mismo parecer fué el Sr.

^{*} Primera edición crítica del Quijote, Madrid, 1905, t. I, ps. LXXII-LXXXII.

Givanel³⁷ y la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid,³⁸ a cuyo frente se hallaba entonces el insigne Menéndez y Pelayo.^{38a}

Y no se crea que, porque algunas de las variantes (35 exactamente) de esta nueva impresión se hallan también en la segunda edición de Cuesta, se trata de hojas procedentes de un ejemplar de esta última que se han intercalado en el antiguo de Salvá, pues las hojas de aquélla en que se encuentran esas pocas variantes no coinciden en plana y renglón con las de la príncipe, aunque en tres de ellas coincide una de sus páginas, pero no ambas, que son las que constituyen la hoja, y la única que coincide en ambas es la 8ª, numerada 7 por error en la príncipe y 8 en la segunda, corrección que es lo que las distingue. En la nueva impresión lleva el número 7. Esto es concluyente. Además hay otras muchas variantes (108) que no figuran en la segunda edición.

Si se aceptare esta impresión como una nueva edición, habría que contarla la segunda en el orden de las de Cuesta, por hallarse más cercana a la principe que ninguna otra del mismo impresor, como lo prueba la compaginación y el texto. En tal caso, la hasta ahora conocida como segunda de Cuesta pasaría a ser tercera, y la tercera, cuarta, y, por lo tanto, serían cuatro, en vez de tres, las ediciones de Juan de la Cuesta de la primera parte de *Don Quijote*.

Este único ejemplar alcanzó en la venta de Heredia, efectuada en París en 1892, el precio de 3.100 francos. Hoy pertenece a la Sociedad Hispánica de América.

SEGUNDA EDICIÓN PRIMERA DE LISBOA Licencia: 26 Febrero 1605

- 3 EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON | QVIXOTE DE LA Mancha. | Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauedra. | [Grabado: Caballero montado espada en mano, precedido de un infante con lanza y espada.] | EM LISBOA. | [Filete.] | Impresso com lisença do Santo Officio por Iorge | Rodriguez. Anno de 1605.
 - ³⁷ Prólogo a la *Iconografia de las ediciones del Quijote* de M. Henrich. Barcelona, 1905, p. XII.
 - ³⁸ Catalogo de la Exposición . . . Madrid, 1905.
 - 38ª El Sr. Bonilla y San Martín, en carta dirigida al autor, dice: "Creo que se trata de una nueva edición por usted descubierta."

Un vol. en 4°, de 10 hojas preliminares, 219 folios numerados y uno más sin numerar. El penúltimo marcado 209 en vez de 219. Texto a dos columnas.

Se suprimió la dedicatoria en la portada y en los preliminares. La licencia de la Inquisición dada en Lisboa a 26 de Febrero de 1605, y la del Consejo de Lisboa a 1° de Marzo de 1605.

Suprimida la tabla.

Salvá fué el primero en colocarla como segunda edición.

Se publicó fraudulentamente en Portugal por no llevar la edición príncipe más privilegio que para Castilla. Por ello se apresuró el editor Robles a solicitar privilegio para Portugal, que insertó en la segunda edición de Madrid.

Sigue el texto de la príncipe con las supresiones que indica Rius. La Hispanic Society posee de esta edición otro ejemplar.

Salvá no conoció más que uno, el suyo.39

Asensio tuvo ocasión de ver cuatro: el que fué de Salvá, el que poseía entonces Rius, el del Marqués de Jerez y el de la colección del propio Asensio.⁴⁰

Rius⁴¹ da cuenta de cinco: los cuatro ya mencionados y el de Gayangos.

Y yo puedo añadir que hay otro ejemplar en el Museo Británico, otro más en la Biblioteca Pública de Boston, de la colección de Ticknor falto de 38 hojas, y dos en la *Hispanic*, si bien uno de ellos es el mismo que poseyó el Marqués de Jerez. El ejemplar de Gayangos pasó a la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

Existe además en la susodicha Biblioteca Nacional Matritense otro ejemplar, descubierto en 1905, y por lo tanto, desconocido de Rius, que es una nueva impresión de la misma edición descrita, de la cual sólo difiere en la portada y en los ajustes de las censuras que van en el folio 2, según se puntualizó por primera vez en el Catálogo de la Exposición celebrada en la Biblioteca Nacional en el tercer centenario de la publicación del Quijote, año 1905, pág. 11.

El grabado de la portada de la segunda impresión representa dos caballeros montados acometiéndose lanza en ristre, en vez de un

³⁹ V. Catalogo, t. II, p. 37, col. 2^a.

⁴⁰ V. Noticias curiosas, particularidades y antedotas relativas al "Quijote." La España Moderna, Madrid, Enero de 1894, p. 107, nota.

⁴ V. tomo I, p. 6.

caballero montado precedido de un infante, como en la primera. El nuevo grabado es el mismo que usó después el propio impresor Rodriguez en la portada de la edición de la Segunda parte de Lisboa, 1617. Además el tipo de letra de la nueva portada es de distinta fundición del de la antigua, aunque parecida. Nótase principalmente en las versales de Compuesto, Impresso, Santo, Jorge y Rodriguez, en la s, corta en lugar de larga, de la primera de esas palabras y en las dos se de Impresso, ambas largas y no larga la primera y corta la segunda, como en la otra impresión. Item, la segunda I de INGENIOSO es más corta en la impresión posterior que en la primitiva.

Esas discrepancias no han sido detalladas con anterioridad.

La historia del hallazgo de esta impresión, la cual se creyó en un principio fuera una nueva edición del *Quijote*, desconocida hasta 1905, se relata en la edición crítica de Cortejón, quien verifica un paciente cotejo para probar que el texto es idéntico, incluso las mismas erratas, como ya había declarado la Biblioteca Nacional.

Asensio, al parecer, tuvo noticia de esta impresión y la contó erróneamente como la octava de las ediciones de 1605, en su Católogo de la Biblioteca Cervantina, Valencia, 1883, p. 9.

Rius no la menciona de ningún modo.

TERCERA EDICIÓN SEGUNDA DE LISBOA Licencia: 27 Marzo 1605

4 EL INGENIO | SO HIDALGO DON | QVIXOTE DE LA | MANCHA. | Compuesto por Miguel de Cer | uantes Saauedra. | [Dos grabaditos: uno representa un caballero montado con lanza al hombro, y el otro, un infante con lanza y espada. Éste sigue a aquél.] | Con licencia de la S. Inquisición. | EN LISBOA: | Impresso por Pedro Crasbeeck. | Año M. DCV.

Un vol. en 8° pequeño de XII-448 folios.

Licencias de 27 y 29 de Marzo de 1605.

Se suprimió, como en la anterior, la dedicatoria y la tabla.

Sigue asimismo el texto de la príncipe.

Ejemplar encuadernado en tafilete encarnado, corte dorado.

Salvá descubrió esta edición.48

⁴² Tomo III, Madrid, 1907, ps. LXX-LXXXI.

⁴⁸ V. Catalogo, t. II, p. 37.

Facsímile de la portada de la segunda edición de Cuesta. (No. 5).

(A la vuelta.)

ELINGENIOSO HIDALGO DON QVI-XOTE DE LA MANCHA.

Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra.

DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE DE BEIAR, Marques de Gibraleon, Conde de Barcelona, y Bañares, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de las villas de Capilla, Curiel, y Burgillos.



1605.

Con privilegio de Castilla, Aragon, y Portugal. EN M D R 1 D. Por Ivan de la Cuesta.

Vendele en casa de Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey não schor.

Tocante a su rareza, dice Asensio: "Salvá no logró adquirir el de Pedro Crasbeeck, sin duda el más raro de todos, de que poseo un precioso ejemplar." Rius señala además la existencia de los seis siguientes: el de Bonsoms; el de Birmingham, colección Bragge; el de Gayangos; el de la Bibliothèque Nationale de París; del Museo Británico y uno anunciado en el catálogo Bachelin-Deflorenne, en 1878. El de la Biblioteca de Birmingham fué destruído por un incendio; el de Gayangos pasó a poder de la Nacional de Madrid, y hay que agregar el que posee la Hispanic Society, procedente de la biblioteca del Marqués de Jerez.

El mismo Asensio trastrueca las dos ediciones de Lisboa en su Catálogo de la Biblioteca Cervantina, Valencia, 1883, p. 16.

CUARTA EDICIÓN

SEGUNDA DE CUESTA

Madrid, 1605

Con privilegio para Portugal, 9 Feb. 1605

5 EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON QVI- | XOTE DE LA MANCHA. |

Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauedra. | DIRIGIDO AL

DVQVE DE BEIAR, Marques de Gibraleon, Conde de Barcelona, y

Baña- | res, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de | las villas de Capilla, Curiel y | Burgillos. | Año [Escudo: Post Tenebras

SPERO LVCEM] 1605. | Con priuilegio de Castilla, Aragon, y Portugal. | EN MADRID, Por Iuan de la Cuesta. | [Filete.] | Vendese
en casa de Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey nso señor.

Un vol. en 4° de 12 f. prel., 316 f. numerados y 4 más sin numerar de tabla.

Tiene, a más del privilegio para Castilla, otro para Portugal, al folio 3° vuelto, fechado en Valladolid a 9 de Febrero de 1605. El testimonio de las erratas carece de fecha.

Los folios 14, 16, 186 y 254, están numerados por error: 4°, 15, 166 y 245, respectivamente.

Estas equivocaciones no las he visto consignadas por ningún bibliógrafo, como ya dije al hablar de la edición príncipe. Allí se trató de las discrepancias entre esa edición y la presente, que es la segunda de Cuesta y cuarta en el orden general.

4 Noticias curiosas . . . relativas al "Quijote." (Op. cit.) p. 107, nota.

Se tuvo por edición príncipe durante más de dos siglos, es decir hasta que Salvá, como ya se manifestó, descubrió el error en 1826.

La Hispanic Society es poseedora de un segundo ejemplar de esta misma edición.

A los enumerados por Rius hay que adicionar los siguientes: el de la Academia de la Historia, el de Huth, el del Duque de Devonshire, el de la colección de Asensio y el segundo de la Hispanic, pues el primero es el mismo que perteneció al Marqués de Jerez. El ejemplar del Duque de Devonshire, o sea el de la Biblioteca del Castillo de Chatsworth, procede de la colección de Stanley, to cuya venta se efectuó en Londres en 1813, y en ella se obtuvo aquél al precio de 42 libras esterlinas. Hoy ha pasado a ser propiedad de Mr. Henry E. Huntington, de Nueva York, quien ha adquirido la biblioteca completa de Chatsworth. Mr. H. E. Huntington posee asimismo el ejemplar de Church, antes de Locker-Lampson y que debe de ser el de Salvá.

5 a Facsímile de la cuarta edición (segunda de Cuesta) de la primera parte de *Don Quijote*, publicado por *The Hispanic Society of America*, en Nueva York, 1905.

Un vol. en 4° de 338 hojas.

Las 3 primeras en blanco.

4ⁿh. cara: "Note: This Edition consists of one hundred numbered copies. Number—." Vuelta: en blanco.

5º Portada.

Etc. como el original.

Texto: fol. 1-316. Tabla y 5 páginas en blanco.

Se hicieron tres tiradas en la imprenta de De Vinne de Nueva York con las mismas particularidades que las del facsímile de la edición príncipe

46 V. The Huth Library. A Catalogue of the printed books . . . collected by Henry Huth, with collations and bibliographical descriptions. 5 vol. London, 1880. Vol. I, ps. 282-283. Y también el catálogo posterior de la misma biblioteca augmented by his son Alfred H. Huth. London, 2nd portion, 1912, p. 406.

46 V. Catalogue of the Library at Chatsworth. (Escudo: William VII Duke of Devonshire). [Por J. P. Lacaita.] 4 vol. London, 1879. Vol. I, p. 351. Aunque dice 1° edición, sin describirla, es en realidad la 2° de Cuesta. V. el catálogo de Church, (op. cit.) v. I, p. 292, col. 2°.

⁴⁷ V. Bibliotheca Stanleiana. A splendid selection of rare and fine books . . . Spanish, etc. London, 1813.

48 V. el catálogo citado de la biblioteca de Chatsworth, vol. IV, p. 339.

QUINTA EDICIÓN PRIMERA DE VALENCIA A probación: 18 Julio 1605

6 EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON QVI- | xote de la Mancha. |

Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauedra. | DIRIGIDO AL

DVQVE DE | Bejar, Marques de Gibraleon, Conde de Benalcaçar,

y | Bañares, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor | de las villas

de Capilla, Curiel, | y Burguillos. | [Grabado: Caballero montado,

lanza en ristre.] | Impresso con licencia, en Valencia, en casa de |

Pedro Patricio Mey, 1605. | [Filete.] | A costa de Iusepe Ferrer

mercader de libros, | delante la Diputacion.

Un vol. en 8° pequeño. 16 f. preliminares sin numerar y 768 páginas numeradas.

Aprobación fechada en Valencia a 18 de Julio de 1605.

El privilegio, dado en Valencia a 9 de Febrero de 1605, fué descubierto por Manuel Ferrandiz en 1905.

El reclamo de la cara de la segunda hoja dice LA.

Sigue el texto de la segunda edición de Cuesta con las adiciones de que da una muestra Rius y completa lista Cortejón.

Ejemplar encuadernado en tafilete verde, corte dorado.

Existe otro ejemplar (LA) en la Biblioteca de la Hispanic.

La Biblioteca Pública de Nueva York posee un ejemplar de esta edición (LA) y en él hay una nota manuscrita, en tinta, en letra menuda, que copio textualmente: "La primera edicion de la 1º parte del Don Quijote se hizo en Madrid en el año de 1605, donde se reimprimió en el mismo año.

"A seguida y en dicho año de 1605, se hizo esta edicion de Valencia, que es la tercera de la 1º parte, porque la 2º no se imprimió hasta el 1615, diez años despues.

"Por consiguiente aunque esta no es la edicion primitiva es la mas cercana á las dos de Madrid, y hecha en vida del autor, que habló della en la 2º parte. Es de estima por lo rara ya, y aprovechar para variantes: por lo que se guardará.

"Aprovecha tambien para cotejar las enmiendas y supresiones hechas por Cervantes en la reimpresion de 1608.

^{45a} V. Memoria de los festejos celebrados por el Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Valencia para commemorar la publicación del "Quijote." Valencia, Pascual, 1906, 35.

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"Esta misma edicion sirvió de texto para muchas hechas despues en Bruselas y Amberes."

Es de advertir la similitud que existe entre esta nota y lo que expresa Navarrete en la Noticia bibliográfica que publicó en su Vida de Cervantes (Madrid, 1819, ps. 495-497). Aquí también se coloca a esta edición de Valencia en el tercer lugar y se opina igualmente que Cervantes corrigió la edición de 1608, suprimiendo unas cosas y añadiendo otras. Por fin, casi las mismas palabras del último párrafo de la nota se hallan en las frases con que cierra Navarrete su información bibliográfica de la edición referida (pág. 497) donde dice: "Esta edición sirvió de texto para muchas de las que posteriormente se hicieron en Amberes y en Bruselas."

En el mismo ejemplar hay otra nota en lápiz, en inglés, que dice: De la colección de Don José Miró, vendido en París, Junio 1878. Por último, tiene el ex-libris de la antigua Biblioteca de Lenox de Nueva York.

Existe otra edición de Valencia del mismo impresor y de la misma fecha, conocida por AL, porque éste es el reclamo de la cara de la segunda hoja, en vez de LA como en la edición anterior. Ciento treinta y cuatro discrepancias más las diferencian.

Salvá fué el primero en descubrir algunas de esas discrepancias (cinco). Rius las copia y las califica de leves. El Sr. Serrano y Morales creía en 1898 en la existencia de dos ediciones distintas; pero luego mudó de parecer, y en el discurso que leyó en el acto de la colocación de la primera piedra para la construcción de la escuela graduada "Cervantes," en Valencia, en 1905, manifestó que era una sola y que las diferencias que se observaban entre ambas se debían a cambios realizados durante la tirada, que no implicaban una nueva impresión. También las consideró como una sola edición Fitzmaurice-Kelly, quien calificó, al igual que Rius, las cinco disimilitudes señaladas por Salvá—únicas que se conocían en-

⁴⁰ V. su Catálogo, t. II, p. 38, 2° col.

⁶⁰ Op. cit., t. I, p. 10.

⁸¹ Reseña histórica ... por José E. Serrano y Morales, Valencia, 1898-99, p. 310.

Na V. Memoria de los festejos . . . para conmemorar la publicación del "Quijote." Valencia, 1906.

tonces—de slight printer's variants (ligeras variantes del impresor). Pero posteriormente Cortejón efectuó el cotejo completo de ambas ediciones y encontró 135 discrepancias, so ortográficas unas, erratas otras y algunas que constituyen una lección enteramente distinta, es decir, notorias variantes; a más de que en la segunda hay erratas nuevas, esto es que no existían en la primera. Cortejón concluye que son dos distintas ediciones y que no corresponden a una misma tirada. De igual opinión es Givanel. Deduce Cortejón, además, que la mayor corrección y pureza está a favor de la edición conocida por Al, o sea la segunda. El Catalogo de la Exposición de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (1905), redactado, sin duda, bajo la dirección de Menéndez y Pelayo, las da también como dos ediciones.

La diferencia en las portadas consiste primero en el grabadito; no en que falte en la segunda como alguien ha entendido, sino en que es algo distinto del de la primera. No es, en efecto, el mismo, como pudiera creerse a simple vista, sino una copia. Se advertirá la desigualdad comparando en ambos la pluma del casco del caballero y el penacho y la cola del caballo. Y segundo, en que los dos renglones: Compuelto por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauedra son de cursiva de distinto tamaño o cuerpo de letra.

Otra copia del mismo grabado se ve en el Quijote de Avellaneda, impreso en Tarragona en 1614.

El primero en consignar esas desemejanzas de las portadas fué Foulché-Delbosc, al dar cuenta en 1911⁵²⁵ de su hallazgo de una tercera edición, o mejor variedad de edición, de Valencia, del mismo impresor

Reb V. The Complete Works of . . . Cervantes, III, Don Quixote. Ed. by Jas. Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Translated by John Ormsby. Glasgow, 1901, vol. I, Introduction por Fitzmaurice-Kelly, ps. xvi y xix, n. 2. Véase además su discurso Cervantes in England letdo en la Academia Británica, Proceedings of the British Academy, [London,] Jan. 25, 1905, p. 6, donde dice: a provincial edition at Valencia [1605].

⁸² V. el cuadro de ellas en su ed. crítica del *Quijote*, t. I, p. LXXII-LXXXII. Givanel descubrió una más en el prólogo: respecto en la 1º por respeto en la 2º. (V. lug. cit. en la nota siguiente, p. XIII).

Prólogo a la *Iconografía de las ediciones del Quijote* de M. Henrich. Barcelona, 1905, p. XII. Si bien confunde lo del reclamo de la cara de la segunda hoja, atribuyendo el AL a la primera y el LA a la segunda, cuando es a la inversa.

***Revue Hispanique, t. XXV, no. 68, déc. 1911, ps. 481-482. (Con cinco facsímiles.)

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y año. Además halló, en la última página de la primera y segunda ediciones, cuatro variantes, que no están en Cortejón.

La nueva edición descubierta por Foulché-Delbosc se distingue por el diferente tipo de letra cursiva de los dos renglones citados de la portada. En lo demás es idéntica a la segunda edición llamada AL. Es pues, en realidad, una variedad de ésta.

Hartzenbusch creyó que la edición de Valencia de 1605 (entonces no se conocía más que una) era anterior a la segunda de Cuesta, cuando dijo en el prólogo de su edición del Quijote de Argamasilla. "el correspondiente [privilegio] a los reinos de Aragón y de Portugal se obtuvo dos meses después, para detener, aunque tarde ya, las ediciones de Lisboa y Valencia, perjudiciales al que obtuvo de Cervantes la propiedad de su manuscrito . . ." Las dos ediciones de Valencia de 1605 siguen el texto de la segunda de Cuesta, y mal podían, por consiguiente, haberse publicado antes que ésta.

A las dos listas que da Rius,⁵⁵ es menester añadir el ejemplar de Ticknor, hoy en la Biblioteca Pública de Boston,⁵⁶ el de Huth (ed. AL),⁵⁷ uno en la Pública de Nueva York (ed. LA), dos en la Nacional de Madrid (eds. LA y AL), el de la Nacional de París, otro (ed. LA) en la Biblioteca Pública de La Plata, República Argentina,⁵⁸ y los dos de la *Hispanic* (ambos LA).

SÉPTIMA EDICIÓN PRIMERA DE BRUSELAS 1607

7 EL | INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON | QVIXOTE DE LA | MANCHA. |
[Florón] | COMPVESTO POR | Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra. |
[Florón] DIRIGIDO AL DVQUE | de Bejar, Marques de Gibraleon,
Conde | de Benalcaçar, y Bañares, Vizconde | de la Puebla de
Alcozer, Señor | de las villas de Capilla, | Curiel, y Burguillos. |
[Dos florones.] EN BRVSSELAS, | POR ROGER VELPIVS Impressor

Historia y Letras, Buenos Aires, t. 41, 1912, p. 284 no. 56.

^{4 1863,} t. 1° p. XX.

⁵⁵ Tomo I, p. 10.

¹⁶ V. Catalogue of the Spanish Library . . . bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library . . . by J. L. Whitney, Boston, 1879, p. 72, 1° col.

⁸⁷ V. los dos catálogos de Huth citados, ps. 283 y 406-07 respectivamente. ⁸⁸ V. Catálogo alfabético-descriptivo de la Colección Cervantina formada en la Biblioteca Pública de La Plata por Luis Ricardo Fors, en Revista de Derecho,

de | sus Altezas, en l'Aguila de oro, cerca | de Palacio, Año 1607.

Un vol. en 8° prolongado, de 12 f. prel., 592 ps. numeradas y 8 más sin numerar.

Privilegio dado en Bruselas a 7 de Marzo de 1607.

Sigue el texto de la segunda edición de Cuesta con varias correcciones.

Esta es la primera edición conocida que se publicó fuera de la Península Ibérica.

Ejemplar lujosamente encuadernado en tafilete violeta oscuro, filetes dorados, lomo artísticamente dorado, encaje interior y cortes dorados. Perteneció primero al Dr. Mead y luego a Mr. Richard Ford (1834). *Ex-libris*: Lord Amherst.

Posee además la Hispanic Society otros dos ejemplares.

Estos dos, y uno que se conserva en la Biblioteca Nacional de París, otro en la Pública de Nueva York, procedente de la colección de Prime (Wendell) donado a la Biblioteca de Lenox en 1893, y otro en la colección de Huth, han de sumarse a los que cuenta Rius. El de Gayangos pasó a la Nacional de Madrid.

OCTAVA EDICIÓN TERCERA DE CUESTA Madrid, 1608

8 EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON QVI- | XOTE DE LA MANCHA. | Compuesto per Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauedra. | DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE DE BEIAR, | Marques de Gibraleon, Conde de Benalcaçar, y Baña- | res, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de | las villas de Capilla, Curiel, y | Burgillos. | Año [Escudo: Post Tenebras spero lvcem] 1608. | Con priuilegio de Castilla, Aragon, y Portugal. | EN MADRID, Por Iuan de la Cuesta. | [Filete.] | Vendese en casa de Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey não señor.

Un vol. en 4°, de 12 f. prel. sin numerar, 277 numerados y 3 más sin numerar.

El testimonio de las erratas—y no la licencia como inadvertidamente dice Fitzmaurice-Kelly⁶⁰—está fechado en Madrid a 25 de Junio de 1608.

⁵⁹ Tomo I. p. 12.

^{**} The Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra . . . with a tentative bibliography . London, 1892, p. 329.

La portada presenta, como la de la segunda edición de Cuesta, la errata *Burgillos*, el punto después de LA MANCHA, la *M* de *Miguel* con rasgos curvos y los dos últimos renglones de igual longitud. Estos tres últimos pormenores no los he visto indicados por nadie.

Las variantes, supresiones y adiciones del texto⁸¹ han dado margen para que algunos comentadores supongan que Cervantes mismo corrigió esta edición; pero otros no comparten ese parecer y creen que aquéllas se deben al editor. Entre los primeros figura antes que todos Pellicer, y luego Navarrete, Clemencín, Ticknor, Salvá, Watts, Rius, aunque no muy decidido, y Cejador, quien tiene a esta edición por la más fehaciente, y está persuadido de que puede y debe tomarse como única base para un texto crítico.62 En cambio, opinan lo contrario Hartzenbusch, Máinez,624 Fitzmaurice-Kelly,62 Ormsby, Foulché-Delbosc⁶⁴ y Cortejón.⁶⁵ Los dos cervantistas ingleses se atuvieron a la príncipe para su Primera edición del texto restituido.66 Morel-Fatio es ecléctico al discurrir que, careciéndose del manuscrito autógrafo, o no, del Don Quijote, las únicas fuentes del texto son las ediciones publicadas en vida de Cervantes. v en las cuales puede suponerse que intervino el autor de algún modo, o sean, para la primera parte, las dos ediciones de Cuesta de 1605 y la del mismo impresor de 1608, y para la segunda parte, la de Cuesta de 1615.67

Ejemplar encuadernado en tafilete. En la portada hay una nota manuscrita de la época, con tinta, que reza: "Preció de entrambas

- ⁶¹ V. la lista en Cortejón, ed. crítica del Quijote, t. I, ps. LXXXVII-CXLI. ⁶² Ediciones del "Quijote." La España Moderna, Madrid, Mayo 1905, ps. 6 y 17. V. también La lengua de Cervantes, t. I, Madrid, 1905, Introducción, p. 7, donde dice: "tómese como base la segunda [sic por tercera] de Cuesta (1608)."
- cs A pesar de ello, Hartzenbush (Argamasilla de Alba, 1863) y Máinez (Cádiz, 1877), como dice Fitzmaurice-Kelly (Don Quixote. Primera edición del texto restituido, I, p. lix), aunque en sus ediciones nominalmente se fundan en la principe, adoptan las lecciones de la de 1608.
 - ⁶³ The Life of Cervantes, 1892, p. 329.
 - 44 Revue Hispanique, t. VII, 1900, p. 548.
 - 66 Edición crítica, t. III, 1907, ps. VII y s.
- 66 Con notas y una introducción. Edimburgo-Londres, 1898-99, 2 vol.—Cf. la Introducción, p. xxxiii-xliii y liv-lvi.
- ⁶⁷ Cervantes et le troisième Centenaire du "Don Quichotte." Brunswick, 1906, p. 14.

partes r. 6^b—Juan Holle, 1616." De la misma letra hállase otra nota en la portada del ejemplar que posee la *Hispanic Society* de la 1^a ed. de la 2^a parte.

Añádase a los ejemplares que menciona Rius⁶⁸ el de la Nacional de Madrid, el de la colección de Asensio, el de Ticknor en la Biblioteca Pública de Boston, el de Huth, el del Duque de Devonshire,⁶⁹ hoy propiedad de Mr. H. E. Huntington; el de Church, antes de Locker-Lampson y ahora del mismo Mr. Huntington (debe de ser el ejemplar de Salvá), y tres de la Biblioteca Pública de Nueva York.

Al examinar estos tres últimos, he visto que uno de ellos lleva el ex-libris de A. F. Didot y la fecha de 1850. Otro conserva tres ex-libris: de Nicolai, de Prime y de Lenox. El primero ocupa toda una guarda y representa dos amorcillos leyendo un libro abierto que dice: Friederici Nicolai et Amicorum⁷⁰ (Christopher Frederick Nicolai, muerto en 1811); el segundo es del bibliófilo norteamericano Wendell Prime, y el tercero de la biblioteca de Lenox de Nueva York, a la cual donó aquél su colección en 1893. La biblioteca de Lenox forma actualmente parte de la Pública de Nueva York. El propio volumen tiene una nota de Quaritch que reza: Complet (1879) L.[ibras esterlinas] 150. Quaritch. Finalmente, el tercer ejemplar lleva asimismo el ex-libris de la referida biblioteca de Lenox.

8a EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON QVI- | XOTE DE LA MANCHA. |
Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauedra. | Año[Escudo
Post tenebras, etc. reducido] 1608. | EDICION FACSIMILE | EN
BARCELONA, Por Monta- | ner y Simon-Editores. 1897.

Éste es el título que se halla impreso en seco en la tapa de tela de la encuadernación de esta edición facsímile. En el lomo, de becerro, se lee en letras doradas: El Ingenioso | Hidalgo | Don QVIXOTE | DE LA MANCHA | TOMO | I | EDICION FACSIMILE | DE LA | IMPRESA EN 1608 | .

⁶⁸ Tomo I, p. 14.

⁶⁰ Procedía de la colección de Stanley, de la que se adquirió en 1813 por 12 libras esterlinas y 12 chelines. (V. el catálogo mencionado de Chatsworth, vol. IV, p. 339.)

⁷⁰ El mismo lema usó posteriormente en su ex-libris el Marqués de Morante: J. Gómes de la Cortina et Amicorum, y le añadió Fallitur Hora Legendo, que era la divisa del bibliófilo francés de Courbonne.

Un vol. en 4º menor, reproducción exacta de la tercera edición de Cuesta, más una hoja en blanco al principio y otra al fin. Guardas jaspeadas.

Hace juego con el facsímile de la edición príncipe de la segunda parte de 1615, publicado igualmente por Montaner y Simón en 1897, y que constituye el tomo II.

Rius no la cita.

NOVENA EDICIÓN PRIMERA DE ITALIA Milán, 1610

9 EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO | DON QVIXOTE | DE LA MANCHA. | Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra. | [Filete.] | All' ill. mo. Señor el Sig. Conde | VITALIANO | VIZCONDE. | [Viñeta.] | [Filete.] | EN MILAN Por el Heredero de Pedromartir Locarni | y Iuan Bautista Bidello. Año 1610. | Con licencia de Superiores, y Preuilegio.

Un vol. en 8° pequeño, de 16 f. prel. y 722 págs.

La dedicatoria de Cervantes está suprimida y en su lugar se halla la de los impresores, los Herederos de Locarni y Bidello, al Conde Vitaliano, fechada en Milán a 24 de Julio de 1610.

Rius manifiesta que "sigue estrictamente el texto de la segunda impresión de Cuesta," y asimismo el Catálogo citado de la exposición de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, 2 que dice: "hecha sobre la segunda impresión de Cuesta;" empero Cortejón, que la cotejó minuciosamente con todas las primitivas, escribe: "diríase una reimpresión de las de Valencia, hasta en las diferencias de estas últimas con la 2º de Cuesta."

Primera edición impresa en Italia.

La Hispanic Society posee tres ejemplares, dos encuadernados en pergamino y uno en tafilete encarnado.

Dos de éstos habría que incluir en la enumeración de Rius,⁷⁴ con dos más del Museo Británico, uno de la Nacional de París, otro de la Pública de Nueva York y otro de Huth. El de Gayangos

⁷¹ Tomo I, p. 14.

⁷² Pág. 21.

⁷⁸ Tomo I, p. CXLV.

⁷⁴ Tomo I, p. 15.

se halla hoy en la Nacional Matritense, el del Marqués de Jerez, en la Hispanic Society, y el de Birmingham se perdió en el incendio de la biblioteca. El ejemplar que he visto en la Biblioteca de Nueva York, se adquirió el 29 de Noviembre de 1913 por \$30.00 pesos (más de 150 pesetas). Perteneció a Rush C. Hawkins, general retirado del ejército norteamericano.

DÉCIMA EDICIÓN SEGUNDA DE BRUSELAS 1611

10 EL | INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON | QVIXOTE DE LA | MANCHA. |

[Florón.] | COMPVESTO POR | Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra. |

[Florón.] | DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE | de Bejar, Marquez de Gibraleon, Conde de | Benalcaçar, y Bañares, Vizconde de la | Puebla de Alcozer, Señor de las | villas de Capilla, Curiel, | y Burguillos. |

[Florón.] | EN BRVCELAS, | Por Roger Velpius y Huberto Antonio, Impresso- | res de sus Altezas, en l'Aguila de oro, cerca | de Palacio, Año 1611.

Un vol. en 8º prolongado, de 8 f. prel. y 583 ps., más 3 de texto sin numerar y 3 f. para la tabla y el privilegio, que va al final, el cual, aunque lleva la fecha de 7 de Marzo de 1607, no es una mera reimpresión del de la primera edición de Bruselas, como anota por inadvertencia Fitzmaurice-Kelly, pues en el presente se ha aumentado el nombre de Huberto Antonio, socio de Roger Velpius. Además el nombre de éste se halla impreso Rutger en el primer privilegio.

El texto es copia exacta del de la edición anterior de Bruselas de 1607.

Ejemplar encuadernado en becerro, corte dorado.

Hay dos ejemplares más en la biblioteca de la *Hispanic*; otros dos en el Museo Británico; uno en la Nacional de París, otro en la Pública de Nueva York (colección de Prime, con un sello en tinta azul que dice: "Biblioteca Arozarena, O, 159"), y otro en la de Boston (colección de Ticknor). Ninguno de éstos inserta Rius.

⁷⁴ª Cortejón poseía, según creo, un ejemplar, que debe estar hoy en la biblioteca de D. Juán Suñé, de Barcelona, pues la colección cervantina de aquél, a su muerte, la adquirió éste.

⁷⁵ Op. cit., p. 330.

UNDÉCIMA EDICIÓN TERCERA DE BRUSELAS 1617

11 PRIMERA PARTE | DEL | INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON | QVIXOTE DE LA | MANCHA. | COMPVESTO POR | Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra. | DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE | de Bejar, Marquez de Gibraleon, Conde de | Benalcaçar, y Bañares, Vizconde de la Pue = | bla de Alcozer, Señor de las villas de Capilla, | Curiel, y Burguillos. | [Florón] | EN BRVCELAS, | Por Huberto Antonio, Impressor de sus Altezas, en | la Aguila de oro, cerca de Palacio, año 1617.

Un vol. en 8° de 8 f. prel., 583 ps., más 3 sin numerar de texto, 2 f. para la tabla y 1 para el privilegio.

El texto es una reimpresión de la edición anterior de 1611. La portada es distinta, como ha podido observarse. Principia diciendo: *Primera parte del Ingenioso Hidalgo*, y en ella aparece como impresor sólo Huberto Antonio, mientras que en aquélla figuraba además Roger Velpius. Es la tercera edición de Bruselas de la primera parte, que se imprimió para formar juego con la segunda que había publicado el mismo impresor en 1616, y ésa es la razón por la cual añadió al título: *Primera parte*.

La Hispanic Society tiene dos ejemplares, en uno de los cuales hay una nota manuscrita en la portada que dice: Entier et sans transposition le 7 Mars 1749.

Al parecer, Rius no conoció otro ejemplar que el de Bonsoms. Existen además uno en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, otro en la Nacional de París, otro en el Museo Británico y dos, como se ha dicho, en la Sociedad Hispánica de Nueva York.

SEGUNDA PARTE

PRIMERA EDICIÓN MADRID, CUESTA, 1615

12 SEGVNDA PARTE | DEL INGENIOSO | CAVALLERO DON | QVIXOTE
DE LA | MANCHA. | Por Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra, autor de
| fu primera parte. | Dirigida a don Pedro Fernandez de Castro,
Conde de Lemos, de Andrade, y de Villalua, Marques de Sarria,
Gentil- | hombre de la Camara de su Magestad, Comendador de
la | Encomienda de Peñasiel, y la Zarça de la Orden de Al- | can-

SEGVNDA PARTE DELINGENIOSO CAVALLERO DON QVIXOTE DE LA MANCHA.

Por Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra, autor de su primera parte.

Dirigida a don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, Conde de Lemos, de Andrade, y de Villalua, Marques de Sarria, Gentilhombre de la Camara de su Magestad, Comendador de la Encomienda de Peñasiel, y la Zarça de la Orden de Alcantara, Virrey, Gouernador, y Capitan General del Reyno de Napoles, y Presidente del supremo Consejo de Italia.



En Madrid, Por Iuan de la Cuesta. pendese en casa de Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey N.S. FACSÍMILE DE LA PORTADA DE LA PRIMERA EDICIÓN DE LA SEGUNDA PARTE DE "DON QUIJOTE". (No. 12.)
(A la vuelta.)

tara, Virrey, Gouernador, y Capitan General | del Reyno de Napoles, y Presidente del su- | premo Consejo de Italia. | Año [Escudo: Post Tenebras spero LVCEM] 1615 | CON PRIVILEGIO, | [Filete] | En Madrid, Por Iuan de la Cuesta. | vendese en casa de Francisco de Robles, librero del Rey N. S.

Un vol. en 4° de 8 h. prel., 280 fol. numerados y 4 h. sin numerar, 3 para la tabla y 1 para el colofón.

Tassa en 292 maravedís, suscrita por Hernando de Vallejo y fechada en Madrid a 21 de Octubre de 1615.

Fee de erratas dada en Madrid a 21 de Octubre de 1615 por El Licenciado Francisco Murcia de la Llana.

Aprovacion del Doctor Gutierre de Cetina por comision y mandado de los señores del Consejo, en Madrid a 5 de Noviembre de 1615.

Aprovacion del M. Ioseph de Valdivielso en Madrid a 17 de Marzo de 1615.

Aprovacion del Licenciado Marquez Torres en Madrid a 27 de Febrero de 1615.

Privilegio por diez años. Yo el Rey. Por mandado del Rey nuestro señor, Pedro de Contreras. En Madrid a 30 de Marzo de 1615.

Dedicatoria de Cervantes al Conde de Lemos, fechada en Madrid a último de Octubre de 1615.

La hoja preliminar A4 está marcada por error A7 y en el texto hay muchos folios numerados equivocadamente.

En el cap. XXXVI, al folio 140 v., l. 24 se lee la frase: "y aduierta Sancho, que las obras de caridad que se hazen tibia y floxamente, no tienen merito, ni valen nada," la cual, según Rius (I, 17) mandó la Inquisición expurgar. Será éste uno de los ejemplares que el bibliógrafo de Cervantes dice escaparon al expurgo porque ya habían salido de la nación. No obstante, todos los ejemplares que he visto contienen la susodicha frase. Igualmente la tiene el que examinó Cortejón (t. IV, p. XI).

Ejemplar encuadernado en medio becerro. En el ángulo superior derecho de la portada hay una nota manuscrita de la época, en tinta, que dice: Juan Holle. En Madrid a 20 de Mayo año de 1616.

Los ejemplares de que no habla Rius son el de Huth, con ex-libris "De la Bibliothèque de Mgr. [Claude] Pellot. Premier President

du Parlement de Normandie"; el del Duque de Devonshire, hoy de Mr. H. E. Huntington; el de Church, anteriormente de Locker-Lampson y ahora del mismo Mr. Huntington, el de la Biblioteca Pública de Nueva York, procedente de la de Lenox, y los dos del British Museum.⁷⁶

12 a Anteportada: FACSÍMILE | DE LA PRIMERA EDICION | DE | DON QUI-JOTE DE LA MANCHA. | [Filete] | Segunda parte. [En tinta verde.]

Portada: La primera edicion del ingenioso hidalgo | Don Quijote de la Mancha, | compuesto por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. | Segunda parte, | reproducida en facsímile, despues de 258 años, por la Foto-Tipografía, | y publicada por su inventor el coronel Don Francisco Lopez Fabra, | bajo los auspicios de una Asociacion Propagadora de la que son | Presidente el Excmo. Sr. D. Juan Hartzenbusch, autor de las notas de esta edicion, | y Secretario el Sr. D. Carlos Frontaura. | [Filete] | Barcelona.—MDCCC-LXXI á LXXIII.

[Este título en tinta verde en una banda diagonal que atraviesa un escudo igual al de la primera parte. En el ángulo superior izquierdo, en un medallón se lee:]

Cervantes | dió á luz en 1605 | la primera edicion de Don Quijote | A los 266 años sólo quedaban | dos ejemplares en España. | [Filete] | Se inventa é inaugura en ella | la Foto-Tipogra-fía | reproduciendo en facsímile | 1605 copias para España | y mil para las demás naciones. | [Filete] | Loor al auxilio de los Cervantistas | [Filete] | Ante la Academia de Buenas Letras | y el Ateneo Barcelonés | se principia la impresion | é inutilizan las planchas | Abril de 1871-73.

Sigue el facsímile de la edición príncipe de la segunda parte, en Madrid, por Juan de la Cuesta, 1615.

12b EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON QVI- | XOTE DE LA MANCHA. |

Compuesto por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauedra. | Año [Escudo reducido: POST TENEBRAS, etc.] 1615. | EDICIÓN FACSÍMILE | EN BARCELONA, Por Monta- | ner y Simon-Editores. 1897.

[Este título se halla impreso en relieve en la tapa de la encuadernación en tela. En el lomo de becerro se lee impreso en caracteres

⁷¹ V. Catalogue of printed books. Cervantes. London, 1908, col. 6.

dorados:] el ingenioso | hidalgo | don qvixote | de la mancha | tomo | II | edicion facsimile | de la | impresa en 1615 |

Un vol. en 4º menor, facsímile de la primera edición de la segunda parte, en Madrid, por Juan de la Cuesta, 1615. Una hoja en blanco al principio y otra al fin. Guardas jaspeadas.

Hace juego con el facsímile de la 3ª edición de Cuesta de la primera parte de 1608, publicado por Montaner y Simón en 1897, y que forma el tomo I. Rius no la menciona.

12 c Facsímile de la primera edición de la segunda parte de Don Qvixote, publicado por The Hispanic Society of America, en Nueva York en 1905.

Un vol. en 4º de 298 hojas.

3 primeras en blanco.

4 h., cara: "Note: This Edition consists of one hundred numbered copies. Number—." Vuelta en blanco.

5^a h. Portada.

Sigue como el original, y al final 5 páginas en blanco.

El sello de la *Hispanic Society* se reproduce en ambas cubiertas. Ejemplar impreso en papel de Arnold hecho a mano, encuadernado en pergamino.

En la imprenta de De Vinne de Nueva York se hizo, además de la tirada anterior de cien ejemplares numerados, otras dos de doscientos y quinientos respectivamente, que se diferencian en la calidad del papel. Los pormenores pueden verse en la descripción del facsímile de la edición príncipe de la primera parte.

En Barcelona se publicó en 1905 igualmente, una edición facsímile económica de la príncipe de la segunda parte, como segundo, volumen del facsímile de la príncipe de la primera parte, en la colección de la *Enciclo pedia literaria*, tomo VIII.

Y actualmente la Academia Española está imprimiendo otro facsímile, que formará parte de las "Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, facsímile de las primitivas impresiones," que, como hemos dicho, tiene en curso de publicación.

13 SEGVNDA PARTE | DEL | INGENIOSO | CAVALLERO DON | QVIXOTE DE LA MANCHA. | Por Miguel de Ceruantes Saauedra autor de su | primera parte. | Dirigida à don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, Conde de Le- | mos, de Andrade, y de Villalua, Marques de Saria, [sic],

Gen- | tilhombre de la Camara de su Magestad, Comendador de | la Encomienda de Peñafiel y la Zarça, de la Orden de Al- | cantara, Virrey, Gouernador, y Capitan General del Rey- | no de Napoles, y Presidente del supremo Consejo de Italia. | [Viñeta] | EN BRUSELAS, | Por Huberto Antonio, impressor jurado cerca | del Palacio, 1616.

Un vol. en 8º de 8 h. prel. y 687 págs. de texto.

Privilegio otorgado por los Príncipes Alberto e Isabel Clara Eugenia, Duques de Brabante, por seis años, fechado a 4 de Febrero de 1616.

Segunda edición de la segunda parte. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, en su Bibliography (Life of Cervantes), y Henrich, en su Iconografía de las ediciones del Quijote, colocan antes de ésta a la de Valencia del mismo año de 1616; pero Salvá, Rius y Cortejón consideran a la de Bruselas como la segunda, por conservar casi todas las erratas y faltas de puntuación de la príncipe. No obstante, exceden en mucho más de ciento, según Cortejón (t. IV, p. XV), las discrepancias entre ésta y la anterior de Madrid de 1615.

Forma juego con la *Primera parte* publicada por el mismo impresor en Bruselas en 1617.

En la portada se nota la errata de Saria (Marques de) por Sarria; error no apuntado por los bibliógrafos.

Ejemplar con lujosa encuadernación en tafilete violeta obscuro, filetes dorados, lomo artísticamente dorado, encaje interior y cortes dorados. Perteneció al Dr. Mead primero y luego a Mr. Richard Ford (1834). Ex-libris de Lord Amherst. Hace pareja con el ejemplar que posee la Hispanic de la primera parte de Bruselas de 1607, procedente de las mismas colecciones de Mead y Ford, y encuadernado en igual estilo. La Sociedad Hispánica guarda asimismo en su poder el ejemplar del Marqués de Jerez.

Rius no tuvo noticia de los ejemplares de Huth, Prime, que lleva el sello de la "Biblioteca Arozarena, o. 159." hoy día en la Pública de Nueva York, y Mead-Ford, actualmente en la Hispanic. La Nacional de Madrid ha adquirido uno y el British Museum, dos.

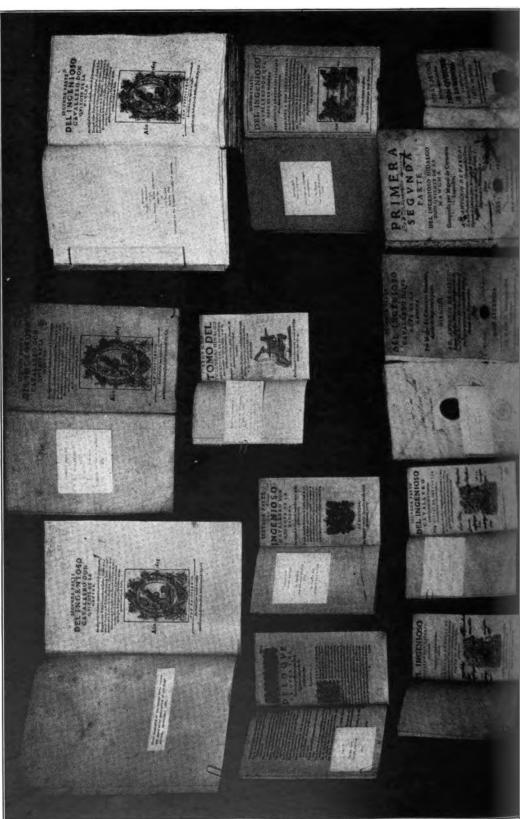
14 SEGVNDA PARTE | DEL INGENIOSO | CAVALLERO DON QVI. |
XOTE DE LA MANCHA. | POR MIGVEL DE CERVANTES SAAVE- | dra, Autor de su primera parte. | DIRIGIDA A DON PEDRO

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EDICIONES DE "DON QUIJOTE," DE LOS SIGLOS XVII Y XVIII, EXPUESTAS EN OTRA DE LAS VITRINAS.

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FERNAN- | dez de Castro, Conde de Lemos, de Andrade, y de Villalua, | Marques de Sarria, Gentilhombre de la Camara de su Mages | tad, Comendador de la Encomienda de Peñasiel, y la | Zarça de la Orden de Alcantara, Virrey, Gouerna- | dor, y Capitan General del Reyno de Napo- | les, y Presidente del supremo Con- | sejo de Italia. | Año [Grabado: Dos caballeros montados acometiéndose lanza en ristre.] 1617. | Com todas as licenças necessarias. | Impresso Em Lisboa, por Iorge Rodriguez. | [Un filete corre alrededor de la portada.]

Un vol. en 4°, de 7 h. prel., una más en blanco y 292 f. de texto, aunque por errores de foliación llega hasta el número 306.

Las Licencias llevan las siguientes fechas: 12, 22 y 25 de Agosto y 10 de Septiembre de 1616, y la tasa, 17 de Enero de 1617.

Texto a dos columnas.

Cuarta edición de la segunda parte.

El grabado de la portada es el mismo de la segunda impresión de la primera parte por el propio Rodríguez, en Lisboa, año de 1605, descubierta en 1905, y que se conserva en la Nacional Matritense.

Ejemplar encuadernado en tela.

El de Gayangos, que conoció Rius, está ahora en la Nacional de Madrid, y existe otro en el Museo Británico.

Salvá no vió esta edición.

OBRA COMPLETA

15 EL INGENIOSO | HIDALGO DON QVIXOTE | de la Mancha. | Compue/to por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauedra. | DIRIGIDO AL DVQVE
DE | Bejar, Marques de Gibraleon, Conde de Benalcaçar | y
Bañares, Vizconde de la Puebla de Alcozer, | Señor de las
villas de Capilla, Curiel, | y Burguillos. | Año | Grabado: Caballero
montado, con un estandarte.] 1617. | Impresso con licencia, en
Barcelona, en casa de | Bautista Sorita, en la Libreria. | [Filete.]
A cossa de Miguel Gracian Librero.

SEGVNDA PARTE | DEL INGENIOSO | CAVALLERO | Don Quixote de la Mancha. | POR MIGVEL DE SERVANTES | Saauedra, autor de su primera Parte. | Dirigida a Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro, Conde de Lemos, | de Andrade, y de Villalua, Marques de Sarria,

&c. Virrey, | Gouernador, y Capitan General del Reyno de Napoles, | y Presidente del supremo Consejo de Italia. | Año [El mismo grabado de la primera parte.] 1617. | [Filete.] EN BARCELONA, En casa de Sebastian Matevat.

Dos vol. en 8º pequeño (el 1º de 16 h. prel. y 736 p. y el 2º de 6 h. prel., 357 f. y 4 h. más) que forman pareja; pues ambos están impresos en el mismo lugar, son de igual tamaño, llevan la misma fecha e idéntico grabado en la portada; si bien los impresores son distintos y el segundo tomo no consigna el nombre del editor.

Es la primera edición de la obra completa.

El ejemplar de la biblioteca de Bonsoms, descrito por Rius (nº 16) lleva los nombres de los mismos impresores que el ejemplar de la *Hispanic: Sorita* en el primer tomo y *Matevat* en el segundo; pero el editor es *Rafael Vives* para ambos; al paso que en el de la Hispánica es *Miguel Gracian* para el primero, y el segundo carece de él.

Estos dos tomos, con tal variante, fueron desconocidos de Rius. El editor de las dos partes del antiguo ejemplar de Salvá es *Ioan Simon*, y el de la primera parte del Museo Británico, única que posee, es *Miguel Gracian*, como el de la *Hispanic Society*.

Salvá, Rius, Cortejón y la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid colocan esta edición como primera de ambas partes reunidas; mas Fitzmaurice-Kelly las separa, incluyendo la primera parte por Sorita a costa de Gracian, en las ediciones sueltas de la primera parte, y entre las sueltas de la segunda, la impresa por Mathevad. Así escribe el apellido del impresor. Así también está escrito en el colofón de los ejemplares de Bonsoms, de la Nacional Matritense y de la Hispanic; pero en la portada de los mismos se lee Matevat.

En la *Iconografia* de Henrich está mal colocada la presente edición. Debió haberse puesto inmediatamente después de la de Lisboa de 1617.

Ejemplar encuadernado en dos volúmenes en tafilete encarnado, corte dorado.

En la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid hay otro ejemplar completo. El Museo Británico, como ya se ha dicho, no posee sino la primera parte.

¹⁷ Op. cit., p. 331.

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- 16 PRIMERA | Y | SEGVNDA | PARTE | DEL INGENIOSO HIDALGO |
 DON QVIXOTE DE LA | MANCHA, | Compuesta por Miguel de
 Ceruantes | Saauedra. | DIRIGIDA AL DVQUE DE BEIAR, |
 Marques de Gibraleon, Conde de Benalcaçar, y | Bañares, Visconde
 de la Puebla de Alcocer, | Señor de las villas de Capilla, Curiel, |
 y Burguillos. | Año [Florón] 1637. | CON LICENCIA, EN MADRID. |
 En la Imprenta de Francisco Martinez. | [Filete] | A costa de
 Domingo Gonçalez, Mercader de libros.

Dos vol. en 4º con la numeración seguida.

1^{ee} vol.: *Primera parte*, 6 h. prel., 230 f. de texto y dos más: 231 y 232 de tabla.

2° vol.: Segunda parte. Portada y prel. en folios 233 (sin signar) y 234 a 238. Texto del 239 al 478 cara. Tabla del 478 vuelto (no 479 como dice Rius) al 480 vuelto.

La licencia tiene fecha de 31 de Octubre de 1634.

La tasa, de 16 de Setiembre de 1636.

Y la fé de erratas, de 31 de Agosto de 1636.

Segunda edición de la obra completa.

Ambos tomos están encuadernados en pergamino.

La Hispanic posee otro ejemplar del primer tomo, encuadernado en tafilete encarnado, encaje interior y corte dorado (Gruel).

El ejemplar de Bonsoms se halla encuadernado en un solo volumen.

17 PRIMERA | Y | SEGVNDA | PARTE | DEL INGENIOSO HIDALGO |
DON QVIXOTE DE LA | MANCHA, | Compuesta por Miguel de Ceruantes | Saauedra. | A D. ANTONIO DE VARGAS | Zapata,
Ayala, y Manrique, Marques de la Torre, | Visconde de Linares,
señor de la villa de Ibancrispin, | Regidor perpetuo de la ciudad de
Toledo, y | Menino de la Reyna nuestra señora. | 121° | Año
[Florón] 1647. | CON LICENCIA. | EN MADRID, En la Imprenta
Real. | [Filete.] | A costa de Iuan Antonio Bonet, y Francisco
Serrano, Mercaderes de libros.

Dos vol. en 4º con la numeración seguida.

1 vol.: Primera parte, 6 h. prel. y 232 f.

2° vol.: Segunda parte, del. f. 233 al 481, aunque debe ser 480, pues del 238 salta al 240.

En lugar de la dedicatoria al Duque de Bejar se halla la del librero Francisco Serrano a D. Antonio de Vargas.

Fé de erratas de 26 de Julio de 1647.

Tassa de 31 de Julio de 1647.

Tercera edición de la obra completa.

Encuadernados en pergamino ambos tomos. En la portada del primero hay un renglón manuscrito que dice: Es de Dn. Alexandro Barrero y una rúbrica, y en la portada del segundo, el nombre de Bartomeu Estrada. . . .

El ejemplar descrito por Rius forma un solo volumen. Además de éste, que es el de Bonsoms, existe uno en la Nacional de Madrid en dos vol., otro en el Museo Británico en un vol. y el de Ticknor, incompleto, en un vol., en la Pública de Boston; ninguno de los cuales se halla mencionado en la Bibliografía crítica.

18 PARTE | PRIMERA | Y | SEGVNDA | DEL INGENIOSO HIDAL | go D. Quixote de la Mancha. | COMPVESTA POR MIGVEL DE | Ceruantes Saauedra. | AL SEÑOR DON FRANCISCO ZAPATA, | hijo de los señores don Diego Zapata, y doña Maria Si- | donia Riedreer Condes de Barajas, Cauallero del Orden | de Calatraua, Comendador de la Fuente del Empera- | dor, Capellan, y Colegial que sue del Colegio viejo de San | Bartolome en Salamanca, Oidor de la Real Chancille- | ria de Granada, Visitador de las Armadas del mar O- | ceano, del Consejo de su Magestad, antes en el Real | de Indias, y aora en el Real de | Castilla. | Con Licencia | EN MADRID: Por Melchor Sanchez. Año 1655. | [Filete.] | A costa de Mateo de la Bastida, Mercader de libros.

Un vol. en 4°, de 6 h. prel., 353 f. de texto y 3 h. sin numerar de tabla.

Licencia por diez años, de 10 de Diciembre de 1654.

Fé de erratas, de 4 de Mayo de 1655.

Tasa, de 4 de Mayo de 1655.

La dedicatoria es del librero a D. Francisco Zapata.

Texto a dos columnas.

Al folio 173 se halla la portada de la parte segunda.

Cuarta edición de la obra completa.

Ejemplar encuadernado en tafilete encarnado, encaje interior y corte dorados.

Hay también ejemplar en la Nacional de Madrid, en dos vol., de adquisición posterior, sin duda, a la publicación de la obra de Rius.

19 VIDA Y HECHOS | Del Ingenioso Cavallero | DON QUIXOTE | DE LA MANCHA, | COMPUESTA | Por MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA. | PARTE PRIMERA. | Nueva Edicion, coregida y ilustrada con differen- | tes Estampas muy donosas, y apropriadas | à la materia. | [Grabado alegórico con el lema Post tenebras spero lucem.] | EN BRUSELAS, | De la Emprenta de JUAN MOMMARTE, Im- | presor jurado. Año 1662. | [Filete.] | Con Licencia y Privilegio.

Frontispicio en la 1º h. con las figuras y nombres de Don QUIXOTE de la MANCHA, SANCHO Pança, DULCINEA, AMADIS y ROLANDO. | EN BRUSELAS, | En casa de Juan Mommarte. 1662.

2 vol. en 8°. El 1°. de 14 h. prel., 611 ps. de texto y 5 sin numerar, de tabla, y el 2° de 8 h. prel., 649 ps. de texto y 7, sin numerar, de tabla.

Dedicatoria de Mommarte a D. Antonio Fernandez de Cordova, de 1º de Julio de 1662.

Privilegio de Felipe IV, de 4 de Setiembre de 1660.

Primera edición de Bruselas de la obra completa, y la primera en castellano ilustrada. Fitzmaurice-Kelly y Henrich colocan antes de ésta, la de Madrid del mismo año 1662; pero no así Rius, el Catálogo de la Biblioteca Nacional ni el del Museo Británico. Se creyó que esta edición fué la primera que se publicó con estampas, hasta que Rius descubrió que eran copia de las de la edición

del Quijote en holandés de 1657, la cual sí fué la primera ilustrada con láminas. La presente edición es la primera en que se ve cambiado el título primitivo por el de Vida y hechos del Ingenioso Cavallero, etc.

Ejemplar encuadernado en tafilete, de la colección de Clemencín. Hay otro en la Nacional Matritense y tres en el Museo Británico. Y otro de la parte segunda en la *Hispanic*.

20 PARTE | PRIMERA | Y SEGVNDA | DEL INGENIOSO HIDALGO | D. Quixote de la Mancha. | COMPVESTA POR MIGVEL DE CERVANTES | Saauedra. | AL SEÑOR DON GERONIMO DE VILLANUEVA, | Fernandez de Heredia, Marques de Villalua, etc. Año [Escudo del Marqués] | 1662. | Pliegos 90° | CON LICENCIA EN MADRID. En la Imprenta Real, por Mateo Fernandez. | A cofta de Francisco Serrano de Figueroa, Familiar y Notario del Santo Osicio y Mercader | de libros, ensrente de San Felipe.

Un vol. en 4° de 6 h. prel., 353 f. y 3 h. de tabla.

Fe de erratas: 17 de Julio de 1662.

Tassa: 17 de Julio de 1662.

Licencia a Juan Antonio Bonet: 7 de Julio de 1653.

Al folio 171 se halla la portada de la parte segunda, con el pie de imprenta siguiente: EN MADRID: Por Mateo Fernandez, Impressor | del Rey nuestro Señor. Año de 1662. | A costa de Iuan Antonio Bonet, Mercader de Libros.

Texto a dos columnas.

Ejemplar encuadernado en tafilete de levante. En la portada y ms.: Es de la librería de los Huertos de Segouia.

Hay un ejemplar en dos vol. en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, y dos ejemplares en el Museo Británico, con la particularidad de llevar el nombre del editor *Iuan Antonio Bonet* en la primera portada, en vez de Francisco Serrano.

21 PARTE | PRIMERA | Y SEGVNDA | DEL INGENIOSO HIDALGO | DON QVIXOTE DE LA | MANCHA. | COMPVESTAS POR MIGVEL | de Cervantes Saavedra. | DIRIGIDAS | A LA NOBILISSIMA SEÑORA | Doña Catalina Teresa Isidora de Loyola, hija del Señor | Don Blasco de Loyola, etc. . . . | Con licencia en Madrid: En la Imprenta Real. | Año de 1668. | [Filete] | A costa de Mateo de la Bastida, Mercader de Libros.

1 vol. en 4° de 6 h. prel., 353 f. de texto y 3 de tabla.

Fe de erratas: 17 de Marzo de 1668.

Tasa: 22 de Marzo de 1668. Licencia: 10 de Enero de 1668.

La portada de la segunda parte ocupa el folio 173, y lleva el siguiente pie de imprenta: CON LICENCIA. | EN MADRID: Por Mateo Fernandez, Impressor | del Rey nuestro Señor. Año de 1662. A costa de Gabriel de Leon, Mercader de Libros.

La dificultad bibliográfica de que habló Fitzmaurice-Kelly, o sea la de llevar la portada de la segunda parte la fecha de 1662, mientras la primera es de 1668, fué resuelta por Rius al descubrir que el texto de esta edición es copia a plana y renglón de la anterior de 1662, y que, por hallarse la portada de la parte segunda en el cuerpo del libro, se olvidaron de cambiar la fecha que llevaba el original. La Biblioteca Nacional es del mismo parecer y de su aserto se deduce que no sólo dejó de cambiarse, "indudablemente por olvido" el año, sino todo el pie de imprenta, " y por ello aparece esta parte impresa en 1662 por Mateo Fernandez, Impressor del Rey Nuestro Señor." 18

Ejemplar con encuadernación de tafilete encarnado, encaje interior y corte dorados. En la portada, ms.: Vinot.

Hay otro ejemplar en la Nacional Matritense.

22 VIDA Y HECHOS | Del Ingenioso Cavallero | DON QVIXOTE | DE LA MANCHA, | . . . Nueva edicion, coregida y ilustrada con diffe- rentes Estampas . . . | EN BRUSELAS, | A costa de Pedro de la Calle. | Año 1671. | [Filete] | Con Licencia y Privilegio.

2 vol. en 8°.

Segunda edición de Bruselas de la obra completa.

Reproducción de la anterior de Bruselas de 1662, e ilustrada con las mismas láminas.

Ambos tomos encuadernados en piel antigua. La Hispanic conserva otro ejemplar de la segunda parte encuadernado en pergamino.

Hay ejemplar completo en la Nacional de Madrid y en el Museo Británico.

⁷⁸ Catálogo cit. p. 23, nº 22.

23 VIDA Y HECHOS | Del Ingenioso Cavallero | DON QVIXOTE | DE LA MANCHA, | . . . PARTE PRIMERA. | Nueva Edicion, coregida y ilustrada con 32. | differentes Estampas muy donosas . . . | EN AMBERES, | En casa de Geronymo y Juanbautista Verdussen. | Año 1673. | Con Licencia y Privilegio.

La portada de la PARTE SEGUNDA lleva la fecha de 1672. 2 vol. en 8°.

Primera edición de Amberes. Copia de la de Bruselas de 1662. Encuadernación: medio becerro. La Hispanic posee un segundo ejemplar, y hay otro en la Nacional de Madrid, uno en la Pú-

blica de Boston (Colección de Ticknor) y tres en el Museo Británico.

24 VIDA, | Y HECHOS | DEL INGENIOSO CAVALLERO | DON QVIXOTE DE
LA MANCHA. | PARTE PRIMERA. . . . NVEVA EDICCION, | CORREGIDA,
Y ILVSTRADA | CON TREINTA Y QVATRO LAMINAS. | . . . DEDICADO |

AL SEÑOR D. FRANCISCO | MARIA GRILLO, HIJO DEL SEÑOR | MARQVES DE CARPENETO. | CON PRIVILEGIO. | EN MADRID: Por Andres Garcia de la Iglefia. Año de 1674. | A costa de D. Maria Armenteros. Vendese en frente de S. Felipe.

VIDA, Y HECHOS | . . . | PARTE II | . . . EN MADRID: Por Roque Rico de Miranda, Impressor de Libros, | Año de M.DC.LXXIV. | A costa de Doña Maria Armenteros, viuda de Iuan Antonio Bonet,

| Mercader de Libros, enfrente de S. Phelipe.

Portadas en letras rojas y negras.

2 vol. en 4°. Vol. 1° de 6 h. prel., 392 ps. de texto y 4 más, sin numerar, de tabla. Vol. 2° de 1 h. de portada, 446 p. de texto y 3 h., sin numeración, de tabla.

Texto a dos columnas.

Primera edición con láminas impresa en España.

Ejemplar encuadernado en pergamino.

Existe otro en la Nacional de Madrid; dos en el Museo Británico, con más un ejemplar del tomo primero, y uno en la Biblioteca Nacional de Río de Janeiro, de ambas partes con algunas hojas de menos.⁷⁰

⁷⁹ V. Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Vol. XXIX. Rio de Janeiro, 1909, ps. 6 y 7.

25 VIDA Y HECHOS | Del Ingeniolo Cavallero | DON QUIXOTE | . . . EN AMBERES, | Por Henrico y Cornelio Verdussen, | M. DC. XCVII. Años. | Con Licencia y Privilegio.

Segunda edición de Amberes, año de 1697.

2 vol. en 8° iguales a los de la primera edición del mismo lugar de 1673.

Ejemplar encuadernado en medio tafilete.

En la Nacional Matritense y en el Museo Británico hay ejemplar de esta edición.

- 26 VIDA Y HECHOS | Del Ingenioso Cavallero | DON QUIXOTE | DE LA MANCHA, | COMPUESTA | POR MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, | PARTE PRIMERA. | Nueva Edicion, coregida y ilustrada con 32. | differentes Estampas muy donosas; y apro- | priadas à la materia. | [Escudo: Una cigüeña trayendo en el pico una culebra que ofrece al cigoñino que está en el nido. Alrededor, el siguiente lema: PIETAS HOMINI TVTISSIMA VIRTVS.] | EN AMBERES, | POR JUAN BAUTISTA VERDUSSEN, | M. DC. XCVII. Años. | [Filete] | Con Licencia y Privilegio.
 - VIDA Y HECHOS | Del Ingenioso Cavallero | DON QVIXOTE | . . . PARTE SEGUNDA. | . . . [En lugar del escudo de la portada de la parte primera hay un grabado tosco que representa la misma escena, si bien la cigüeña está posada, en vez de volando. Carece de lema.]

2 vol. en 8°.

Parte primera: 10 h. prel., 611 p. de texto y 5 más, sin numerar, de tabla. Sign. †-†† = A-Qq.

Frontispicio, portada, *Prologo al Letor*, versos, *Aprovacion* de la edición de Valencia de 1605, *Suma del privilegio* de Carlos II a Henrico Verdussen por nueve años, firmada *Loyens*, sin fecha. Texto. Tabla. Las mismas láminas de la edición de Bruselas de 1662.

Parte segunda: 8 h. prel., 649 ps. de texto y 7 más, sin numerar, de tabla. Sign. *-*4 = A-Ss.

Frontispicio, portada, prólogo, aprobación de Marquez Torres, licencia del Ordinario de Gutierrez de Cetina y aprobación de Valdivielso, de la edición príncipe, Madrid 1615, y suma del privilegio igual al tomo anterior. Texto con láminas y tabla.

Esta edición no se halla en la Bibliografía de Rius.

Parece ser la misma edición anterior, de igual lugar y fecha, con portadas diferentes.

La Biblioteca Nacional, en su Catálogo de la exposición, inserta la edición, con el nº 27, y es de ese parecer. Henrich, en su Iconografía, reproduce la portada de la primera parte y le asigna un número de orden (28) como edición distinta.

Ejemplar con la encuadernación primitiva en piel. Autógrafo de Langenberg.

FACSÍMILE DE LA PORTADA DE LA EDICIÓN DE MADRID DE 1723, A COSTA DE PEDRO DEL CASTILLO. (No. 32).

No se halla en la *Iconografia* de Henrich.

Edición no conocida de Rius.

(A la vuelta.)

VIDA, Y HECHOS

DEL INGENIOSO CAVALLERO

DONQUIXOTE

DELA MANCHA.

COMPUESTA.
POR MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAMBEDRA.

PARTE PRIMERA.

NUEVA EDICCION, CORREGIDA, Y ILLUSTRADA CON treinta y cinco Laminas muy donosas, y apropiadas à la materia.

OFRECIDOS AL SEÑOR DOCTOR DON JUACHIN Joseph Vazquez y Morales, &c.



CON LICENCIA. EN MADRID. Acosta de Pedro del Castillo, vive entrente de las Gradas de San Phelipe. Año de 1723

EDICIONES DEL SIGLO XVIII

27 BARCEL.[ONA].—1704.—En la Imprenta administrada por Martin Gelabert.—2 t. en 1 v. 4°.

Este ejemplar difiere del descrito por Rius, en lo siguiente: 1º la portada está impresa en rojo y negro; 2º pone tomo I en vez de tomo I. y II; 3º no lleva el nombre del editor, y 4º tiene segunda portada antes de la p. 339, igual a la primera a excepción de estar impresa en negro y decir: tomo II | Pliegos 45.

Segunda edición de Barcelona.

28 MADRID.—1706.—Por Antonio Gonçalez de Reyes.—A costa de Francisco Laso.—2 v. 4°.

Difiere el presente ejemplar del de Rius en las portadas, en las cuales, después del nombre del impresor y del año, se añade: | A costa de Francisco Laso, Mercader de Libros. | Vendese en su casa, enfrente de San Felipe el Real. |

Portadas en rojo y negro. Texto a dos col. Las mismas láminas de la de Madrid de 1674.

- 29 MADRID.—1714.—A costa de Francisco Laso.—2 v. 4°.
 - Portadas en rojo y negro. Copia de la anterior y con iguales láminas.
- 3 AMBERES.—M.D.CC.XIX.—Por Juan Bautista Verdussen.—2 v. 8°. Reimpresión de la de Amberes de 1697, con las láminas.
- 31 MADRID.—1723.—A costa de la Hermandad de San Gerónimo.—4°.

 Portada en rojo y negro. Reimpresión de la edición de Madrid de 1714, con iguales láminas.
- 32 VIDA, Y HECHOS | DEL INGENIOSO CAVALLERO | DON QUIXOTE | DE LA MANCHA. | COMPUESTA. | POR MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAABEDRA. | PARTE PRIMERA. | NUEVA EDICCION, CORREGIDA, Y ILLUSTRADA CON | treinta y cinco Laminas muy donofas, y apropiadas à la materia. | OFFECIDOS AL SEÑOR DOCTOR DON JUACHIN | Joseph Vazquez y Morales, &c. | [Grabado: el mismo

de la ed. de Madrid de 1714.] | CON LICENCIA. EN MADRID. A costa de Pedro del Castillo, | vive enfrente de las Gradas de San Phelipe. Año de 1723 [En rojo y negro.]

2 v. en 4°. Vol. 1°, parte primera, de 6 h. prel., 352 ps. de texto a dos col. y 2 h. sin numerar de tabla. Portada, dedicatoria al Señor Doctor Don Juachin Joseph Vazquez y Morales, firmada por el editor Pedro del Castillo, *licencia* de 15 de sept. de 1723, fee de erratas de 30 de agosto de 1723 y tassa de 15 de septiembre de 1723, prólogo, texto con láminas y tabla.

Falta el volumen segundo.

Como dice el Catalogo de la Biblioteca Nacional, es la misma edición anterior con la sola variante del nombre del editor. No se halla en la Bibliografía de Rius.

Ejemplar encuadernado en pergamino. En la portada hay un renglón manuscrito que reza: esto es uno libro del Conde Don Camillo Malvezzi.

Además del ejemplar de la Nacional de Madrid, hay otro en la Nacional de Río de Janeiro.

33 MADRID.—1730.—En la Imprenta de la Viuda de Blàs de Villa-Nueva.—2 v. 4°.

Trae una dedicatoria "al mismo D. Quixote, escrita por su Chronista, descubierta y traducida con imponderable desvelo y trabajo," y "el resto de las Obras poéticas de los Académicos de la Argamasilla, halladas por el más célebre adivinador [D. Diego de Torres Villarroel] de nuestros tiempos." El texto es copia de la edición anterior de 1723. Ilustrada. Se ha estampado en la portada el nombre: Joãs Vieira Pinto.

34 VIDA, I HECHOS | DEL INGENIOSO CAVALLERO | DON QUIXOTE | DE LA MANCHA. | COMPUESTA | POR MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAABEDRA. | PRIMERA PARTE. | NUEVA EDICCION, CORREGIDA, E ILUSTRADA CON | treinta i cinco Laminas mui donosas, i apropriadas à la materia. | OFRECIDOS AL SEÑOR DOCTOR DON JOACHIM | Joseph Vazquez i Morales, &c. | [Grabado tosco copia del de la ed. de Madrid de 171]4. | Con Licencia: En Sevilla, en la Imprenta de MANUEL DE LA PUERTA, | en las Siete Revueltas. | A COSTA DE DON NICOLAS DE PALMA. [Sin fecha. Licencia de 27 de Nov. de 1731.]

VIDA, I HECHOS DEL INGENIOSO CAVALLERO DON QUIXOTE

DELA MANCHA.

COMPUESTA
POR MIGUEL DE CERVANTESSAABEDRA.
PRIMERA PARTE.

NUEVA EDICCION, CORREGIDA, E ILUSTRADA CON treinta i cinco Laminas mui donosas, i apropriadas à la materia.

OFRECIDOS AL SEÑOR DOCTOR DON JOACHIM
Joseph Vazquez i Morales, &c.



Con licencia; En Sevilla, en la Imprenta de MANUEL DE LA PUERTA, en las Siete Revueltas.

A COSTA DE DON NICOLAS DE PALMA.

FACSÍMILE DE LA PORTADA DE LA EDICIÓN DE SEVILLA, [1731]. (No. 34). ÚNICO EJEMPLAR CONOCIDO. No se halla en la Iconografia de Henrich. Edición no vista por bibliógrafo alguno. (A la vuelta.)

2 vol. en 4°. El 1° de 6 h. prel., 352 ps. de texto y 2 h. de tabla. Portada, vuelta en blanco; dedicatoria, Madrid a 14 de agosto de 1723, Pedro del Castillo; licencia, Madrid a 27 de noviembre de 1731, D. Miguel Fernandez de Munilla; fe de erratas, Madrid a 30 de agosto de 1723, Lic. D. Benito del Rio; tasa, Madrid a 15 de septiembre de 1723, D. B. de S. Pedro Azebedo; prólogo; texto a dos col. con láminas muy toscas y tabla.

Es la primera edición de Sevilla, conocida. Asensio creía que la primera era la de 1854. (V. su *Católogo*, p. 39, nº 36.) Falta la segunda parte.

Este vol. de la primera parte es el único ejemplar que se conoce. Procede de la biblioteca del Marqués de Jerez de los Caballeros. Rius no logró verlo.

Media encuadernación de zapa. En el lomo ha puesto el encuadernador equivocadamente la fecha de 1723 por 1731.

35 MADRID.—1735.—Por Antonio Sanz.—2 v. 4°.

Portada en rojo y negro. Texto a dos columnas. 44 láminas. Primera edición en que no se usan las tildes de supresión de n y de e.

36 LEON DE FRANCIA.—MDCCXXXVI.—A costa de J. y P. Bonnar-del.—2 v. 8°.

Primera edición conocida que se imprimió en Francia en castellano. Va ilustrada con las láminas de la de Bruselas de 1662, grabadas nuevamente por E. Diodati.

37 LONDRES.—MDCCXXXVIII.—Por J. y R. Tonson.—4 vol. 4° m. Primera edición en castellano impresa en Inglaterra y primera de lujo del *Quijote*. Advertencias de D. Juan Oldfield sobre las estampas. Vida de Cervantes por Mayáns y Siscár con portada fechada en 1737. Frontispicio alegórico, retrato de Cervantes por Kent y 68 excelentes láminas por Vanderbank. El revisor y corrector fué Pedro Pineda. Ejemplar encuadernado en medio tafilete azul.

Otro ejemplar en 8 vol.

38 MADRID.—M.DCC.XLI.—A costa de Juan de San Martin.—2 v. 4°.

La portada del tomo primero en rojo y negro. Copia de la ed.
de Madrid de 1735, ilustrada con las mismas 44 láminas. El texto

es igual excepto una acertada variante en la parte 2º cap. XLV, citada por Rius. Ms. en la portada: Estos 2 tomos de la Vida de dn. Quixote de la Mancha Son del doctor dn. Antonio B... Qubas. Luego se tachó este nombre y se escribió entre renglones el de: Bernardo Contest.

39 HAIA.—M.DCC.XLIV.—Por P. Gosse y A. Moetjens.—4 v. 8°.

"Con muy bellas Estampas, gravadas sobre los Dibujos de Coypel, primer Pintor de el Rey de Francia." Portada en rojo y negro. Con la *Vida de Certantes* por Mayáns.

40 MADRID.—M.DCC.L.—A costa de Don Pedro Alonso y Padilla.— 2 v. 4°.

Ilustrada con las 44 láminas de la edición de 1730, grabadas de nuevo muy toscamente. El texto sigue a la de 1741.

41 MADRID.—M.DCC.LI.—A costa de Don Pedro Alonso y Padilla.— 2 v. 4°.

En la portada dice: y es la impression mas añadida que ay. "Valiera más que no lo fuera tanto," objeta Rius muy fundadamente. Va precedida de la Vida de Cervantes por Mayáns. Iguales láminas que la ed. de 1730.

42 BARCELONA.—[1755].—Por Juan Jolis Impressor.—4 v. 8°.

Sin año en la portada; pero la licencia lleva la fecha de 21 de mayo de 1755 y la fe de erratas, la de 20 de julio del mismo año. Primera edición publicada en España en cuatro tomos.

43 AMSTERDAM Y LIPSIA.—MDCCLV.—Por Arkstée y Merkus.—4 v. 8°.

Reproducción de la de La Haya de 1744 con las primorosas láminas grabadas sobre los dibujos de Coypel. Se ha añadido el retrato de Cervantes por Kent, reducido. Portada en letras rojas y negras. Autógrafo de William A. Littlejohn.

- 44 TARRAGONA.—1757.—En la imprenta de Joseph Barber.—4 v. 8°.

 Edición ajustada a la de Barcelona de 1755, con los mismos pésimos grabados en madera. Rius la cree furtiva.
- 45 MADRID.—1764.—En la Imprenta de Andrés Ramirez, à expensas de D. Pedro Joseph Alonso y Padilla.—2 v. 4°.

FACSÍMILE DE LA PORTADA DE LA EDICIÓN DE LISBOA DE 1775.

(No. 49.) ÚNICO EJEMPLAR CONOCIDO.

No se halla en la *Iconografia* de Henrich.

Edición ignorada de todos los bibliógrafos.

(A la vuelta.)

Del Ingenioso Cavallero DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA,

COMPUESTA

POR MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA
PARTE PRIMERA.

Nueva Edicion, corregida y ilustrada con differentes Estampas muy donojas, y apropiadas à la ma:ersa.



EN LISBOA

à Custa de los HERMANOS DU BEUX, LAGIER Y SOCIOS, Mercaderos de Libros. M. D. CC. LXXV. Copia exacta de la del mismo editor, Alonso y Padilla, de 1751. La Vida de Certantes por Mayáns lleva el año de 1765.

46 MADRID.—MDCCLXV.—En la Oficina de D. Manuel Martin, y á sus expensas, calle de la Cruz donde se hallará. Con las licencias necesarias.—4 v. 8°.

Difiere esta edición de la que describe Rius con el número 48, en la portada. El pie de imprenta del ejemplar de Bonsoms dice: "Con Licencia: En Madrid, año de 1765, en la Imprenta de Manuel Martin, Calle de la Cruz, donde se hallará. A costa de la Hermandad de San Juan Etangelista de Impressores de esta Corte." En el de la Hispanic, el editor es el propio impresor Martin, carece de viñeta, dice Ediccion por Edicion y va precedida de una anteportada con un grabado tosco.

Henrich reproduce dos portadas como dos ed. distintas con los nos. 48 y 49. Y la segunda es asimismo diferente de la de la *Hispanic*. Tiene viñeta y dice *Edicion*.

47 MADRID.—1765.—En la Imprenta de Manuel Martin, Calle de la Cruz, donde se hallarà. A costa de la Hermandad de San Juan Etangelista de Impressores de esta Corte.—4 v. 8°.

Faltan los tres últimos vols. que han sido sustituidos, por el librero moderno que vendió esta edición, con los tres últimos de la ed. posterior del mismo impresor, de 1782.

Tiene la vineta y dice *Ediccion* en el 1^{er} tomo; en los demás: *Edicion*. (V. nº 56).

48 MADRID.—MDCCLXXI.—Por D. Joachin de Ibarra.—4 v. 8°.

Edición clara y bien impresa, con dos frontispicios y 31 láminas dibujadas por José Camarón y grabadas en cobre por Manuel Monforte. Seguida de la *Vida de Cervantes* por Mayáns.

49 VIDA Y HECHOS | Del Ingenio fo Cavallero | DON QUIXOTE | DE LA MANCHA, | COMPUESTA | POR MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, | PARTE PRIMERA. | Nueva Edicion, corregida y ilustrada con differentes Estampas muy donosas, y apropiadas | à la materia. | [Escudo: Un león sosteniendo un escudo en el que se ven las iniciales H V D.] | EN LISBOA | à Custa de los HERMANOS DU BEUX, | LAGIER Y SOCIOS, Mercaderos | de Libros. | M.D.CC.LXXV.

2 vol. 8º.

Vol. I: Frontispicio: Grabado que representa a Don Quixote de la Mancha, Sancho Pança, Dulcinea, Amadis y Rolando.—Portada.—PROLOGO AL LETOR, 4 h. y 1 p. sign. †3, †4 —Versos: h.7 vuelta y 3 h. sign. ††2.—Aprovacion, h. 10° v., copia de la aprobación de la edición de Valencia de 1605. Suma del privilegio, en la misma pág., copia de la del privilegio por nueve años a Henrico Verdussen de la edición de Amberes por Juan Bautista Verdussen, de 1719, expedida por Carlos VI, "Emperador de los Romanos, Rey Catholico de las Españas y de las Indias, y Señor Potentissimo de los Payses Baxos," "fecha à Brusselas à dos de Noviembre de 1712. años.—Firmada—LOYENS." Pág. 1: VIDA Y HECHOS | Del Ingenioso Hidalgo | DON QUIXOTE | DE LA MANCHA. | PARTE PRIMERA. | [Filete.] | LIBRO PRIMERO. | CAPITULO I. | etc. Sign. A.—611 págs. de texto y 5 sin num. de tabla. Al final: fin de La tabla. [Florón].

Vol. II: Frontispicio.—Portada: igual a la del primer vol. con la diferencia de decir PARTE SEGUNDA, y la errata de differente por differentes.—PROLOGO AL LETOR, 3 h. sign. §3, *4 . . . —APROVA-CION. "Por comission del Señor Dotor Gutierrez de Cetina . . . En Madrid à veynte y siete de Febrero, de mil y seyscientos y quinze.—El Licenciado—Marquez Torres. Ocupa casi dos hojas. En la parte inferior de la segunda, vuelta, está la LICENCIA DEL ORDINARIO: Por comission, y mandado de los Señores del Consejo . . . En Madrid à cinco de Noviembre de mil y seyscientos y quinze.—Dotor Gutierrez de Centina.(sic.).—En el anverso de la hoja 8ª: APROVACION de El M. Joseph de Valdivielso. En Madrid à 17 de Março 1615. A la vuelta: SUMA DEL PRIVILEGIO de Carlos VI, firmada por Loyens. Al pie: "El dicho Henrico Verdussen ha hecho participante del fudicho Privilegio à Juan Bautista Verdussen."—Pág. 1: VIDA Y HECHOS | Del Ingenio fo Cavallero | DON QUIXOTE | DE LA MANCHA. | PARTE SECUNDA. (sic.) | LIBRO QUINTO.—Texto: ps. 1-649 y 7 más sin num. de tabla. Al final: viñeta con un medallón en el que hay una cigüeña.

Parece la misma impresión de Amberes de 1719 con distinta portada, pues tiene igual número de págs., el texto a plana y renglón, con idéntico tipo de letra, las mismas láminas y viñetas. Lo único diferente son las portadas de ambos vols.

En la guarda, con lápiz de puño y letra del marqués de Jerez:

"Edición desconocida y no citada." En efecto, ni Rius, ni ningún otro bibliógrafo, da cuenta de ella.

Unico ejemplar conocido.

Encuadernación primitiva en piel, lomo exornado dorado.

50 MADRID.—MDCCLXXVII.—En la Imprenta de D. Antonio de Sancha.—4 v. 8°.

Reimpresión de la de Ibarra de 1771, a costa de los mismos editores: la Real Compañia de Impresores, y Libreros del Reyno. Al fin, la Vida de Cervantes por Mayáns.

51 MADRID.—1777.—En la Imprenta de D.Manuel Martin.—4 v. 8°.

Reproducción de la del mismo editor de 1765. Primera edición en que *Quijote* se escribe con j. Los cuatro tomos llevan la fecha de 1777. La *Vida de Cervantes* por Mayáns lleva la de 1765.

52 MADRID.—MDCCLXXX.—Por Don Joaquin Ibarra.—Corregida por la Real Academia Española.—4 v. Fol.

Primera edición de la Academia Española, con prólogo de ésta, Vida de Cervantes y Análisis del Quixote por D. Vicente de los Rios, Mapa de una porcion del Reyno de España, que comprende los parages por donde anduvo Don Quixote, delineado por D. Tomás López, frontispicios, retrato apócrifo de Cervantes sacado del cuadro al óleo que regaló el Conde del Aguila a la Academia, y 29 magníficas láminas. Texto y variantes. Restituyó la Academia el primitivo título de El Ingenioso Hidalgo y las dedicatorias de Cervantes.

Dos ejemplares. Ambos con las láminas antes de la letra. Uno de los dos hermosos ejemplares, encuadernado en piel antigua, perteneció al hispanista y profesor norteamericano Knapp. En el reverso del frontispicio se halla escrita con lápiz la siguiente nota en inglés: El precio en 1884 es de 10 libras esterlinas dentro y fuera de España.—Knapp. Otra nota en lápiz, en inglés asimismo, dice: Esta edición está en el Catálogo de William Sotheran, 136 Strand [Londres]. Ejemplar del Coronel Stanley vendido por 17.10 libras esterlinas, y firma: H. G. Wanchly(?). Finalmente, hay pegado un recorte impreso de un catálogo en inglés, en el que se copia un pensamiento de Hallam sobre el Quijote, y se marca el precio de \$40. En el catálogo de la venta de Stanley

(1813, p. 45 n° 726) aparece el ejemplar de que se trata vendido a Freeling en 17, 6, 6 libras esterlinas, según nota marginal en tinta.

53 HISTORIA | DEL FAMOSO CAVALLERO, | DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA. | POR | MIGUEL DE CERVANTES SAAVEDRA. | PRIMERA PARTE. PRIMERO TOMO. | [Florón.] | EN SALISBURY: | En la Imprenta de EDVARDO EASTON. M. DCC. LXXXI. | La portada encerrada en una orla formada por listones con una guirnalda de flores enroscada, todo ello entre dos filetes.]

4 tomos en 3 vol. en 4°.

Vol. I: Mapa, en lugar de anteportada.—Portada.—1 hoja con dedicatoria de John Bowle al Earl of Huntington en inglés, impresa. St. George's Day, 1781.—Otra hoja, sign. a con la dedicatoria de Cervantes al Duque de Bejar.—Prólogo de Cervantes, p. v a xii, sign. b . . . —Versos, p. xiii a xx, sign. c . . . —Texto de la primera parte, p. 1 a 544, sign. A-Uuu2.—Tabla en 4 ps. finales sin numerar. No tiene portada alguna a la mitad del volumen.

Vol. II: Portada: "Historia, etc. Primera parte: Segundo tomo," etc.—Una hoja sign. b con la dedicatoria de Cervantes al Conde de Lemos.—Prólogo de la segunda parte de Cervantes, ps. sign. b2 a p. viii.—Texto de la segunda parte, ps. 1 a 572, sign. A-Zzz2.—Tabla en 6 ps. finales sin numerar. Tampoco tiene portada a la mitad del volumen.

Vol. III: Portada: "Historia, etc. Segunda parte. Tercero tomo," etc. Otra portada que dice: "Anotaciones | a la | historia | de | Don Quixote de la Mancha. | Por el Reverendo | D. Juan Bowle, A. M. S. S. A. L. | Libera per vacuum posui estigia princeps, | Non aliena, meo pressi pede.— Horat. | Por Caminos desusados, por atajos, y sendas encubiertas.— D. Quixote, P. 2. | En Salisbury: | En la Imprenta de Edvardo Easton. M. DCC. LXXXI."—"Prólogo del editor," firmado Juan Bowle, Abril 23. Por la Fiesta de San Jorge. Año de 1781, ps. i a xii sign. a-b.—"Autores citados en las Anotaciones," p. xv a xxii, sign. c . . . —"Anotaciones a Don Quixote," ps. 1 a 157, sign. A-U3.—"Anotaciones a Don Quixote. Segunda parte." Nueva paginación, de la 1 a la 167; pero siguen las sign.: U4 . . . Z . . . Aa . . . Rr2, firmado a la p. 167: Juan Bowle, Idemestone, en su Estudio, y Octubre 26, M. DCC. LXXX.—Una h. en blanco.—



Facsímile de la portada de la edición de Salisbury de 1781. (No. 53).

No se halla en la Iconografia de Henrich.

(A la vuelta.)

"Subscribers," 2 h. sign. a.—Prólogo a los índices, p. i a iii.—Abreviaturas y Palabras ilustradas en las Anotaciones que no se hallan en los índices, p. siguiente sin numerar.—Portada del 4º tomo: "Historia, etc. Segunda parte. Quarto tomo," etc.—Otra portada: "Indices | de nombres proprios, | de palabras más notables, y varias lecciones, en entrambas partes de la Historia, etc. Por el Reverendo | D. Juan Bowle, etc. | En Salisbury: | En la Imprenta de Edvardo Easton, á costa del Editor. | M. DCC. LXXXI." -"Indice de nombres proprios en Don Quixote. Primera parte," 45 ps. sin numerar, sign. A-M.—"Indice de nombres propios . . . Segunda parte," 13 ps. sin n. sign. M2-P.—"Indice de los nombres propios en entrambas partes," 10 ps. sin n. sign. P2-R.— "Indice de las palabras principales en Don Quixote. Primera parte," 71 ps. sin n., sign. S-Z,—Aa-Ll.—"Indice de las palabras, etc. Segunda parte," 76 ps. sin n., sign. A-T.—"Varias lecciones en esas ediciones de Don Quixote. Primera parte," 10 ps. sin n., sign. U-Y.—"Varias lecciones, etc. Segunda parte," 5 ps. sin n., sign. Y2-Z.—"Errata," primera pág. de la última hoja asimismo sin numerar.

Ejemplar encuadernado en medio tafilete verde.

Rius conoció la existencia de esta variedad de la edición de Bowle, mas no llegó a verla, y por eso no la describe en su Bibliografia. De lo que manifiesta se deduce su creencia en que la única discrepancia existente era la de que unos ejemplares se hallaban divididos en tres tomos y otros en seis. Aparte de que en esto hay error, pues los primeros no están divididos en tres tomos, sino en cuatro, aunque encuadernados en tres volúmenes. difieren de los segundos, además, en las portadas, en la dedicatoria de Bowle (como ya hizo notar la Biblioteca Nacional, que posee también un ejemplar: Catálogo de la exposición, n° 54) y en el orden de colocación de ciertas partes de la obra. En efecto, las portadas de la primera tirada no llevan los marcos con trofeos alusivos y escenas del Quijote ni el escudo copia del de Cuesta, y el pie de la del primer tomo dice: "En Salisbury: En la Imprenta de Edvardo Easton" (no Caston como en el catálogo de la Nacional), mientras que el del mismo tomo de la segunda tirada dice: "En Londres: Se hallarán en las Librerias de B. White, P. Elmsley, T. y T. Payne, y J. Robson." La dedicatoria de Bowle en la primera está impresa, y en la segunda, grabada en cobre con

un paisaje y el escudo del Mecenas en la parte superior. Y el mapa, el prólogo a los índices y la lista de suscriptores se hallan colocados en distinto lugar, según que se trate de la tirada de Salisbury o la de Londres, como puede verse comparando la descripción de Rius con la presente.

Además de en la Nacional de Madrid, hay un ejemplar en la Pública de Nueva York y otro en la de Boston, colección de Ticknor. La de Bonsoms carece de él. Fitzmaurice-Kelly no menciona esta primera tirada.

54 LONDRES.—MDCCLXXXI.—En las Librerías de B. White, P. Elmsley, T. y T. Payne y J. Robson.—6 t. en 3 v. 4°.

Las otras cinco portadas llevan el pie de imprenta: "En Salisbury: En la Imprenta de Edvardo Easton. M. DCC. LXXXI." La anteportada única, que es la del primer tomo, dice: "Historia | del famoso Cavallero | Don Quixote de la Mancha: | por | Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. | Con | anotaciones, índices, y varias lecciones: | por el Reverendo | D. Juan Bowle, A. M. S. S. A. L. | En seis tomos. |

Segunda variedad de la edición de Bowle. El ejemplar de la *Hispanic* presenta discrepancias comparado con el de Rius (n°. 54, t. I, p. 45); por ello lo describimos, aunque someramente, a continuación.

El primero de los tres vol. en que se halla encuadernado contiene anteportada, portada, una hoja en cuyo anverso hay un grabadito que representa un paisaje y en el ángulo inferior izquierdo un escudo y las iniciales E. B. J.: Edward Basil Jupp, nombre que escrito con todas sus letras y seguido de la abreviatura F. S. A. (Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries [Miembro de la Sociedad de Anticuarios]) se encuentra debajo del grabado. Otra hoja, en cuya cara se lee la dedicatoria de John Bowle a the Right Honorable Francis Earl of Huntington grabada en cobre, como ya se ha manifestado, al pie de otro grabado en el que se ve el castillo y el escudo del Mecenas con la inscripción In. Veritate. Victoria. Sigue la dedicatoria de Cervantes al Duque de Bejar, prólogo, versos, texto de la primera parte y tabla, como en la primera tirada; pero entre las ps. 256 y 257, después del cap. XXVII y antes del XXVIII, hay otra portada, la del segundo tomo.

El vol. II consta de la hoja con el mismo grabadito que el I, portada: Anotaciones a la Historia de Don Quixote de la Mancha por el Reverendo D. Juan Bowle, A. M. S. S. A. L. . . . ; Prólogo del Editor, Autores citados . . . , Anotaciones a Don Quixote, (ps. 1-157), Anotaciones a Don Quixote, segunda parte (nueva paginación: 1-167); nueva portada: Indices de nombres propios, . . . , Subscribers, Prólogo a los índices, Abreviaturas, Palabras ilustradas, Indice de nombres propios, (entre la quinta y sexta hojas, el mapa de España y Africa), Indice de nombres propios . . . segunda parte, Indice de los nombres propios en entrambas partes, Indice de las palabras principales . . . segunda parte, Varias lecciones, Varias lecciones . . . segunda parte, Errata.

Y en el vol. III: portada: Historia del famoso Cavallero... Segunda parte. Tercero iomo, Dedicatoria al Conde de Lemos, Prólogo de Cervantes, una hoja con el grabadito descrito y el nombre Edward Basil Jupp. F. S. A., texto de la segunda parte y tabla. Entre las ps. 266 y 267, después del cap. XXXIII y antes del XXXIV se halla una nueva portada: segunda parte, quarto tomo.

Numeración y signaturas, las mismas de la primera tirada.

El hecho de aparecer las *Anotaciones* en el segundo volumen y el texto de la segunda parte del *Quijote* en el tercero, en lugar de viceversa, nos parece debido a equivocación del encuadernador.

Media encuadernación de piel antigua.

Consideramos a ésta como la segunda tirada por creer que en ella se corrigen los errores que aparecen en las portadas de la anterior, a consecuencia de su colocación equivocada por la división en cuatro tomos, pues la del vol. II dice *Primera parte*, cuando en realidad es la segunda, y las dos del vol. III (3° y 4° tomos) rezan Segunda parte, y se trata de las anotaciones e índices respectivamente. En la dividida en seis tomos no se halla ninguna de esas equivocaciones. Ya la Biblioteca Nacional, en su citado catálogo, puso la de Salisbury antes de la de Londres, aunque sin expresar la razón.

55 MADRID.—MDCCLXXXII.—Por Don Joachin Ibarra.—Nueva edicion corregida por la Real Academia Española.—4 v. 8°.

Segunda edición de la Academia. Reproducción en tamaño pequeño de la primera, excepto en lo que atañe a los asuntos de las láminas, que se variaron casi todos.

Autógrafo de George Ormsby, 1786. La Hispanic conserva otro ejemplar de la misma edición; pero sin láminas.

56 MADRID.—MDCCLXXXII.—Por D. Manuel Martin.—4 v. 8°.

Reimpresión de la edición de 1765 del propio Martin, sin la Vida de Cervantes de Mayáns. Y digo de la edición de 1765 y no de la de 1777, porque no se usaron ninguna de las reformas ortográficas de la última. Quixote volvió, pues, a escribirse con x.

57 MADRID.—MDCCLXXXVII.—En la Imprenta de la Academia. Por la Viuda de Ibarra, Hijos y Compañia.—6 v. 8°.

Tercera edición de la Academia. Ajustada a la segunda de 1782 sin más diferencia que haberse distribuído en seis tomos "para mayor comodidad de los lectores." Las mismas láminas; pero borrosas.

58 MADRID.—MDCCXCVII-VIII.—En la Imprenta Real.—6 v. 16°.

Los tres primeros tomos llevan la fecha de 1797 y los tres últimos, la de 1798. "Noticia de la Vida y de las Obras de Cervantes" [por D. Manuel J. Quintana.] Retrato de Cervantes por Juan López Enguídanos. Preciosas láminas. Primorosa edición. Primera en forma tan diminuta. Rius no hace mención de la fecha de los tres últimos tomos, que es un año posterior a la de los tres primeros

59 MADRID.—MDCCLXXXXVII-VIII.—Por D. Gabriel de Sancha.—5 v. 8° m.

Los tres primeros tomos de 1797 y los dos últimos de 1798. Excelente edición "corregida de nuevo, con nuevas notas, con nuevas estampas, con nuevo análisis, y con la vida de el autor nuevamente aumentada por D. Juan Anton o Pellicer." A la descripción de Rius hay que añadir que el tomo IV, o I de la parte segunda, tiene entre las ps. 244 y 245 una lámina plegada con la D. mostracion de la célebre Cueva de Montesinos (plano de planta y corte) y Vista exterior de la entrada, y entre las ps. 262 y 263, el plano geográfico (plegado) de las Lagunas de Ruidera. El tomo II no tiene 275 págs. como dice Rius, sino 318.

Otros dos ejemplares en la *Hispanic*, uno de ellos en papel inferior, lo que indica que no se hizo toda la tirada en papel de hilo, como manifiesta Rius (nº. 59), y con las márgenes muy recortadas. En el tomo cuarto de este último ejemplar y en la p. 430, donde se ha suprimido, como en otras ediciones, aquella frase del cap. XXXVI de la segunda parte que dice: "y advierta Sancho que las obras de caridad que se hacen tibia y flojamente no tienen mérito ni valen nada," hay una llamada y al margen la siguiente nota en lápiz: "Borrada aquí una buena y verdadera frase por el fanatismo torpe de un tonto." Parece letra de Gallardo(?).

60 MADRID.—MDCCLXXXXVII—VIII.—Por D. Gabriel de Sancha.—7 v. 8° m. Impreso en vitela.

Es la misma edición anterior, pero dividida en siete volúmenes, con portadas para cada uno, para lo cual se tiraron dos más, que no son sino repetición de las de los vol. IV y V de la precedente. Los tres primeros volúmenes son idénticos a los de aquélla. El IV termina en la pág. 302, en la que da fin el Cap. XXV de la parte segunda. El vol. V, después de la portada correspondiente, continúa la paginación del precedente, empezando en la pág. 303, donde da principio el Cap. XXVI de la segunda parte, y concluye en la p. 456, en la que finaliza el Cap. XXXIX. El vol. VI contiene los Cap. XL-LIX, acabando en la p. 238. Sigue la numeración en el vol. VII, desde la p. 239, a continuación de la portada, hasta la 483 y una más, la última, sin numerar.

Precioso ejemplar; uno de los seis únicos que se tiraron sobre vitela. Encuadernación primitiva en tafilete encarnado, corte dorado. Proviene de la biblioteca del Marqués y Señor de Liédena, y conserva el ex-libris blasonado de éste.

En la lista de suscritores publicada al final del quinto tomo de la edición corriente, se dice (p. 469) que el Infante D. Antonio se suscribió a dos ejemplares en vitela. La rica colección de Bonsoms no posee ninguno de esos rarísimos ejemplares. Rius vió uno en la Biblioteca del Real Palacio de Madrid y supo de otro que se vendió en París en mayo de 1882, en la venta de Lord Gosford. Fitzmaurice-Kelly⁸⁰ menciona un ejemplar de la Biblioteca

[™] Op. cit., p. 333.

de Grenville, hoy en el British Museum. ⁸¹ Y existe otro en la Nacional de Río de Janeiro. ⁸²

61 MADRID.—MDCCLXXXXVIII-MDCCC.—Por Don Gabriel de Sancha.—9 v. 12°.

Los tomos I y II son de 1798; III y IV, de 1799 (Parte primera); V, VI, VII y VIII, de 1799 (Parte segunda), y el IX de 1800, (Vida de Cervantes por Pellicer). Ilustrada con nuevas viñetas. Rius (nº. 60) no da la fecha del tomo IX, que es la de 1800.

a Catalogue . . . Cervantes, London, 1908, col. 9. La biblioteca de Lord Grenville fué donada al Museo Británico en 1846. Poseía catálogo impreso según cita del Bulletin du Bibliophile, Paris, Juin, 1857, p. 331.

Catálogo cit., nº 9, ps. 11-13.



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EDICIONES DE "DON QUIJOTE," DE LOS SIGLOS XVIII Y XIX, EN OTRA VITRINA DE LA EXPOSICIÓN.

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EDICIONES DEL SIGLO XIX

De éstas daremos únicamente una lista escueta de las que posee la biblioteca de la Sociedad Hispánica de América.

- 62 MADRID.—1804.—En la Imprenta de Vega.—6 v. 8°.
- 63 BURDEOS.—M. DCCCIV. Año XII.—En la Imprenta de Juan Pinard.
 —4 v. 8°.
- 64 BERLÍN.—1804-5.—Por Henrique Frölich.—6 v. 8°m.
- 65 MADRID.—1808.—Por la Viuda de Barco Lopez.—4 v. 8°.
- 66 BARCELONA.—1808-14.—En la Imprenta de Sierra y Martí.—6 v. 12°.
- 67 LEÓN.—1810.—En casa de Tournachon-Molin.—4 v. 8°. Dos ejemplares.
- 68 LONDON.—1814.—Expensas de Lackington, Allen y Co.—4 v. 12°.
- 69 PARÍS.—1814.—Por Bossange y Masson, y en Londres.—7 v. 8°.
- 70 BURDEOS.—1815.—En la Imprenta de Pedro Beaume.—4 v. 8°.
- 71 LEIPSIQUE.—MDCCCXVIII.—Por Juan Sommer.—6 v. 16°.
- 72 MADRID.—1819.—En la Imprenta Real. (4º ed. de la R. Acad. Esp.).
 —5 v. 8°.

El último vol. con la *Vida* de Cervantes por Navarrete, lleva el *ex-libris* de la "Librería de Fermín Caballero." La *Hispanic* posee otro ej. de este vol., de los que se imprimieron sueltos.

- 73 PARÍS.—1825.—Librería de Cormon y Blanc.84—4 v. 12°.
- 74 PARÍS.—1825.—Baudry y Teof. Barrois.—6 v. 16°m.
- 75 MADRID.—1826.—Imprenta de D. Miguel de Burgos.—2 v. 8°.
- 76 PARÍS.—1826.—Bossange padre. (En Obras escogidas).—6 v. 16°.
- 77 PARÍS.—1827.—Imprenta de Fermin Didot. (En Obras escogidas).—6 v. 16°. Notas por D. Agustín García Arrieta.
- 78 PARÍS.—1827—Imprenta de Julio Didot mayor.—1v. 32°.
- 79 PARÍS.—1827.—Librería de Cormon y Blanc. 4.—6 t. en 3 v. 12°.

⁸³ Rius (n⁶² 74 y 80, t. I, ps. 57 y 60) pone *Blanch* e igualmente el *Catalogo* de la Biblioteca Nacional (n⁶² 72 y 76, p. 29); pero se lee *Blanc* en los ejemplares de la *Hispanic* y en los facsímiles de las portadas de los de Bonsoms, en la *Iconografia* de Henrich (n⁶² 75 y 81).

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- 80 MADRID.—1829.—Imprenta de los hijos de Doña Catalina Piñuela. (En Obras escogidas).—4 v. 8° p.
- 81 MADRID.—1829.—Imprenta titulada Ramos y Compañia.—4 v. 8° p.
- 82 MADRID.—1831 (Mayo 28 de).—Imprenta de D. J. Espinosa.—4 v. 16°.
- 83 MADRID.—1832(Mayo de).—Imprenta que sue de Fuentenebro.—4 v. 12°.
- 84 PARÍS.—1832.—En casa de Baudry, librero.—7 v. 16°. Falta en la colección de Bonsoms.
- 85 BARCELONA.—1832 (Abril, Mayo, Junio de).—Imprenta de A. Bergnes y Comp.—6 v. 32°.
- 86 PARÍS.—1832.—Segunda Edición en miniatura por D. Joaquin Maria de Ferrer.—2 v. 32°.
- 87 zaragoza.—1832.—Imprenta de Polo y Monge, hermanos.—4 v. 8° p.

 No se halla en Rius. "El Ingenioso Hidalgo | Don Quijote | de la Mancha, | compuesto | por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. | . . .

 Zaragoza. | Imprenta de Polo y Monge, Hermanos. 1832."—Parte primera, tomo I: XXIV-328 ps.—Parte primera, tomo II: (sigue a paginación) 329-607.—Parte segunda, tomo III: XII-256 ps.—

 Parte segunda, tomo IV: (continúa la paginación) 257-659.—

 Hay cuatro láminas, dibujadas por Antonio Rodríguez, una delante de cada portada. Esta edición es reproducción de la de los mismos impresores de 1831.
- 88 BARCELONA.—1832-35.—Imprenta de la Viuda é Hijos de Gorchs.—6 v. 8° m.

Difiere del de Rius. La edición del Quijote consta de 4 vol. con la fecha de 1832. Luego, por separado, hay otro vol., cuya portada dice: "Andisis del Quijote, por . . . D. Vicente de los Ríos. Vida de . . . Cervante . . . por D. Martin Fernandez de Navarrete . . . Barcelona. Imprenta de la Viuda e hijos de Gorchs. Con licencia. 1834." Retrato de Cervantes grabado por Amills.—494 págs. Por último, en otro vol. se hallan las "Nuevas anotaciones" por D. V. Joaquin Bastús y Carrera, año de 1834, con paginación aparte para las anotaciones a cada uno de los cuatro tomos, y al final con nueva paginación y portada de 1835, el "Elogio de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra . . . " por D. José Mor de

- Fuentes.—44 ps.—Sigue: El Lenguaje. Romance. 2 ps. sin num.— Enmiendas. 1 p. sin n.
- 89 MADRID.—1833-39.—Comentado por Don Diego Clemencin.—En la oficina de D. E. Aguado.—6 v. 4°.

 Otro ejemplar encuadernado en 3 vol.
- 90 zaragoza.—1837.—Imprenta de Polo y Monge, hermanos.—2 v. 8° p.
- 91 BARCELONA.—M DCCC XXXIX-XL.—Imprenta de Antonio Bergnes y Compañia.— 2 v. 4°.
- 92 BARCELONA.—M DCCC XL.—Imprenta de Antonio Bergnes y Compañia.— 2 v. 4°.
- 93 MADRID.—1840.—Imprenta de la Venta pública.—(Los tomos III y IV en la "Imprenta del Establecimiento Central.")—4 v. 8°.
- 94 PARÍS.—1840.—Baudry, Librería Europea.—1 v. 8°. No se halla en la colección de Bonsoms.
- 95 BARCELONA.—1841.—Imprenta de J. Mayol y Compañia.—3 v. 8°.
- 96 MÉXICO.—M. DCCC. XLII.—Impreso por Ignacio Cumplido.—2 v. 8° dobl.
- 97 MADRID.—1844.—Imprenta de Don Alejandro Gomez Fuentenebro.—4 v. 12°.
- 98 MADRID.—1844.—Estab. Tipográfico, calle del Sordo, núm. 11. ("de D. Francisco de P. Mellado," en el tomo II).—2 v. 8°.
- 99 PARÍS.—1844.—Librería de Carlos Hingray.—1 v. 12º m.
- 100 BARCELONA.—1845.—Libreria de los SS. A. Pons y Ca.—6 t. en 3 v. 16°.
- 101 BARCELONA.—1845-46.—Imprenta de la Viuda é Hijos de Mayol.—3 v. 8°.
- 102 MADRID.—1846.—Imprenta . . . de M. Rivadeneyra y Comp. (Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, t. I, ps. 227-485).—1 v. 4°.
- 103 MADRID.—1847.—Imprenta y librería de Gaspar y Roig.—1 v. 4°.
- 104 MADRID.—1850.—Imprenta y librería de Gaspar y Roig.—1 v. 4°.
- 105 [MADRID.—1851?]—Biblioteca Universal. (Edición de Ferrer de los Ríos).—1 v. Fol.

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Al final hay una carta de Adolfo de Castro fechada en Cádiz a 7 de julio de 1851.

- 106 MADRID.—1853-54.—En casa del editor, calle de Preciados, núm. 68. ("Imprenta de D. José Repullés," en la vuelta de la portada). 4 v. 4° p.
- 107 SEVILLA.—1854-55.—Tena, hermanos, editores. Juan Moyano impresor.—2 v. 4°.
- 108 PARIS.—1855.—V° Baudry, Libreria Europea.(Obras, t. I.)—1 v. 8°. m.

Ex-libris de William J. Knapp, 1860 (\$2.63). La Hispanic conserva otro ejemplar con la portada de "El Ingenioso hidalgo, etc." y sin la de "Obras de Miguel de Cervantes," etc.

- 109 MADRID.—1855-56.—Establecimiento tipográfico de D. F. de P. Mellado.— 2 v. 4°.
- 110 MADRID.—1856.—Imprenta de José Rodríguez. (El Quijote para todos, abreviado.)—1 v. 8° m.

 Dos ejemplares.
- 111 MADRID.—1856.—Imprenta de José Rodríguez. (El Quijote de los niños y para el pueblo, abreviado.)—1 v. 8°.

No se halla en la bibliografía de Rius⁸⁴ ni en la biblioteca de Bonsoms. Hé aquí la portada: "El Quijote | de los niños y para el pueblo, | abreviado | por un entusiasta de su autor | Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. | [Viñeta.] | Madrid: | Imprenta de José Rodríguez, Factor, 9. | 1856."—VI-537 ps.—En el prólogo, el abreviador, que fué el mismo de la edición anterior, D. Fernando de Castro (y no Fernández de Castro, como dice por dos veces Henrich, n°. 127), expone: "En fé de ser verdad lo que decimos en el prólogo de El Quijote para todos, sale a luz este al mismo tiempo que aquel, no de cuerpo entero para los que estudian lo que leen, o para los que leen por gusto y pasatiempo, sino en boceto para los que comienzan a deletrear y han de llegar a leer . . . " "Y con esto,—añade—nos parece que realizamos, aunque con más celo que inteligencia, el deseo que tenía el distinguido literato Sr. D. Alberto Lista de acomodar a los niños el preciosísimo libro del Quijote, el único que, por su variedad, como él decía, puede fijar

³⁴ Si bien no ignoró su existencia, pues de ella habla al dar cuenta de la tercera edición (T. I, p. 83, n° 148).

- su inquietud." Y lleva la fecha: Madrid 21 de Junio de 1856. Esta es la primera edición. La segunda debe de ser de 1861, la tercera es de 1867 y la cuarta de 1870.—Existe ejemplar en la Biblioteca Nacional. V. Catálogo cit. nº 114, p. 34.
- 112 NUEVA-YORK.—1857.—Por D. Appleton y Compañia. 1 v. 8°.
- 113 MADRID-BARCELONA.—1859.—Librería de San Martin.—En el Plus Ultra. (A la vuelta de la portada: Barcelona.—Imp. de Narciso Ramírez. 1858.)—2 v. 8°.
- 114 BARCELONA.—1859.—Imprenta de Tomás Gorchs, editor.—2 v. Fol. m.
- 115 PARÍS.—s. a. [1860?]—Librería de Ch. Fouraut. (A la vuelta de la anteportada: Paris.—Imprimerie Charles Blot.)—1 v. 12°.
- 116 NUEVA-YORK.—1860.—D. Appleton y Compañía, 346 y 348 calle de Broadway.—1 v. 8°. m.

La advertencia del editor P.[edro] P. O.[rtiz] está fechada en: Nueva York, Setiembre de 1859. No son 14 las láminas, como dice Rius, guiándose, a lo que parece, por lo que expresa la portada, sino 15.

- 117 LEIPZIG.—1860.—F. A. Brockhaus.—2 v. 8°.

 Son los tomos III y IV de la "Colección de Autores Españoles" publicada por Brockhaus en Leipzig.
- 118 NUEVA YORK.—1861.—D. Appleton y Compañía, 443 y 445 calle de Broadway.—1 v. 8°. m.

Este ejemplar difiere del descrito por Asensio (Catál. Bibl. Cerv. 1883, n°. 42) en que no dice John Appleton, sino D. Appleton. Le falta el grabado del busto de Cervantes por Solá. Las láminas, que en esta edición sí son 14, no tienen leyenda y en su lugar llevan el número de la pág. a que corresponden con la palabra inglesa page (página). Todos los números están equivocados, pues en realidad, dichas láminas no pertenecen a esta edición española, sino a la inglesa de la misma casa editorial. La colección de Bonsoms carece de esta edición. Rius cita el ejemplar de Asensio al final de la descripción del n°. 133 (t. I, p. 76).

- 119 PARÍS.—1861.—Baudry, Librería Europea, Dramard-Baudry y C^a., Sucesores, Rue Bonaparte, 12.—1 v. 8° m.
 - Es el primero de las Obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.
- 120 MADRID.—1862.—Murcia y Martí, editores.—2 v. 8°.

- 121 MADRID.—1862-63.—En la Imprenta Nacional.—3 v. Fol.

 Rius dice "En la Imprenta Real," mas en el ejemplar de la Sociedad Hispánica se lee: "En la Imprenta Nacional," e igualmente en el de la Iconografía de Henrich y en el del Catalogo de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.
- 122 ARGAMASILLA DE ALBA.—1863.—Imprenta de Don Manuel Rivadeneyra.—4 v. 16°.
- 123 BARCELONA-MADRID.—[1863].—Sociedad Editorial La Maravilla. Librería Española.—1 v. 4°.
 - A la vuelta de la portada: Barcelona.-Imp. de Narciso Ramirez . . . 1863.
- 124 VALPARAISO.—1863.—Imprenta y librería del Mercurio de Santos Tornero. (Abreviado por un entusiasta del autor para el uso de los niños y de toda clase de personas.)—1 v. 8°.
- 125 ARGAMASILLA DE ALBA.—1863.—Imprenta de Don Manuel Rivadeneyra. (Obras, Madrid-Argamasilla de Alba. 1863-64, tomos III, IV, V y VI).—4 v. 4°.
- 126 MADRID.—1865.—Imprenta y librería de Gaspar y Roig, editores.—
 1 v. 4°.
- 127 LEIPZIG.—1866.—F. A. Brockhaus. (Colección de Autores Españoles de Brockhaus, tomos III y IV).—2 v. 8°.
- 128 MADRID.—1868.—Urbano Manini, editor.—(A·la vuelta de la portada: Imp. de Santos Larxé.)—2 v. 4°.
- 129 BOSTON-NEW YORK.—1868.—De Vries, Ibarra, y Ca.—Leypoldt y Holt.—George R. Lockwood. F. W. Christern.—2 v. 8°.
- 130 BARCELONA.—1869.—Librería de lance de Ramón Pujal, Bajada de Viladecols, número 2.—2 v. 8°.
 Difiere de la de Rius (n°. 152) en el nombre del editor. Henrich trae ambas (nos. 151 y 152). Son, pues, dos ediciones.
- 131 LONDRES.—1871.—Librería de Cassell, Petter, y Galpin.— (Al fin: Glasgow: En la Imprenta de Bell y Bain.)—1 v. 8°.
- 132 LONDRES.—s. a. [1871].—Librería de Cassell, Petter, y Galpin.—
 (Al fin: Glasgow: En la Imprenta de Bell y Bain).—1 v. 8°.

 Es la misma anterior, con una errata en la portada: Neuva edición por Nueva edición, y sin fecha.

- 133 BARCELONA.—MDCCCLXXI á LXXIII.—D. Francisco López Fabra (editor). Facsímile de la primera edición de Don Quijote. (Primera y segunda parte).—2 v. 4°.

 V. los números 1a y 12 a.
- 134 VALENCIA.—1872.—Librería de Pascual Aguilar. ("Imprenta de Vicente Daroqui," a la vuelta de la portada).—2 v. 8° p.
- 135 PARÍS.—1873.—Librería de Garnier Hermanos. ("Corbeil-Imprenta de Creté," a la vuelta de la anteportada y al fin).—1 v. 8°m.
- 136 LEIPZIG.—1874.—F. A. Brockhaus. (Colección de Autores Españoles de Brockhaus, t. III y IV).—2 v. 8°.
- 137 PARÍS.—s. a. [1875].—Baudry, Librería Europea, Mme. Dramard-Baudry, sucesor, 3, Quai Voltaire, 3. (Obras, tomo primero).— 1 v. 8° m.

Rius manifiesta (n°. 161) que el último pliego se acabó de tirar a 31 de agosto de 1875.—A la vuelta de la anteportada: "París.—Imprenta Arnous de Rivière y Ca, calle Racine, 26." Dos portadas; primera: Obras de Cervantes, y segunda: El ingenioso hidalgo, etc.—12 láminas, que son las mismas de la ed. de Baudry de 1855.

- 138 MADRID.—1875.—Biblioteca Universal Ilustrada, Plaza de la Armería, número 4.— 2 v. Fol.
- 139 BARCELONA.—MDCCCLXXV-VI.—Imprenta y librería religiosa y científica del heredero de D. Pablo Riera.—2 v. Fol. m.

No está en Rius, pero sí en Henrich (nº. 162) y en el Cat. de la Biblioteca Nacional (nº. 140). Edición de lujo. Tomo primero, 1875; XIV-400 ps.—Tomo segundo, 1876; V-452 ps.—Dibujos de Gustavo Doré, grabados por H. Pisan.

- 140 BARCELONA.—1876.—Imprenta de L. Obradors y P. Sulé.—2 tomos en 1 v. Fol.
 - Difiere del de Rius (n°. 165) en que el tomo II es, como el I, de 1876 y no de 1877.
- 141 CÁDIZ.—1876-79.—Tip. La Mercantil, de D. José R. y Rodríguez.— Bajo la dirección de D. Ramón León Máinez.—5 v. 8° m.
- 142 SEVILLA.—1877.—Imp. y Lib. de José G. Fernández, Génova 29.—
 1 v. 8°.

Rius no la menciona. Henrich sí (nº. 169). Es "El Quijote de los niños," sexta edición con grabados, de 632 ps. marcada la última 232 por error.

143 MADRID.—[1877-79].—C. Palacios, hermanos, editores. (Biblioteca de la Infancia).—2 v. 12°.

Falta a la biblioteca de Bonsoms.

144 SEVILLA.—[1877-79].—Librería de José G. Fernández. ("Imp. Lázaro Maroto . . . Madrid.—1877," a la vuelta de la anteportada de la 1ª parte. "Imp. de Diego Pacheco . . . —Madrid.—1879," a la vuelta de la anteportada de la 2ª parte.)—2 v. 12°.

Rius no la cita. Se halla en Henrich y en el Cat. de la Bibl. Nacional. Vol. I: 350 ps. y 2 sin n. de Indice. Vol. II: 420 ps. y 4 sin n. de Indice. Retrato de Cervantes y cromolitografías. Edición abreviada, que forma parte de la "Biblioteca de la Infancia." Es la misma de Madrid de igual fecha de C. Palacios, con distintas portadas.

- 145 PARÍS.—1878.—Librería de Garnier hermanos.—1 v. 8°m.
- 146 NEW YORK.—1878.—D. Appleton and Company, 549 & 551 Broadway.—1 v. 8°.

Rius describe una de 1879; pero no ésta, que difiere únicamente en la fecha. Falta a la colección de Bonsoms.

- 147 PARÍS.—1879.—Librería de Garnier hermanos.—1 v. 12°. m.
- 148 SEVILLA.—1879.—Francisco Alvarez y Ca., impresores de Cámara de S. M. y de SS. AA. RR.—1 v. 16°.
- 149 BARCELONA.—[1879].—Biblioteca ilustrada de Espasa y Compañía, editores.—2 v. Fol. m.

Del ejemplar descrito por Rius al nº 174, difiere en el pie de imprenta del primer tomo únicamente. Espasa y Compañía en vez de Espasa, hermanos. El del segundo tomo dice Espasa, hermanos, como en Rius.

- 150 MADRID.—1879.—Imprenta y librería de Gaspar, editores. (Biblioteca Ilustrada de Gaspar y Roig).—1 v. 4°.
- 151 BARCELONA.—MDCCCLXXX.—Imprenta y librería religiosa y científica del heredero de D. Pablo Riera.—1 v. Fol. m.
- 152 MADRID.—1880.—Moya y Plaza, libreros y editores, calle de Carretas, núm. 8.—2 v. 16°.
 Ejemplar núm. 10.
- 153 BARCELONA.—MDCCCLXXX-LXXXIII.—Montaner y Simón, editores.—4 v. Fol. m.

Esta hermosa edición fué dirigida por D. Nicolás Díaz de Benjumea.

Portada en rojo y negro. Es uno de los ejemplares en papel apergaminado. Está dividido en cuatro volúmenes en vez de dos, con sus respectivas portadas.

- 154 BARCELONA.—1881.—Imprenta de Luis Tasso Serra.—1 vol. 8º m.
- 155 BARCELONA.—1881.—Administración: Nueva de San Francisco, núms. 11 y 13.—2 v. 8° m.

Portada en rojo y negro. De la "Biblioteca amena é instructiva."

- 156 LEIPZIG.—1882.—F. A. Brockhaus.—2 volúmenes en 8°.
- 157 BARCELONA.—1882.—Establecimiento tipográfico de Salvador Manero.—2 tomos en 1 vol. Fol.
- 158 PARÍS.—1882.—Librería de Garnier Hermanos.—1 volumen en 12° m.
- 159 BARCELONA.—1883.—Administración: Nueva de San Francisco, núms. 11 y 13.—2 v. 8° m.
 Portada en rojo y negro.
- 160 VALLADOLID.—1883.—Imprenta de F. Santarén, Fuente Dorada, núm. 27.—(Compendio).—1 folleto 4°.

"Historia | en compendio | de la vida y hechos del Ingenioso Hidalgo | Don Quijote de la Mancha." En la parte superior de la portada: "(5 pliegos.) "y debajo un tosco grabado que representa la escena de la aventura de los molinos de viento. Es un folleto de 39 pags. en el que un autor anónimo abrevia el Quijote, reduciéndolo a siete(!) capítulos y modificándolo a su antojo. Empieza así: "En Argamasilla de Alba, lugar de la Mancha situado en los confines del campo de Montiel, no lejos del rio Guadiana, vivía un pobre hidalgo llamado Quijada 6 Quesada, 6 segun otros Quijana." Hé aquí cómo explica el abreviador su desaguisado literario: "Al lector: Siendo la historia de D. Quijote bastante dilatada, y por consiguiente no poder [sic] comprarla muchos aficionados á la lectura, me ha parecido conveniente extractarla, reduciéndola á pocos pliegos, para que por un precio equitativo pueda cualquiera lograr algun conocimiento de lo que es esta obra." Hay tres grabados tosquísimos intercalados en el texto.

Rius debió de ignorar la existencia de este compendio, pues de otra manera lo habría mencionado siquiera para vituperarlo.

- 161 BARCELONA.—1884.—Administración: Nueva de San Francisco, 11 y 13.—2 v. 8°.
- 162 PALENCIA.—1884.—Administración, Zapata, 11.—2 volúmenes en 4°.

El primer volumen es la primera parte del Quijote, "nueva edición con notas sobre el texto, del puño y letra del autor, en el ejemplar prueba de corrección de la 1ª edición de 1605, único ejemplar conocido." Difiere del descrito por Rius al nº. 189, en el pie de imprenta, y en que a la vuelta de la portada dice: "Es propiedad de D. Feliciano Ortego Aguirrebeña, quien perseguirá ante la ley al que la reimprima. = Véndese en Palencia, Zapata, 11; y en la imprenta y librería de Peralta, Plaza Mayor, 5." La portada del segundo volumen dice: "Pruebas de la restauración de la primera edicion del Quijote de 1605, por Feliciano Ortego. . . . Esta edicion, copia exacta de aquella, forma un tomo que precede á este. . . . Palencia. Imp. de Tiburcio Martinez.— Mayor pral., 51.—1883."

La Hispanic Society posee otra edición, o reimpresión, sin fecha, no citada por Rius, que no es el texto de Don Quijote, sino el de las "pruebas de la restauración" por Ortego, con la siguiente portada: "La restauración del Quijote. Estudio comparativo de varias ediciones y sus respectivas notas con un ejemplar de la de 1605 impresa por Juan de la Cuesta que contiene anotaciones, acotaciones y correcciones de puño y letra de Cervantes en los márgenes y cuerpo de la impresión, por Feliciano Ortego. Palencia." A la vuelta dice: "Esta edición ó reimpresión está autorizada por el autor y dueño de la obra D. Feliciano Ortego." Siguen cinco hojas con la reproducción en facsímile de otras tantas, como muestra, del ejemplar primitivo de que se trata, que no es otra cosa, como demostró Menéndez y Pelayo, sino uno de la segunda edición de Cuesta de 1605 con notas y correcciones manuscritas por un lector vulgar de aquella época. A continuación va el "Prólogo de la primera edición," y el texto, que es idéntico al de aquélla. (VIII-840 ps.) Las pruebas del craso error en que cayó el Sr. Ortego, se hallarán expuestas por Rius (Bibliogr. t. I. nº. 189, ps. 94-96 y t. II, n°. 326, ps. 210-212), por Menéndez y Pelayo (en la misma obra de Rius, t. II, ps. 212-215) y por Asensio (prólogo a la edición de Don Quijote de Barcelona, F. Seix, 1898). Véase tam-

- bién Fitzmaurice-Kelly (*Introduction to Don Quixote*. . . Translated by J. Ormsby. Glasgow, 1901, vol. I, p. xviii, nota 4), y Cortejón (edición crítica, t. I, 1905, p. XXXIV).
- 163 PARÍS.—1884.—Librería de Garnicr hermanos.—1 volumen 8° m. No se halla en Rius. Es reimpresión de la de 1878, de la misma casa editorial.
- 164 ZARAGOZA.—1885.—Tip. Comas, Hermanos. (Biblioteca de publicaciones microscópicas).—4 v. 32°.
- 165 PARÍS.—1885.—Librería de Ch. Bouret, 23 rue Visconti, 23. México, 14, Cinco de Mayo, 14.—1v. 8°.

Rius no la inserta. La portada dice: "El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote, etc. Edicion arreglada para la juventud por F. S." A la vuelta de la portada: "Braine-le-Comte (Belgica). Imp. Ch. Bouret."—178 ps.—En una advertencia "A los lectores" manifiesta El Editor que este libro "no es un resúmen del Quijote, sino el texto original abreviado y arreglado para el mayor recreo y provecho de los jóvenes." La primera parte se ha reducido a diez capítulos, y a trece la segunda.

166 NUEVA-YORK.—1885.—D. Appleton y Compañía, 1, 3 y 5 Bond Street.—1v. 8° m.

Rius no vió esta edición; mas, por noticia de Asensio, la incluyó en la addenda primera (t. I, p. 382, nº 1061). Bonsoms no la posee.

167 MADRID.—1885-86.—Imp: de La Correspondencia de España.—4 vol. 16°.

En la parte superior de la portada dice: "Biblioteca de La Correspondencia.—Regalo á sus suscritores.—Homenaje al Príncipe de los Ingenios Españoles." Y después del título: "Editor: M. M. de Santa Ana. Director: A. Sánchez Moguel." Los dos primeros tomos llevan la fecha de 1885 y los dos últimos, la de 1886. Rius (nº 192) da sólo el año de 1886.

- 168 MADRID.—1887.—Agustín Jubera, editor.—1 volumen 4°. Portada en rojo y negro.
- 169 MADRID.—1887.—Establecimiento tipográfico de José Góngora.— 2 v. 8°.
- 170 MADRID.—1887.—Administración, calle de San Rafael, número 9, barrio de Pozas.—Felipe González Rojas, editor.—2 v. Fol. Portada en rojo y negro.

- 171 BARCELONA.—1888.—Administración: Nueva de San Francisco, 11 y 13. (Biblioteca Salvatella).—2 v. 8°.
- 172 SEVILLA.—1888-89.—Tip. de C. de Torres. Farnesio núm. 1.—Editores Torres é Hijo, Jáuregui 18.—2 v. 8°.

La portada del tomo I lleva la fecha de 1888; pero la cubierta del mismo, la de 1889. Cubierta y portada del t. II dicen 1889. En ambas cubiertas se lee: "Cuarta edición corregida por la Academia," (que es la que se tomó por modelo) y al pie: "Tip. de Cárlos de Torres y Daza." En una hoja que precede a la portada, dentro de una orla y con letra gótica: ". . . Un deber de gratitud nos obliga á hacer constar (dicho sea con perdon de su modestia) que al excelentísimo señor don Manuel Perez de Guzman, marqués de Xerez de los Caballeros, debemos no sólo el acierto en la edicion copiada, sino la cesion de ella para el fin que nos propusimos y que, gracias á su desprendimiento vemos hoy realizado. . . ." Tomo I: 324 ps., preliminares, primera parte hasta el cap. XXVII inclusive, notas y observaciones e índice; tomo II: 343 ps. con los veinticinco caps. restantes de la primera parte, notas y observaciones e índice. Parece que no se publicó la segunda parte. Ejemplar encuadernado en pergamino. Rius añade esta edición sin describirla en la addenda primera, (t. I, p. 382, nº 1063) con la fecha de 1889, y con la nota: Biblioteca de Asensio.

- 173 LEIPZIG.—1891.—F. A. Brockhaus. (Colección de Autores Españoles, tomo tercero).—1 v. 8°.
 - Falta la segunda parte. Es reimpresión de la de 1882 del mismo editor. No la nombra Rius ni figura en la biblioteca de Bonsoms.
- 174 NUEVA-YORK.—1891.—D. Appleton y Compañía.—1 volumen 8°. Tampoco figura en la obra de Rius ni en la colección de Bonsoms.
- 175 VALENCIA.—1892.—Terraza, Aliena y Compa, editores.—2 vol. 8° m.
- 176 BARCELONA.—1892.—Imprenta particular de C. Gorchs.—6 vol. 4°.

 Portada en rojo y negro. Rius, t. I, Addenda 1°, p. 383, n° 1069, dice 1892-95.
- 177 PARÍS.—1893.—Librería de Garnier hermanos.—1 volumen 12º m. No llegó a conocimiento de Rius. Es reimpresión de la de 1882 de la misma casa.
- 178 BARCELONA.—1895.—Librería de M. Maucci, conde del Asalto, 8.—1 v. 4°.

Al fin está agregada La Gitanilla, precedida del Prologo de las Novelas Ejemplares.

179 SEVILLA.—[1895.]—Edición especial para los suscritores de El Tribuno.—Imprenta, Amor de Dios 35.—1 v. 4°.

684 ps. Texto a dos columnas. Suprimidos los preliminares. Pésimo papel. No está en Rius, y ésta es la última edición del *Quijote* respecto a la cual podemos referirnos a la obra del eminente bibliógrafo de Cervantes, pues hasta esta fecha, 1895, llega su bibliografía. Por consiguiente, ninguna de las ediciones que siguen se hallan en la *Bibliografía crítica de las obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*.

- 180 BARCELONA.—1897.—Por Montaner y Simón. Editores.—Edición facsímile de las impresas en 1608 y 1615.—2 v. 4°.
 V. los números 8a y 12b.
- 181 zaragoza.—1898-99.—Tipografía de "La Derecha," San Miguel, núm. 12.—4 tomos en 2 v. 8°.

En la parte superior de la portada: Biblioteca de LA DERECHA. Vol. I: tomo 1°, 375 ps., portada del tomo 2°, 260 ps. Vol. II: tomo 3°, 394 ps., portada del tomo 4°, 266 ps. Los tres primeros tomos son de 1898 y el último, de 1899. Papel muy inferior. Se publicó en el folletín del periódico de Zaragoza La Derecha. Existe también ejemplar en la Biblioteca Nacional.

182 EDIMBURGO-LONDRES.—1898-99.—Impreso por T. y A. Constable.
Impresores de Cámara de Su Majestad.—David Nutt, editor.—
2 v. 4°.

Tomo I: Anteportada: Don Quixote | de la Mancha | Primera Edición del texto restituido | Con Notas y una Introducción | por | Jaime Fitzmaurice-Kelly | C. de la Real Academia Española | y Juan Ormsby | —Portada en negro y rojo: Primera Parte | El Ingenioso Hidalgo | Don Quixote | de la Mancha | compuesto por | Miguel de Cervantes | Saavedra | [Escudo: Firma pererrat aquas et constabilitar evado.] | Edimburgo | Impreso por T. y A. Constable | Impresores de Cámara de Su Majestad. | David Nutt, editor. | Londres | 1898 | —3ª hoja: Al señor don Guillermo Ernesto Henley ilustre poeta y crítico se dedica esta edición del Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha en prenda de cariñoso reconocimiento.—Tabla de materias, tabla de los capítulos, Introducción por Jaime Fitzmaurice-Kelly y Juan Ormsby. Posdata

por Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Tabla de la relación entre las principales ediciones de la primera parte de *Don Quixote*. Abreviaturas, lx págs. *Don Quixote*, prel. y texto de la 1ª parte, con notas 510 págs. —Tomo II: Segunda parte. 1899. Anteportada, portada, tabla de materias, tabla de los capítulos, abreviaturas, xiii ps. *Don Quixote*, prel. y texto de la 2ª parte, con notas, 556 ps. Tirada de 400 ejemplares. Número 3. Intonso. Encuadernación medio tafilete. En la cubierta de tela roja, el escudo de España dorado. Se tiraron 25 ejemplares en papel japonés.

El mérito e importancia de esta edición nos impelen a detenernos en ella. "En esta edición de Don Quixote-dicen los editores literarios en la Introducción—hemos procurado presentar el texto limpio de las arbitrarias alteraciones introducidas por nuestros antecesores . . . imprimiendo integramente el texto de la primera edición, salvo patentes errores de imprenta, añadiendo en las notas las variantes de más importancia y rechazando toda enmienda conjetural cuando nos parece que el texto primitivo expresa mejor la intención del autor." Y después de razonadas v concluyentes observaciones para probar que Cervantes no tuvo intervención alguna en las variantes de la segunda edición de Cuesta de 1605, ni en las de la tercera del mismo impresor de 1608, mejoras que achacan al editor Robles, indicando el método arbitrario del mismo, y "su doctrina invariable de creer que todo lo que no entendía él era error de Cervantes o del cajista," llegan a la conclusión de que esas alteraciones "deben mirarse como destituídas de autoridad," al igual de las de las otras ediciones primitivas, y "deben recibirse o rechazarse sólo por mérito propio, como enmiendas conjeturales." Y resumen de la siguiente manera: "(1) La editio princeps de Madrid de 1605 es la base del texto.—(2) La presente edición ha sido cotejada con las de Valencia de 1605, Bruselas de 1607, Madrid de 1605, 1608 y 1637, y con las reimpresiones madrileñas de 1647, 1652 y 1668. No consideramos las ediciones de Bruselas de 1611 y 1617 sino como reproducciones serviles de la publicada en la misma ciudad en 1607. Las dos ediciones lisbonenses de 1605 son simplemente reimpresiones de pacotilla, mientras que la edición milanesa de 1610 es sólo una copia mecánica de la valenciana de 1605. La relación entre las principales ediciones de la Primera Parte va señalada en el apéndice.-(3) Hemos considerado con el respeto debido las lecciones san-

cionadas por la Academia en sus ediciones de 1780 y 1819, y las propuestas por Bowle, Pellicer, Clemencín, Hartzenbusch y D. Ramón León Máinez.—(4) Siempre que hay posibilidad razonable para creer que Cervantes escribió lo que aparece impreso en la editio princeps, rechazamos toda enmienda.—(5) Cuando nos ha parecido indispensable una corrección adoptamos la más sencilla entre todas las posibles, dando preferencia a la que implica el menor cambio de palabras o de letras, pues cabe entonces más fácilmente el suponer que se trata de un simple error de lectura debido a inadvertencia del cajista.—(6) Las variantes de importancia están indicadas en las notas: de las meras erratas de imprenta no hacemos caso." . . . (11) Imprímense los pasajes interpolados en apéndices al fin del capítulo en donde se hizo la interpolación.—(12) Las notas editoriales, tan pocas y breves como nos ha sido posible hacerlas, van entre corchetes []." Eso es lo principal. En lo que respecta a la Segunda Parte "no cabe discusión sobre la autoridad del texto," y siguen el de la primera edición de 1615.

En una *Posdata* a la *Introducción*, da cuenta el Sr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly de la muerte de su colaborador, el Sr. Ormsby, dejándole a aquél solo en la tarea de arreglar el texto. "Los primeros veinte y cinco capítulos—añade—los revisamos él y yo, y como quiera que ellos constituyen una de las mayores dificultades de nuestra empresa, me felicito de haber logrado tal ayuda. Por consiguiente, su nombre figura aquí con el mío como editor."

Después de la Introducción hay una tabla de la relación entre las principales ediciones de la primera parte de Don Quijote, sumamente clara e ingeniosa, especie de árbol genealógico-bibliográfico del texto. La nota que se halla al pie es digna de copiarse. Dice así: "Las impresiones de Hartzenbusch (Argamasilla de Alba, 1863) y de D. Ramón León Máinez (Cádiz, 1877), aunque nominalmente fundadas en la primera edición, adoptan las lecciones de la tercera madrileña de 1608. Las adoptan, a pesar de que los editores niegan que Cervantes tuviese alguna intervención en ella."

Esta edición es, por todos conceptos, de gran valor. Ya la elogiaron debidamente Valera^{84a} y Menéndez y Pelayo, y Foulché-^{84a} V. La Ilustración Española y Americana, Madrid, Agosto 15 de 1898.

Delbosc asevera que los editores han restituido verdaderamente el texto de *Don Quijote* y que ninguna reimpresión podrá, en lo adelante, prescindir de la de los Sres. Fitzmaurice-Kelly y Ormsby. Tan es así, que D. Clemente Cortejón, que la censuró un tanto, la tuvo muy presente en su edición crítica del *Quijote*.

Bonilla y San Martín dijo: "Es, hasta el presente [1904], la mejor edición de la gran obra de Cervantes." (Anales de la Literatura Española, Madrid, 1904, p. 245, n. 2). "No sólo por el esmero tipográfico, sino por la escrupulosidad y buen criterio con que está depurado el texto." (Nota del propio Bonilla y San Martín en su traducción de la Historia de la Literatura Española por Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Madrid, [1901], p. 2.)

Véanse con respecto a la edición de que tratamos: R. Foulché-Delbosc, Revue Hispanique, Paris, t. VII, 1900, ps. 546-550; L de la Tejerina, Revista crítica de historia y literatura, Madrid, t. IV, 1899, ps. 481-483; Cortejón, Don Quijote, primera edición crítica, t. I, 1905, ps. LVIII, LXIV, CXLII-CXLIV, CXLVI y CXLVII; t. II, 1906, ps. XXV-XXVIII y XXXI, y t. III, 1907, ps. VIII y XXXI; Jacinto Octavio Picón, en Los Lunes de "El Imparcial," Dic. 19, 1898; Dr. Herman Oelsner, The Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature, London, April, 1899, vol. I, ps. 293-295, y Prof. Hugo A. Rennert, Modern Language Notes, Baltimore, Nov. 1900, vol. XXV, cols. 423-427.



EDICIONES DEL SIGLO XX

- 183 MADRID.—1901.—Saturnino Calleja.—(Biblioteca Perla: XX).—1v. 4°.
- 184 [NEW YORK.—1905].—The Hispanic Society of America.—[The De Vinne Press].—1 v. 4°.
 - Edición facsímile de la primera de Cuesta de 1605 de la primera parte. (V. nº. 1b.)
- 185 [NEW YORK.—1905].—The Hispanic Society of America.—[The De Vinne Press].—1v. 4°.
 - Edición facsímile de la segunda de Cuesta de 1605 de la primera parte. (V. n°. 5a.)
- 186 [NEW YORK.—1905].—The Hispanic Society of America.—[The De Vinne Press].—1 v. 4°.
 - Facsímile de la primera edición de la segunda parte, de Cuesta de 1615. $(V. n^{\circ}. 12 c)$.
- 187 MADRID.—1905.—Imprenta de los hijos de M. G. Hernández. (Reducido y compulsado por D. Eduardo Vincenti.).—2a ed.—1 v. 8°.

De 472 ps. y 3 h. de índice. La cubierta dice: "El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha. El Libro de las Escuelas. Reducción de la obra inmortal de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Primera edición del *Quijote*: 1605. Segunda edición. Madrid, etc. 1905." Y la portada: "El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha compuesto por Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Reducido y compulsado por D. Eduardo Vincenti, Consejero de Instrucción pública. Madrid, etc. 1905."

En el Prologo de esta edición el Sr. Vincenti presenta a Cervantes "ante la ciencia pedagógica, porque Cervantes no hizo otra cosa que enseñar, y enseñar con inspirado y perfecto método, con las magias y con los donaires de los grandes maestros." "El Quijote—añade—debiera ser el libro de las escuelas." "Se han insertado íntegros—escribe en las Últimas notas, p. 472,—los epígrafes de algunos capítulos, en los cuales ha sido forzoso acometer lamentables mutilaciones, ya por lo espinoso de la acción, ya por la libertad del léxico, aun a riesgo de incurrir en lagunas e incongruencias.



COLECCIÓN CERVANTINA

Otros capítulos han desaparecido de esta edición para no causar a los niños un inevitable cansancio."

A continuación del prólogo va una corta y clara biografía de Cervantes, por D. Clemente Cortejón.

Al texto se le han puesto algunas notas sacadas de las ediciones de Pellicer, Arrieta, Hartzenbusch, etc. y unas cuantas del propio Vincenti. Va ilustrado con el retrato de Cervantes, siete láminas y la carta geográfica de los viajes de D. Quijote y sitios de sus aventuras, tomado todo ello de varias ediciones anteriores.

188 MADRID.—1905-1913.—Victoriano Suárez, editor.—[Tipografía La Académica, Barcelona.]—(Edición crítica por D. Clemente Cortejón).—6 v. 4°m.

Tomo I, 1905: CLXVII-308 ps.—Anteportada. Portada: El Ingenioso Hidalgo | Don Quijote | de la Mancha | compuesto por | Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra | Primera edición crítica | con variantes, notas, y el diccionario de todas las palabras usadas | en la inmortal novela por D. Clemente Cortejón Director y Catedrático de Historia de la Literatura en el Instituto general y técnico de Barcelona | 1605[Copia del escudo de Cuesta.]1905 | Madrid | Victoriano Suárez, editor. 48, Preciados, 48. (En negro y rojo).—4ª hoja: "A los admiradores de Cervantes, en prenda de comunidad de ideas y de afectos, C. C."-Introducción por Clemente Cortejón, Barcelona a 23 de Abril de 1905. Ediciones consultadas. El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha.— Preliminares. Advertencia preliminar sobre la dedicatoria.— Primera parte: Caps. I-XIV con variantes y notas.—Indice. Advertencia. Lista de las subscripciones. Colofón: "Este tomo se acabó de imprimir en Barcelona, en la Tipografía La Académica, de Serra hermanos y Russell, el día 25 de Abril del año de 1905."

Tomo II, 1906: LXXXVIII-410 ps.—En la portada se añade al Sr. Cortejón el título de Correspondiente de la Real Academia Española, que ésta le otorgó después de la publicación del primer tomo de la presente edición crítica, como premio a su labor.—Observaciones generales, por Clemente Cortejón, de Barcelona a 25 de Mayo de 1906. Ediciones consultadas. Primera parte del Ingenioso Hidalgo. Caps. XV-XXXII. Indice. Lista de las subscripciones. Colofón: "Este tomo se acabó de imprimir en Barcelona, en la Tipografía La Académica, de Serra hermanos y Russell, el 26 de Mayo del año de 1906."

Tomo III, 1907: LXXXIV-390 ps. Observaciones generales. Ediciones consultadas. Primera parte. Caps. XXXIII-LII. Indice. Lista de las subscripciones. Colofón: "Este tomo se acabó de imprimir . . . el 30 de Agosto del año de 1907."

Tomo IV, 1909: LXIV-380 ps. Introducción. Ediciones consultadas. Segunda parte: Preliminares y texto con variantes y notas: Caps. I-XXIII. Indice. Lista de las subscripciones. Colofón: "Este tomo se acabó de imprimir . . . el 31 de Mayo del año de 1909."

Tomo V, 1911: XXIV-516 ps. Variantes del capítulo XLV. Ediciones consultadas. Segunda parte: Caps. XXIV-L. Indice. Colofón: "Este tomo se acabó de imprimir . . . el 16 de Marzo del año de 1911."

Tomo VI, 1913: XX-548 ps. En la portada se agrega: Continuada por Juan Givanel Mas y Juan Suñé Benajes. Retrato de Cortejón y facsímile de su firma. Advertencia preliminar por J. Givanel Mas, Barcelona, 31 de Diciembre de 1912. Ediciones consultadas. Segunda parte: Caps. LI-LXXIV. Indice. Colofón: "Este tomo se acabó de imprimir . . . el 30 de Junio del año de 1913."

Ya hemos hablado del trabajo de Cortejón en lo tocante a la historia del texto y a sus descubrimientos bibliográficos y de discrepancias, en nuestra historia bibliográfica de la edición príncipe de Don Quijote (V. nº. 1), y en las anotaciones a los nos. 3, 6, 8, 9, 13 y 15. Ahora trataremos únicamente de describir el contenido del "monumento más importante dedicado a la memoria del Príncipe de los Ingenios," al decir de un entendido maestro en cervantismo, según cita de Givanel, según frase de éste mismo: "el mejor y más amplio comentario que referente al Quijote se ha hecho en España, "se y remitimos al lector para lo que atañe al valor intrínseco de la labor de Cortejón, al análisis crítico que de la misma ha hecho el mencionado Sr. Givanel en su citado artículo: Una edición crítica del "Quijote," Madrid, 1907, 19 ps.; a la crítica (extremadamente severa) del Sr. Morel-Fatio, se en su folleto Cervantes et le troisième Centenaire du "Don

Una edición crítica del "Quijote." Ateneo, Madrid, Sept. 1907, p. 16.
 Op. et loc. cit.

en Cortejón se defiende de las censuras de Morel-Fatio en el t. II, ps. IX, XI, XLV y s.

Quichotte," Brunswick, 1906, ps. 13-16; a la noble defensa hecha por mi admirado amigo el Sr. Bonilla y San Martín en su estudio Los Bancos de Flandes publicado en la revista Ateneo, (Madrid, Enero-Junio, 1910, ps. 12-26). Entre otras cosas, dice el Sr. Bonilla que la obra de Cortejón es un "trabajo enorme, ciclópeo, imponderable" (p. 12) y que "no solamente es la 'primera edición crítica', sino la más completa." (p. 13). Finalmente, véase el artículo del Sr. Rodríguez Marín, intitulado Sobre el "Quijote" de Cortejón, que vió la luz en el periódico A B C, Madrid, 24 de Julio de 1909.

En la extensa Introducción del primer tomo de la edición crítica. después de entonar un cántico en honor de Cervantes y de su novela inmortal, trata Cortejón del Diccionario del "Don Ouijote" y da una muestra excelente con el artículo Echar que abarca ocho colum-E infortunada casualidad: lo primero de que trató y que dejó para lo último, no lo realizó, pues la muerte detuvo su pluma. y sus continuadores no se han sentido con fuerzas bastantes para componer "el diccionario de todas las palabras usadas en la inmortal novela" como reza la portada.88 Habla luego del Manuscrito del Don Quijote, como paso previo para formar la Historia del texto que va a continuación, con datos bibliográficos, en los que, además de los ya conocidos, da algunos nuevos y confirma definitivamente otros, como resultado de sus investigaciones y cotejos. Tales son los que hemos señalado en los números 1, 3, 6, 8, 9, 13 y 15. En lo que toca a la fijación del texto dice: "De esta trilogía [las tres ediciones de Cuesta: las dos de 1605 y la de 1608] arranca el punto de partida para la fijación del texto; problema, pues aun está la cuestión por resolver, que se plantea aquí con mayor número de datos con que se ha planteado hasta el presente." (Pág. LXXXII). Y luego en las Observaciones críticas (p. CXLII) añade: "el sistema ecléctico, no servirá acaso para resolver por modo infalible un punto

⁸⁰ Según tengo entendido, en 1916 se desistió de publicar el *Diccionario*; no obstante, en un catálogo, recibido posteriormente, sin fecha, de la Librería de Victoriano Suárez, se anuncia lo siguiente: "Esta obra constará de ocho tomos, seis de texto y notas . . . y dos de Diccionario. Están publicados seis tomos que comprende el Quijote . . . En prensa el tomo I del Diccionario." Mas desde 1913, año del tomo VI, hasta la fecha, no ha visto la luz ningún otro tomo. D. Julio Cejador publicó en 1906 un *Diccionario de la lengua castellana en El Ingenioso Hidaldo . . .*, que constituye el 2°. tomo de *La Lengua de Cervantes*. (Tomo I: Gramática. Madrid, 1905. Tomo II: Diccionario y comentario. 1906).

controvertido; pero sí, al menos, para tranquilizar el ánimo con la idea de poder elegir, entre varias, la lección que consiente menor número de objeciones." Y "cuando no se pudieren conciliar las discrepancias que ofrezcan las ediciones contemporáneas a Cervantes, o cuando el absurdo fuere tal que evidentemente pida al buen sentido lo rechace sin vacilación," tendrá que "comparar entre sí el trabajo de tales críticos, [Tonson (el corrector fué Pineda), Bowle, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, la Academia, etc.] determinar su valor relativo, elegir de sus varias lecciones aquella que salva un absurdo, apuntando las restantes en la lista que va al pie de cada página del texto: he ahí—termina—la empresa acometida en esta obra." (p. CXLIII). Léase lo que respecto al texto de la ed. de Cortejón, escribe el Sr. Bonilla (op. cit., p. 12): "El texto`... es excelente y está admirablemente elegido ... no puedo menos de loar el tino y la exactitud."

Las ediciones consultadas, de las que da una lista en la p. CLXVII, son veintiséis para la primera parte y veinte para la segunda.

Al frente del tomo segundo van las Observaciones generales, en las que trata de la palabra del capítulo XVI rateras, la cual creyeron era errata en vez de raras, Navarrete, la Academia y Clemencín, entre otros. Hartzenbusch y Fitzmaurice-Kelly no fueron de la misma opinión. Cortejón prueba que no es tal errata. Diserta después acerca de dos páginas controvertibles y controvertidas del capitulo XIX, o sea sobre las dos idas del bachiller Alonso López, decidiéndose por el texto de la segunda de Cuesta. Pasa al robo del rucio y forma unos cuadros de las omisiones, discrepancias e incongruencias en el pleito del rucio de las veintiséis ediciones cotejadas, y, para probar que las páginas del hurto y del hallazgo son de Cervantes, da el diccionario de los principales vocablos en ellas contenidos, comparándolos con ejemplos en que se usan las mismas palabras en otros capítulos. Se decide, por último, a incluir la narración del hurto en el capítulo XXIII y la del hallazgo en el XXX, fundándose en lo que Cervantes dice en la segunda parte, capítulos IV y XXVII. El último apartado de las observaciones tiene que ver con los pasajes escabrosos, pero sin discutir "porque el asunto pide extensa monografía, si la defensa de nuestro ingenio está en que él tropezó donde habían caído no pocos de sus antecesores; allí donde caveron sus contemporáneos."

Las Observaciones generales que encabezan el tercer tomo, se refieren a la fijación del texto de la primera parte con motivo del examen de la tercera edición de Cuesta; a la dilucidación del significado de duelos y quebrantos, y al estudio sobre el hallazgo de una nueva impresión de Lisboa de 1605. El primer apartado titúlase: ¿ Corrigió Cervantes la edición de 1608? Contesta Cortejón con la negativa, mostrando cómo muchas de las correcciones adjudicadas a Cervantes, no son sino copias de correcciones o cambios hechos por anónimos correctores en ediciones anteriores publicadas en España y aun fuera de España. Tales son la de Crasbeeck de Lisboa de 1605, las de Valencia del mismo año y principalmente la de Bruselas de 1607. Por consiguiente, Cuesta no hubo menester en 1608 de Cervantes para salvar errores corregidos ya años antes. De esas correcciones, algunas son felices y necesarias; otras, ligerezas y minucias. Se corrigió algo; pero en cambio se dejaron pasar incorrecciones imperdonables, las cuales habría enmendado Cervantes si hubiera sido él quien revisara la 3º edición de Madrid. Llega a la conclusión de que la edición de 1608 fué corregida por mano inexperta y con gran precipitación. A ninguna, pues, de las tres ediciones de Cuesta debe otorgarse el primer puesto, sino tomar las formas arcaicas que prevalecen en las dos primeras, y las novedades o correcciones de la tercera, y aun hay que hacer con discreción y parsimonia ciertos retoques y contadas enmiendas de errores garrafales.

Divide su estudio de la expresion duelos y quebrantos en tres partes, que subtitula: 1^a: La disciplina eclesiástica sobre el ayuno y abstinencia del sábado y la expresión "duelos y quebrantos"; 2^a: Los escritores de amena literatura y la expresión "duelos y quebrantos," y 3^a: Dólichos, dólicos (¿ duelos?) según los tratadistas de agricultura, con un apéndice en el que publica la Bula de S. S. el Papa Benedicto XIV sobre el sínodo diocesano (Lib. XI, Cap. V), en latín y castellano.

En la primera parte, entre otras citas, aduce una del Tyrocinium morale pro scholasticis... a M. Fr. Thoma Madalena, anno 1726, en la que se da como equivalente vulgar de las extremidades y menudos de los animales para la abstinencia del sábado: carne de sábado y no duelos y quebrantos. En la segunda se leen citas entre-

sacadas del Lazarillo de Tormes⁵⁰ y de la Historia de la Vida del Buscón de Quevedo, relativas a la comida del sábado de cabezas de carnero el primero, y de cabezas y lenguas, o sea cosas de sábado, el segundo. Además unos versos en que habla de pies y cabezas de una pepitoria de sábado, sin emplear la discutida expresión duelos y quebrantos, a pesar de que los autores de aquellas obras eran muy dados a echar mano de lo popular y descriptivo. Y finalmente, cita el pasaje de Lope de Vega en Las Bizarrias de Belisa, acto I, esc. IX⁵⁰, que, a juicio de Cortejón, no es suficiente para explicar el caso propuesto, pero que le sugiere el realizar investigaciones en los tratados de agricultura, deduciendo la creencia de que duelos es lo mismo que duelas, dólicos o dólichos, es decir judías (de careta). En cuanto a quebrantos, por lo de quebrantar al animal, imagina que son los menudos y pies del mismo.

El tercero y último apartado intitúlase Una supercherta tipográfica y ya hemos tratado de ello en el nº 3. Con este tomo termina la primera parte del Don Quijote.

Abre el cuarto tomo una Introducción con la historia del texto de la segunda parte y apuntes bibliográficos relativos a las primitivas ediciones, de los cuales hemos hablado en los nos. 12 y 13. El texto que le sirve de base es el de la edición príncipe, aunque imperfecto, según dice, en razón al sinnúmero de erratas, deficiencias, reduplicaciones y faltas de puntuación. Ni una sola de las variantes de la edición de Bruselas de 1616—añade—tiene valor alguno para ser admitida en una edición crítica; empero la incluye entre las veinte ediciones consultadas. La que no inserta es la de Lisboa de 1617, de la cual afirma que debe ponerse en la picota para escarmiento de tipógrafos y editores piratas. En cambio, la de Barcelona de 1617 corrige algunas deficiencias de la de Cuesta de 1615. Enumera a continuación las erratas de ésta, que cubren ocho páginas. Estudia las vacilaciones del lenguaje, comenzando por mesmo y mismo que se emplean indistintamente; si bien predomina mesmo con el verbo hacer. Entre asimesmo y asimismo triunfa el segundo. Hace igual análisis con agora y aora; letor y lector; dotor y doctor; retor y rector; efeto y efecto; escurecer y sus derivados;

⁸⁹ Cita de Morel-Fatio en su erudito estudio titulado *Duelos y quebrantos*, publicado en los *Études romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris* le 29 Décembre 1890, p. 409 (*Extrait*, Paris, 1891).

⁹⁰ Cita igualmente de Morel-Fatio en su mencionado trabajo, p. 418.

sospiros y suspiros; destos, dellos; las terminaciones ades, edes y ais, eis; acrebillado, apercebido y deslocado; solene, coluna y ginasios; vee y sus congéneres; inumerables e innumerables; trasformación, trasparente, traspasado y transformada; emendar y enmendar, y recebir y recibir. Se ocupa, para terminar, en singularidades, arcaismos y brusquedades del texto.

A guisa de introducción del tomo V va un estudio de las Variantes del capitulo XLV, en lo referente al momento en que se fallan los pleitos sometidos a Sancho, gobernador, entre la edición de Cuesta de 1615 y la de Argamasilla de 1863, y las de Tonson (Pineda) y Máinez, poniéndolas frente a frente, primero aquéllas dos y luego las dos últimas. Cortejón, en el texto, respeta la edición príncipe y no hace variación alguna.

El tomo VI es la obra de los continuadores de Cortejón, los Sres. Juan Givanel Mas v Juan Suñé Benajes. El Dr. Cortejón falleció el 22 de Noviembre de 1911, ocho meses después de la publicación del V tomo, y los Sres. Givanel y Suñé, que ya venían auxiliando a aquél, 91 quien, por otra parte, había encargado al primero de las notas y comentarios de los capítulos LX a LXVII, ambos inclusive, del propio tomo VI, se hicieron cargo de la continuación de tan magna obra, llevándola a feliz término. En la Advertencia preliminar firmada por el Sr. Givanel Mas, da éste cuenta pormenorizada de todo ello y de la parte que a cada cual toca en la composición del volumen. Cortejón había anotado los dos primeros capítulos (LI y LII) de los veinticuatro que contiene el tomo en que nos ocupamos. Las notas de los veintidós restantes son el resultado de la labor de su discípulo, el Sr. Givanel, y la compulsa de las ediciones y anotación de las variantes, así como también alguna nota aclaratoria del porqué no se acepta la lección de la príncipe, se debe al Sr. Suñé. La lectura de las distintas ediciones se hizo por otros tantos jóvenes alumnos del Dr. Cortejón.

Hemos notado en la lista que de las ediciones consultadas se da en la p. XVII, una diferencia de fecha comparada con la de Cortejón de los tomos anteriores, y es la correspondiente a la edi-

⁹¹ Las notas relativas a libros de caballerías y costumbres andantescas son producto de los apuntes del Sr. Givanel, quien, según las palabras del mismo Cortejón (tomo I, p. 124), "recogiendo como en un haz lo mejor de cuanto sobre la materia se ha escrito, ocupa aquí lugar preferente y nos sirvió como de guía en tan intrincado laberinto."



ción de París por Fermin Didot (Arrieta) que es la de 1827 en vez de 1826; si bien en realidad no hay discrepancia alguna, pues la edición de 1827 es reimpresión exacta de la del año anterior del mismo editor.

En la p. 38, al final del cap. LII, hay una nota que empieza: "Hasta aquí llegó la labor de nuestro querido maestro y amigo," y concluye: "sólo el deseo de ver terminada una obra emprendida con tanto entusiasmo y brío, hacen que, aun reconociendo como empresa superior a nuestras fuerzas la de dar fin a la labor de nuestro maestro, hayamos aceptado el ofrecimiento del editor para terminar la obra."

Bien hicieron los Sres. Givanel y Suñé, quienes se han hecho acreedores al agradecimiento de los amantes del *Quijote*, por no haber de ado trunca la magna obra de Cortejón.

Respecto al texto, han seguido el de la edición príncipe de 1615, apartándose muy rara vez de él, como, por ejemplo, en las ps. 58, l. 5; 127, ls. 7 y 8; 203, l. 7; 337, l. 6; 372, l. 4, 512, l. 3 y 514, l. 12. La variante introducida en la p. 58 l. 5 es felicísima, porque sin cambiar el texto se aclara el sentido. ¿Cómo ha podido obtenerse ello? Modificando únicamente la puntuación. Dice la edición príncipe: "... hablando Ricote a los demás peregrinos, se apartaron a la alameda que se parecía, bien desviados del camino real. Arrojaron los bordones, quitáronse las mucetas o esclavinas," etc., y se lee en la edición de que tratamos: "... hablando Ricote a los demás peregrinos, se apartaron a la alameda que se parecía. Bien desviados del camino real, arrojaron los bordones, quitáronse las mucetas o esclavinas,"—etc. Discretísima enmienda, en verdad.

Escribe el vocablo ptctima (p. 137, l. 2) tal cual está en la primera edición, y no pttima como se halla en las ediciones de Bruselas de 1662, de la Academia de 1819, de Clemencín, Aribau, Gaspar y Roig de 1850, Hartzenbusch, Benjumea y Fitzmaurice-Kelly, porque, aun cuando no figura ptctima en el Tesoro de Covarrubias, según Givanel, lo ha encontrado en una de las Novelas Ejemplares, El amante liberal, con el mismo sentido de confortativo. Ptctima,

** Rodríguez Marín sí lo ha hallado en Covarrubias: pictima, pitima, o epictima. (V. su edición de La Lectura, t. VIII, p. 47). Nosotros hemos consultado dos ediciones del Tesoro, la de 1611 y la de 1674-73, y no hemos encontrado pictima ni epictima; sólo hemos visto pitima y epithima.

añadimos nosotros, se halla en el *Diccionario de Autoridades*, (t. 5 p. 260, 2° col.) de donde remite al lector a la voz *Epithyma*. Y en ésta (t. 3, p. 538, 1° col.) se lee: "s. f. En su riguroso sentido vale lo mismo que sobrepuesto y confortante; pero comunmente se toma por la bebida o cosa líquida, que se aplica para confortar y mitigar el dolor. Es voz Griega, y vulgarmente se llama *Pictima*." Tráela también Salvá.

En algunas notas corrígense errores de los precedentes anotadores, como,—para no citar más que una,—la de la p. 538, l. 4, sobre deliñada, que Pellicer tuvo por yerro de imprenta, cuando es voz que figura en nuestro léxico. No se halla en Covarrubias, agregamos nosotros; pero sí en el Dicc. de Autoridades, y hoy lo registra la Acad. como anticuada. Lo mismo hace Salvá.

Malparado sale Clemencín de las notas de Givanel, en lo que atañe a la crítica míope ejercida por aquél. "Obró muy de ligero—dice— y con harto desenfado." Mas en cambio, alaba su comentario, pues "aun con todo y sus defectos, contiene observaciones admirablemente hechas, ilustrando con sumo acierto muchísimos pasajes de la novela." (Pág. 537, nota).

Registramos, por último, el hecho de dar el Sr. Givanel en las págs. 290-299, algunas noticias referentes a los impresores que tuvo Barcelona durante los diez años que mediaron entre la publicación de la primera y la segunda parte de *Don Quijote*, con notas bibliográficas; todo lo cual constituye una interesante contribución a la bibliográfía barcelonesa.

Pocas son las erratas que hemos advertido. Tomemos nota de las siguientes: pág. 137, lín. 2 de las variantes, 1º col., dice: pttima. Br. 5, y debe decir, pttima. Br. 3. Pág. 471, última lín. de la nota, dice 1605 en vez de 1615. Pág. 524, lín. 11 de la nota, dice un anueva y debe leerse una nueva.

189 PARÍS.—1910-1913.—Sociedad de ediciones literarias y artísticas. Librería Paul Ollendorff.—4 v. 8°m.

Tomo 1°: Portada: "Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.—El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha comentado por D. Diego Clemencín. Nueva edición anotada por Miguel de Toro Gómez.—Tomo I.—París, etc. 1910." (En negro y rojo). Págs. A-C: Prefacio de la presente edición, suscrito por Miguel de Toro Gómez. En él expresa que le ha movido su "deseo de poner algún

correctivo a los excesos del comentarista [Clemencín] con respecto a Cervantes." Y añade: "Seguramente el Sr. Clemencín era hombre muy erudito, muy versado en libros de caballería . . .: era además profundamente versado en arqueología, indumentaria, armas, bibliografía y literatura (en todos estos conocimientos son sus notas un verdadero tesoro); pero desgraciadamente dejaba mucho que desear como escritor castizo y correcto, aunque él otra cosa se figurase; y se empeñó no obstante en hallar faltas de lenguaje y descuidos en el Quijote, y en deslucir la parte meritoria de su obra erudita con sus intemperancias de dómine pedante y su constante afán de sacudir a cada instante rudos disciplinazos al gran maestro de la prosa castellana." "Un hombre que . . . empleaba el galicismo a percibirse de y otros que quedan consignados en las notas, y que faltaba a las leyes de la sintaxis y a la propiedad del lenguaje, no era el llamado a criticar el lenguaje de Cervantes. . . . Cuando le vemos hablar a cada paso con aire doctoral de los descuidos y negligencias de Cervantes, de su desconocimiento de la lengua y de otras cosas análogas, seme figura ver a un gorrión que pretende enseñar a volar a un águila." Y luego: "Varios escritores, en particular el Sr. Cortejón en su magnífica edición crítica del Quijote, . . . han hecho notar la injusticia y pesadez de Clemencín en esta materia; pero lo han hecho de paso y refiriéndose al comentario del mismo en determinados pasajes, que sólo pueden consultar algunos curiosos eruditos; mientras que, por tratarse aquí de una edición casi popular y al alcance de todos, convenía que el correctivo a las intemperancias del comentarista fuese al pie de las mismas notas del comentario. Para no alargar demasiado las nuevas notas que, sin embargo, pasan de mil, no he querido señalar sino las incorrecciones y galicismos de más bulto que se notan en el comentario."

A fin de facilitar la consulta, se ha puesto las nuevas notas al pie de las primeras, en carácter más pequeño, y señaladas con las letras del alfabeto griego. Además van suscritas con las iniciales M. de T.

En las ps. I-XX se reproduce la Critica del comentario que puso al "Quijote" D. Diego Clemencin por D. Alberto Lista. Ps. XXI-XXXVIII, Prologo del Comentario de Clemencín; ps. XXXIX-LXIII, preliminares; ps. 1-456, texto, primera parte, caps. I-XXVI; ps. 457-459, índice.

Tomo II: 1912. Ps. 1-488, primera parte, caps. XXVII-LII; ps. 489-490, índice.

Tomo III: 1913. Segunda parte. Ps. I-XI, preliminares; ps. 1-503, texto, caps. I-XXXVII; ps. 505-507, indice.

Tomo IV: sin fecha. Ps. 1-442, segunda parte, caps. XXXVIII-LXXIV; ps. 443-445, indice. Al final: Tours.—Imp. Deslis Hermanos y Cia., 6 rue Gambetta.

El Sr. Toro Gómez cumple sobradamente en sus notas al comentario de Clemencín, lo que promete en el prefacio, a saber: poner algún correctivo a los excesos del comentarista, en una edición casi popular y al alcance de todos.

- 190 MADRID.—1911-1913.—Ediciones de "La Lectura." (Clásicos castellanos).—Edición y notas de Francisco Rodríguez Marín.—8 vol. 13.3 cm.
- 191 MADRID.—MCMXVI-VII.—Impr. de la "Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos."—Edición crítica anotada por Francisco Rodríguez Marín.—6 v.—17. 1 cm.

Portada en negro y rojo. Lema: "Luz, más luz es lo que esos libros inmortales requieren . . . "—MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO.

Magnífica edición, en todos respectos, del eximio decano de los cervantistas, debida y autorizadamente juzgada ya con encomio, entre otros, por D. Agustín González de Amezúa en El Siglo Futuro del 22 de marzo de 1916, D. Angel Salcedo Ruiz en el Diario de Barcelona del 6 de junio de 1916, D. Mariano de Cavia en El Imparcial del 4 de diciembre de 1916, D. Constantino Román Salamero en el mismo Imparcial del 2 de enero de 1917, M. R. Foulché-Delbosc en la Revue Hispanique, París, febrero de 1917, y D. Narciso Alonso Cortés en A B C del 12 de marzo de 1917. Recientemente se han coleccionado esos y otros artículos en un volumen intitulado: "Algunos juicios acerca de la edición crítica del "Quijote," anotada por don Francisco Rodríguez Marín, sácalos a luz extractados y compilados un amigo del editor." Madrid, Tip. de la Rev. de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1918, 8°. 71 ps. Contiene, además de los ya citados, los juicios emitidos por la Sra. Da. Concha Espina y los Sres. Casares, Gómez Ocaña, Icaza, Juliá, Morán y Ortega Munilla.

APÉNDICE

T

Lista por orden cronológico de las obras y artículos sobre bibliografía de Cervantes, que se han tenido en cuenta.

- 1. Antonius, Nicolaus. Bibliotheca Hispana sine Hispanorim . . . 2 t. (1² ed., t. II, ps. 105 y 310.) Romae, 1672.¹
- *†2. Bowle, John. A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Percy, concerning a new and classical edition of Historia del Valeroso Cavallero Don Quixote de la Mancha. Publicada por B. White. London, 1777.
 - 3. Bowle, Juan. Anotaciones a la Historia de Don Quixote... (3^{et} vol. de la ed. del Quijote, ps. ix-xi). Salisbury, 1781.
- *4. Antonius, Nicolaus. Bibliotheca Hispana Nova . . . 2 t. (2* ed., t. II, p. 133.) [Ed. de T. A. Sánchez, J. A. Pellizer y R. Casalbon]. Matriti, 1783-1788.

El primer tomo lleva la fecha de 1783 por error, a mi entender, pues al final de la introducción se da cuenta del fallecimiento de *D. Raphael Casalbonus*, que había auxiliado en la corrección de la obra, ocurrido el "15 Maji, an 1787," y mal puede aceptarse que en un libro que se dice impreso en 1783 se hable de un hecho acontecido en 1787, o sea cuatro años después. Presumo que el año debe ser el de 1788, el mismo del tomo segundo y de los dos de la *Bibliotheca Vetus*, impresos todos por Ibarra, y el siguiente al de la muerte de Casalbón.

- 5. Pellicer, Juan Antonio. Edición corregida de *Don Quixote*. 5 t. (Tomo I, 1797, p. LII-LIV.) Madrid, 1797-98.
- *6. STANLEY, (Colonel). *Bibliotheca Stanleiana*. A splendid selection of rare and fine books . . . sold by auction, by R. H. Evans. (Págs. 35, 42-46) 1 v. 8°, 71 ps. [London] 1813.
- FERNÁNDEZ DE NAVARRETE, Martín. Vida de Cervantes. Publicala la Real Academia Española. Noticia bibliográfica.
 (Ps. 494-530). 1 v. Madrid, 1819.

¹ Rius pone el año de 1676. V. t. I, p. 371.

^{*}Las obras marcadas con un asterisco no se hallan citadas en la bibliografía que da Rius en el cap. XVIII del tomo I, ps. 371-380.

[†]Las marcadas con una cruz no hemos logrado verlas.

- 8. Salvá, Vicente. A Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books, with occasional literary and bibliographical remarks, by Vincent Salvá. (Ps. 36-40, 233-234). London, 1826.²
- 9. Salvá, Vicente. Supplement to the Catalogue of Spanish and Portuguese books. (Encuadernado con el anterior. P. 4.) London, June, 1827.
- *10. SALVÁ, Vicente. Catálogo de los libros modernos... en la Librería española de los SS. D. Vicente Salvá é Hijo. (Ps. 66, 67 y 214). París, 1836.
- *11. SALVÁ, Vicente. ¿ Ha sido juzgado el D. QUIJOTE según esta obra merece? Artículo publicado en El Liceo Valenciano de 1840, y reimpreso en el t. 2º p. 659 de los Apuntes para una Biblioteca por D. Eugenio de Ochoa. París, [1840.]
- *†12. Grenville Library. Catalogue. London?, 1846? Citado en el Bulletin du Bibliophile, Paris, Juin, 1857, p. 331. La biblioteca de lord Grenville fué donada al Museo Británico en 1846.
- *13. SALVÁ, Vicente. Catálogo de los libros antiguos de literatura española . . . en la librería que tiene en París . . . Don Vicente Salvá. (Ps. 19, 20 y 93). París, 1847.
- 14. TICKNOR, George. History of Spanish Literature. [1^a ed.] 3 v. (V. III, Appendix E, ps. 381-386.) London, 1849.
 En la versión al castellano por Gayangos y Vedia, (Madrid, 1851-56, 4 t.) se halla traducido dicho apéndice, en el t. 4° ps. 232-239; y en las notas y adiciones de los traductores (t. 4°, ps. 409 y 410) se da cuenta de dos ediciones más. En la 3^a ed. inglesa de Londres de 1863, y en la 3^a americana de Boston de 1864, se han hecho ligeros cambios al apéndice E y se le han añadido unas notas.
- 15. BULLETIN DU BIBLIOPHILE. Revue mensuelle publiée par J. Techener. Paris, Juin, 1857, (p. 331).
- 16. Brunet. Manuel du Libraire. 5° ed. V. I. Paris, 1860.
- 17. Graesse. Trésor de livres rares et précieux . . . V. II, Dresde, 1861.
- 18. ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA. Don Quijote. Nueva edición con láminas. (Catálogo de las ediciones, t. III, 1863). Madrid, 1862-63.
- ² 1826 es la fecha del ejemplar de la *Hispanic Society*. Asensio en su *Catálogo* citado, p. 7, y Rius, t. I, p. 2, dan 1829



- 19. HARTZENBUSCH, J. E. Edición de Don Quijote. Argamasilla de Alba, 1863.
- 20. Barrera, Cayetano Alberto de la. Notas a las nuevas investigaciones acerca de la vida y escritos de Cervantes en Obras completas. Madrid, t. I, 1863.
- *21. GALLARDO, Zarco del Valle y Sancho Rayón. Ensayo de una Biblioteca Española de libros raros y curiosos. (T. II.) Madrid, 1866.
- *†22. MORAN, G. Vida de Cervantes . . . con una noticia bibliográfica de las principales y más curiosas ediciones y traducciones del Quijote, etc. Folio. 1867.
 - 22a. ASENSIO, José María. Observaciones sobre las ediciones primitivas del "Quijote." Revista de España, agosto de 1869. Ampliado y corregido en Cervantes y sus obras. Barcelona, 1902. (Sobre las ediciones primitivas de "El ingenioso hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha": ps. 1-17.)
 - 23. Salvá, Pedro. Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá. (T. II, p. 36 y s.) Valencia, 1872.
 - 23a. CERDÁ, Manuel. Catálogo de algunas ediciones de las obras de Miguel de Cervantes. (Crónica de los Cervantistas, Cádiz, 1872.)
 - 23b. LÓPEZ FABRA, Francisco. Boletín de la reproducción fototipográfica de la primera edición de Don Quijote de la Mancha.
 No. 5°. Abril de 1872. Estado del número de ediciones
 de D. Quijote de cuya publicación se tiene conocimiento . . .
 Lista para la indagación de las ediciones que existen de D.
 Quijote . . . Continuación de la lista en el n°. 6°., Agosto
 de 1872.
 - 23c. Thebussem, El Dr. [Mariano Pardo de Figueroa]. Bibliografia cervántica. 21 Mayo 1872, en Boletín de la reproducción foto-tipográfica de la primera edición de Don Quijote de la Mancha publicada por D. F. López Fabra. N°. 6°., Agosto de 1872.
 - 23d. Bragge, W. Brief Hand List of the Cervantes Collection, presented to the Birmingham Free Library, [1874]. Reference Dept. 8. Public Library, New York.
 - 23e. Rius, Leopoldo. Bibliografía: "Indice del Ensayo de Bibliografía Cervantina." Artículo. (Crónica de los Cervantistas, Cádiz, 15 marzo, 1876; III, 5).

- 24. Brunet, G. y P. Deschamps. Supplément del Manuel du Libraire. Paris, 1878-80.
- 24a. López Fabra, Francisco. *Iconografia del Quijote*. Barcelona, 1879. (Indice de las sesenta ediciones por fechas de su publicación.)
- 25. TICKNOR, George. Catalogue of the Spanish Library . . . bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library . . . by J. L. Whitney. Boston, 1879.
- *26. CHATSWORTH Library. Catalogue of the Library at Chatsworth.
 [William VII Duke of Devonshire.] [Por J. P. Lacaita.] 4 v.
 (V. I, p. 351). London, 1879.
- *27. The HUTH Library. A Catalogue of the printed books, manuscripts, autograph letters, and engravings, collected by Henry Huth, with collations and bibliographical descriptions. 5 vol. London, 1880.
- 28. ASENSIO. Catálogo de la Biblioteca Cerrantina. Valencia, 1883.
- 29. Ormsby, John . . . Don Quixote . . . A translation . . . London, 1885. 4 v. (3rd appendix: The Bibliography of Don Quixote). Otra ed.: New York, 1901. 4 v.
- 29a. Rius, L. Catálogo de la Biblioteca Cervantica de Leopoldo Rius. Barcelona, 1888.
- 30. WATTS, Henry Edward. Don Quixote, translated into English. (Vol. IV). London, 1888.
- 31. Watts, Henry Edward. Life of Miguel de Cervantes. (Al final: Bibliography by John P. Anderson del British Museum.) London, 1891.
- 32. HEREDIA, R. Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia.

 Deuxième partie. Paris, 1892.
- 33. FITZMAURICE-KELLY, James. The Life of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra... with a Tentative Bibliography from 1585 to 1892. London, 1892.
- *34. FITZMAURICE-KELLY, J. Notes sur la bibliographie française de Cervantes. Revue Hispanique. Paris, t. I, 1894, ps. 336 y 337.
- *35. ASENSIO. Noticias curiosas, particularidades y anécdotas relativas al "Quijote." La España Moderna, Madrid, Enero de 1894.
- *36. GRASER, F. H. Note sur une édition de Don Quichotte. Revue Hispanique. Paris, t. I, 1894, ps. 337-338.

- 37. Montaner y Simón. La Ilustración Artística, Barcelona, Enero de 1895.
- 37a. ASHBEE, H. S. An Iconography of Don Quixote, 1605-1895. London, July, 1895. (V. Table of editions noticed, ps. 179-185).
 - Véase, acerca de las nuevas ediciones de que da cuenta esta obra, el artículo de Fitzmaurice-Kelly en la *Revista crítica*, Madrid, Jul. 1897, ps. 201-02.
- 38 Watts, Henry Edward. Miguel de Certantes, his life and works. A new edition revised and enlarged with a complete [sic] bibliography and index. London, 1895. (Contiene muchos errores. V. el juicio crítico de Fitzmaurice-Kelly en la Revue Hispanique, Paris, 1895, p. 357).
- 39 Rius, Leopoldo. Bibliografía crítica de las Obras de Miguel de Cervantes Saguedra. 3 t. Madrid-Villanueva. 1895-1904.
- 40 Pérez Pastor, Cristóbal. Documentos certantinos hasta ahora inéditos . . . Madrid, 1897, 1902. 2 t.
 - Las siguientes obras y artículos no se hallan en la bibliografía de Rius por ser posteriores a ella.
- 41 FITZMAURICE-KELLY, J. Revista critica de historia y literatura, Madrid, 1897, p. 201-204. (Artículo bibliográfico).
- 41a. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC, R. y FITZMAURICE-KELLY, J. Une prétendue édition de la première partie de Don Quichotte antérieure à 1605. Rev. Hisp. t. IV, 1897, ps. 215-234.
- 42 FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC, R. Les traductions turques de Don Quichotte, Revue Hispanique. Paris, t. V, 1898, ps. 470-482.
- 43 New York Public Library. Bulletin: V. III, p. 259 y s. New York, 1899.
- 44 FITZMAURICE-KELLY, J. A Roumanian translation of Don Quixote. Revue Hispanique. Paris, t. VI, 1899, ps. 203-204.
- 44a. COTARELO Y MORI, Emilio. Otro imitador de Cervantes en el siglo XVIII. Artículo publicado en la Revista contemporánea del 28 de febrero de 1899, CXIII, p. 337, y reimpreso en el tomo I de Estudios de historia literaria de España, Madrid, 1901, ps. 53-69.
- 45 LOCKER-LAMPSON, F. An Appendix to the Rowfant Library. A Catalogue of the Printed books, manuscripts, autograph letters,

- etc. collected . . . by the late Frederick Locker Lampson. London, MCM.
- 46 FITZMAURICE-KELLY, J. Don Quixote in Gujerati and Japanese. Revue Hispanique. Paris, t. VII, 1900, ps. 510-511.
- 46a. COTARELO Y MORI, Emilio. Las imitaciones castellanas del "Quijote." Discurso leído ante la R. Academia Española en la recepción del autor el 27 de mayo de 1900. Reimpreso en el tomo I de Estudios de historia literaria de España, Madrid, 1901, ps. 71-100.
- 47 FITZMAURICE-KELLY, J. Introduction to Don Quixote en The Complete Works of . . . Certantes. V. III. Don Quixote. V. I. Edited by Jas. Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Translated by John Ormsby. Glasgow, Aug. 1st, 1901. (Historia bibliográfica de las ediciones primitivas y traducciones de Don Quijote).
- 47a. VINDEL, P.[edro]. Libros relativos a Cervantes, Camoens y Shakespeare de venta en la librerta de P. Vindel. Madrid, 1901, (Catálogo XII).
- 47b. ASHBEE, H. S. Some books about Cervantes. Bibliographical Society Transac., v. 5, p. 13. London, 1901.
- 48 CHASTENAY, J. Quelques additions à la bibliographie de Cervantes. [Pièces françaises]. Reue Hispanique. Paris, t. VIII, 1901, ps. 513-515.
- 48a. Rico, Viuda de. Tercer Centenario del Quijote. Catálogo de una colección de libros cervantinos que se venden en la librería de la Viuda de Rico, 1, Travesía del Arenal, 1. Madrid, 1905.—4°., 95 ps.
- 48b. VINDEL, Pedro. Ediciones de *Don Quijote* y demás obras de Cervantes juntamente con Miscelánea cervantina y libros referentes á Shakespeare y Camoens, en venta. Madrid. Librería de P. Vindel, Prado 9, 1905. 4°., ps. 225 a 352.
- 48c. E. C. Bibliografía de los principales escritos publicados con ocasión del 3^{et}. centenario del Quijote. Revista de Archivos, Bibl otecas y Museos. 3^a época, t. 12, ps. 403-410. Madrid, 1905.
- 49 BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE MADRID. Catálogo de la Exposición celebrada en la Biblioteca Nacional en el tercer centenario de la publicación del Quijote. Madrid, 1905.
- 49a. SERRANO MORALES, José E. Tercer Centenario del Quijote. Valencia, Cervantes y el Quijote. Discurso leído . . . en el

- acto de la colocación de la primera piedra . . . de la Escuela graduada "Cervantes." (*La Verdad*. Revista de primera enseñanza.) Valencia, 7 Mayo, 1905. 4°., 24 ps.
- 50 HENRICH, M. Iconografia de las ediciones del Quijote . . . por Manuel Henrich. 3 t. Barcelona, 1905.
 - Lástima es que en el frontispicio de este magnífico libro se reproduzca el conocido retrato de Cervantes a cuyo pie se halla la errónea fecha de 1615 como la de su muerte, en vez de 1616.
- †51 CANELLA, Fermín. Catálogo de la Exposición Asturiana de ediciones de "El Quijote," celebrada en Oviedo en los días 7, 8 y 9 de Mayo de 1905 por la Comisión provincial de Monumentos históricos y artísticos. Oviedo, 1905, 4°, 51 ps.
- 52 CEJADOR, Julio. Ediciones del Quijote. La España Moderna, Madrid, Mayo de 1905.
- 53 CORTEJÓN, Clemente. Primera edición crítica del Quijote. 6 t. (Ts. I y IV.) Madrid, 1905-13.
- 53a. VALENCIA. Memoria de los sestejos celebrados por el Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Valencia, para conmemorar la publicación del "Quijote." Valencia, Pascual, 1906.
- 53b. PÉREZ PASTOR, Cristóbal. Bibliografía madrileña. Madrid, (v. I: 1891, v. II: 1906 y v. III: 1907). Parte segunda, nos. 1601-1620, 1906.
- 54. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue Général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Auteurs. (T. XXV, col. 818). Paris, 1906.
- 55. Brimeur, J. Supplément français à la Bibliographie de Rius. [167 números]. Revue Hispanique. Paris, t. XV, 1906, ps. 819-842.
- 56. HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, The. Catalogue of Publications. New York. [1907].
- 57. British Museum. Catalogue of Printed books. Cervantes. London, 1908.
- 58. Church Catalogue. A Catalogue of books . . . forming a part of the Library of E.[lihu] D. Church. Por George W. Cole. 2 v. (V. I). New York, 1909.
- 59. RIO DE JANEIRO. Catalogo da Collecção Cervantina. Por Antonio Jansen do Paço. Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Vol. XXIX. Rio de Janeiro, 1909.

- 60. HISPANIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA, The. List of printed books. 20 vol. New York, 1910. (Tirada de 50 ejemplares solamente.)
- †60a. BULBENA, Antonio. Catálogo de ediciones del Quijote, traducciones, imitaciones y libros referentes a Cervantes. Barcelona, 1910.
- 60b. FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC, R. "Les Don Quichotte de Valence, 1605."

 Revue Hispanique, t. XXV, 1911, ps. 481-482. (Con cinco facsímiles.)
- 61. HUTH. Catalogue of the famous Library of printed books . . . collected by Henry Huth, and since . . . augmented by his son Alfred H. Huth. Fosbury Manor, Wiltshire . . . Which will be sold at auction by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge. London. 1st portion, 1911. 2nd portion, 1912. 3rd portion, 1913.
- 62. LA PLATA. Catálogo alfabético-descriptivo de la Colección Cervantina formada en la Biblioteca Pública de la Plata por Luis Ricardo Fors. Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras, tomo 41. Buenos Aires, 1912.
- †63. Montoto, S. Ensayo de una bibliografía certantino—sevillana. 2° ed. Sevilla, 1916, 8°, 59 ps.
- †64. MOLINA NAVARRO, G. Tercer centenario de la muerte de Cervantes. Catálogo de una colección de libros cervantinos. Madrid, 1916.
- †65. GIVANEL I MAS, J. Catàleg de la collecció cervàntica formada per D. Isidro Bonsoms i Sicart, i cedida per ell a la Biblioteca de Catalunya. Vol. I. Anys 1590-1800. Barcelona, 1916.
- 66. Boinet, A. Exposition à l'occasion du tricentenaire de Shakespeare et de Cervantes. La Bibliofilia, XVIII, ps. 157-159. Firenze, 1916.
 - Se celebró en París, en el teatro de la Comedie Française, donde se expusieron raros y curiosos ejemplares, de los cuales da noticia bibliográfica.
- †67. CEJADOR, Julio. Cervantes . . . bibliografía 1916.
- †68. Ediciones del "Don Quijote" y demás obras de Cervantes que, junto con varios trabajos referentes a las mismas, logró reunir la constancia del docto cervantista D. Clemente Cortejón. Barcelona, P. Ortega, 1916, 4°, 44 ps. (Esta colección es hoy propiedad de D. Juan Suñé, de Barcelona).

II

Lista de las ediciones de *Don Quijote* en español que no se hallan en la obra de Rius y se encuentran en la biblioteca de la *Hispanic Society of America*.

- 1605. Madrid. Por Iuan de la Cuesta. (Nueva impresión con 144 variantes. Nº 2 de nuestro repertorio).
- 1697. Amberes. Por Juan Bautista Verdussen. (N° 26).
- 1723. Madrid. A costa de Pedro del Castillo. (Nº 32).
- 1775. Lisboa. A custa de los Hermanos Du Beux, Lagier y Socios. (Nº 49).
- 1781. Salisbury. E. Easton. (Bowle). 1^a tirada. (No 53).
- 1832. Zaragoza. Polo y Monge, hermanos. (Nº 87).
- 1856. Madrid. José Rodríguez. (Nº 111).
- 1869. Barcelona. Ramón Pujal. (Nº 130).
- 1875-76. Barcelona. Heredero de D. Pablo Riera. (Nº 139).
- 1877. Sevilla. José G. Fernández. (Nº 142).
- 1877-79. Sevilla. José G. Fernández. (Nº 144).
- 1878. New York. D. Appleton and Company. (No 146).
- 1883. Valladolid. F. Santarén. (N° 160).
- 1884. París. Garnier hermanos. (Nº 163).
- 1885. París-México. Ch. Bouret. (Nº 165).
- 1891. Leipzig. Brockhaus. (No 173).
- 1891. Nueva York. Appleton. (No 174).
- 1893. París. Garnier hermanos. (Nº 177).
- [1895]. Sevilla. "El Tribuno." (Nº 179).

Y las ediciones marcadas con los números 180 a 191, que son posteriores a la publicación de la bibliografía de Rius.

III

Lista de las ediciones de Don Quijote en español, cuyos ejemplares de la Hispanic Society difieren de los descritos por Rius.

1704. Barcelona. Martín Gelabert. (Nº 27).

1706. Madrid. A. Gonçalez de Reyes. (Nº 28).

1765. Madrid. Manuel Martín. (Nº 46).

1781. Londres. White, Elmsley, Payne y Robson. (Bowle). 2ª tirad? (N° 54).

1797-98. Madrid. Sancha. Ed. de Pellicer. (No 59).

1832-35. Barcelona. Gorchs. (N° 88).

1861. Nueva York. Appleton. (Difiere de la de Asensio). (Nº 118.

1869. Barcelona. Ramón Pujal. (Nº 130).

1876. Barcelona. Obradors y Sulé. (Nº 140).

[1879.] Barcelona. Espasa y Compañía. (No 149).

1884. Palencia. (Ed. de Ortego). (Nº 162).

1885-86. Madrid. La Correspondencia de España. (Nº 167).

1888-89. Sevilla. C. de Torres. (N° 172).

1892. Barcelona. Gorchs. (N°176).

IV

Lista de las ediciones de Don Quijote en español de que carece la colección de Bonsoms. Nos referimos al estado de la colección hasta el año de 1905, pues nos sirven de guía las obras de Rius y Henrich.

- 1605. Madrid. Por Iuan de la Cuesta. (Nueva impresión. N° 2).
- 1723. Madrid. A costa de Pedro del Castillo. (Nº 32).
- [1731]. Sevilla, sin año. Licencia de 1731. (Unico ejemplar conocido, n° 34).
- 1775. Lisboa. A custa de los hermanos Du Beux, Lagier y Socios. (Unico ejemplar conocido, nº 49).
- 1781. Salisbury. E. Easton. (Bowle). 1^a tirada. (Nº 53).
- 1797-98. Madrid. Sancha. (Pellicer). En vitela. (N° 60).
- 1832. París. Baudry. (Nº 84).
- 1840. París. Baudry. (Nº 94).
- 1856. Madrid. José Rodríguez. (Nº 111).
- 1861. Nueva York. Appleton. (No 118).
- [1877-79]. Madrid. C. Palacios. (N° 143).
- 1878. New York. D. Appleton. (N° 146).
- 1883. Valladolid. F. Santarén. (Nº 160).
- 1885. París-México. Ch. Bouret. (Nº 165).
- 1885. Nueva York. Appleton. (No 166).
- 1888-89. Sevilla. C. de Torres. (N° 172). 1891. Leipzig. Brockhaus. (N° 173).
- 1891. Nueva York. Appleton. (N° 174). [1895]. Sevilla. "El Tribuno." (N° 179).

V

Algunos errores de la Bibliografía de Rius.

Томо І

Ediciones de Don Quijote en español.

- 1781. Salisbury. (Bowle). Dice tres tomos y son cuatro.
- 1797-98. Madrid. Sancha. (Pellicer). El tomo II no tiene 275 págs., sino 318.
- 1825. París. Cormon y Blanch. Debe ser *Blanc* y no *Blanch*. Con c está en el ejemplar de la *Hispanic* y en el facsímile de la *Iconografía* de Henrich. Este error, si lo es, se ve asimismo en el *Catálogo* de la exposición de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.
- 1833. Mexico. Mejico con jota se halla impreso en la portada, según puede verse en el facsímile de Henrich. (Nº 92). El hecho de hallarse esta edición en Henrich parece indicar que Bonsoms la ha adquirido con posterioridad a la publicación de la obra de Rius, pues éste dice que debe la noticia a López Fabra.
- 1860. Nueva York. Appleton. No son catorce sino quince las láminas. Al parecer, Rius no las contó, sino que se guió por lo que expresa la portada.
- 1862-63. Madrid. En la *Imprenta Real* pone Rius, pero debe de ser error, por *Imprenta Nacional*, como dice la portada del ejemplar de la *Hispanic*, pues el facsímile de Henrich, que está sacado del ejemplar de Bonsoms, el mismo que tuvo en sus manos Rius, dice igual que el de la *Hispanic*. En el de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid se lee asimismo *Imprenta Nacional*.
- 1886. Madrid. La Correspondencia de España. Los dos últimos tomos llevan el año de 1886, pero no así los dos primeros que están fechados en 1885.

Ediciones de la Galatea

1617. Baeza. En la pág. 370 del tomo I dice, erróneamente, 1618 por 1617, como escribe en la pág. 104 nº 203. 1617 es el año del ejemplar de la *Hispanic*, único conocido.

Томо II

En el tomo II, pág, 76, n°. 126, están equivocados el título y la fecha de la obra de Pérez Pastor. Dice: Nuevos documentos referentes á Cervantes y á su familia, descubiertos y publicados por D. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, 1896, y debe decir: Documentos cervantinos hasta ahora inéditos, recogidos y anotados por . . . D. Cristóbal Pérez Pastor . . . 1897.

En la pág. 228 da como único autor del artículo en contra de la supuesta edición de *Don Quijote* de 1604, al Sr. Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Dicho artículo fué escrito en colaboración por el referido hispanista inglés y el Sr. Foulché-Delbosc.

Además, dice Rius que el precitado artículo se publicó en el número de la *Revue Hispanique* de marzo de 1898, y en realidad vió la luz en el número de noviembre de 1897.

VI

Algunas erratas de bulto de la Bibliografía de Rius no salvadas en su fe de erratas.

Томо І				
Pág.	Línea	DICE	DEBE DECIR	
2	1ª col.	Priuilegio	Privilegio ³	
4	18	[137]	[138]	
"	33	Durn	Dunn	
10	24	505	565	
102	(cotejo)	Fol. 72 (2°)	Fol. 72 v.	
"	` ,, ້ ´	Erasto	Erastro	
"	"	Fol. 80	Fol. 80 v.	
"	"	Fol. 97	Fol. 97 v.	
"	"	Fol. 284 v. "llamas"	Fol. 284 v. "llamo"	
105	N° 205	Cormellas, y	Cormellas, y	
"	"	Call.	Call,	
107	N° 210	Cerbantes	Cervantes	
110	N° 217	[177]	[179]	

Los cinco últimos renglones de la anotación del nº 149, p. 83, deben colocarse en la del nº 154, p. 84, pues se refieren a los años de 1871-72, y no al de 1868.

Las ediciones números 196 y 197, ps. 97-98, están traspuestas, puesto que la primera es de 1888, y la segunda de 1887.

² En la 2^a ed. de Cuesta es donde está escrito con u.

INDICE ALFABÉTICO

Comprende, además de los nombres propios de impresores, editores, libreros, anotadores, comentadores, críticos, biógrafos, bibliógrafos, bibliófilos, dibujantes, grabadores, encuadernadores, etc., los de lugares, corporaciones, sociedades, compañías, bibliotecas, colecciones, librerías, imprentas, etc. y títulos de obras, artículos y revistas; biografías, retratos, catálogos, índices, ventas, ex-libris, lemas, facsímiles, mapas, planos, vicisitudes del título y de las dedicatorias, particularidades ortográficas, errores, erratas; primeras, segundas, terceras y cuartas ediciones, nuevas ediciones, nuevas variedades de ediciones, ejemplares únicos, ediciones con láminas, idem de lujo, idem microscópicas, etc., etc.

Con el fin de facilitar la busca, se imprimen en versalitas los nombres de lugares; en cursiva, los títulos y vocablos citados, y en caracteres redondos, los nombres de personas e instituciones, etc.

Los números de guarismos finos se refieren a las páginas, y los de negrita, si preceden a aquéllos, designan los de las ediciones en el cuerpo del repertorio, y, si los siguen, indican los de las obras bibliográficas en el apéndice. Los precedidos de la letra n. hacen referencia a las notas.

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M. TVLLI CICERONIS DE DIVINATIONE LIBER PRIMVS

EDITED BY ARTHUR STANLEY PEASE

THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS 1920

GEORGIO FOOT MOORE CVIVS SAPIENTIAM SCIENTIAMQVE ADMIRATVS PVER ADVLTVS VENEROR

PREFATORY NOTE

The importance of Cicero's treatise on divination to students in a wide range of historical fields—religious, philosophical, literary, and political—and the fact that there exists no modern commentary upon it of any considerable scope¹ furnish the occasion and excuse for the publication of this volume, which contains the text of the first book of the *De Divinatione* with an exegetical commentary. To this it is my purpose to add a similar treatment of the second book, together with an appendix dealing with manuscripts, editions, and translations of the work, and with an index to the text and notes.

Inasmuch as this edition emphasizes chiefly the content rather than the textual form of the treatise, it has not seemed necessary to provide a text based upon a new and independent study of the manuscripts, and I have therefore followed, with some exceptions, the text of C. F. W. Müller in the Teubner edition of Cicero (Leipzig, 1878, and later impressions), the expected recension by O. Plasberg being unfortunately not yet available. In the brief critical apparatus here printed only those passages are treated in which readings are adopted either unsupported by any of the MSS. constituting the C group (Leid. Voss. 84 = A, Leid. Voss. 86 = B, Leid. Heins. 118 = H, and Vindob. 189 = V) or differing from the text of Müller. The apparatus is based upon that of Christ (1861), supplemented by those of Moser (1828), Orelli (1828), Baiter (1864), and Müller (1905), by the work of Deiter, De Ciceronis cod. Leid. no. 118 denuo collato (1882), and the photographic facsimiles of codices H and A published by Plasberg in 1912 and 1915 respectively.

The inadequacy of any commentary upon a work of such varied character I well appreciate, and in the words of Virgil³ I may say tanta inchoata res est ut paene vitio mentis tantum opus ingressus mihi videar. Many a reader will, no doubt, be dissatisfied with this or that interpretation, or will miss some significant parallel or the treatment of some important question. I have striven, however, to make the notes answer, so far as possible in the words of the ancient writers themselves, such difficulties as could be readily foreseen, including many quite untouched by earlier commentators, to

¹ Since the variorum edition of Moser (Frankfort, 1828) and the editions of Giese (Leipzig, 1829) and Allen (London, 1839) no annotated edition is known to me save those of Thoresen (Copenhagen, 1894) in Danish and Heeringa (Leyden, 1909) in Dutch, of which neither is intended for the same end as the present commentary.

² Exceptions are made in the case of a few important cruces.

⁸ Macrob. Sat. 1, 24, 11.

whose useful collections (particularly that of the learned Davies) I am greatly and continually indebted. Valued assistance has been given me by Professors J. S. P. Tatlock of the Leland Stanford University and W. Scott of the University of Indiana, and by several of my colleagues at the University of Illinois, particularly Professors H. S. V. Jones, C. M. Moss, A. T. Olmstead, J. Stebbins, and C. Zeleny, and Dr. R. C. Whitford. To my colleague Professor W. A. Oldfather I am under especial obligation for many important suggestions and for careful editorial assistance. I wish also to express my gratitude for privileges generously accorded to me by the authorities of the Harvard College Library.

Urbana, Illinois, 1 March, 1920.

INTRODUCTION

μή . . . δμοιωθήναι τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἶς παρὸν ἀνθρωπείως ἔτι σώζεσθαι, ἐπειδὰν πιεζομένους αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπωσιν αἰ φανεραὶ ἐλπίδες, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς καθίστανται, μαντικήν τε καὶ χρησμούς, καὶ δσα τοιαῦτα μετ' ἐλπίδων λυμαίνεται.

Thucydides, 5, 103.

Ceterum plurimis mortalium non eximitur quin primo cuiusque ortu ventura destinentur, sed quaedam secus quam dicta sint cadere fallaciis ignara dicentium; ita corrumpi fidem artis cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulerit. Tacitus, 1nn. 6, 22, 5.

- 1. The purpose of the philosophical works which Cicero produced in great abundance during the years 45-44 B.C. appears to have been at least threefold. The death of his daughter Tullia in February, 45¹ had been a severe blow from which he sought relief in the renewed study of philosophy,² of which his Consolatio is but one of the more striking results.³ Again, his writings made it possible for him, even in enforced retirement, to reach a circle of readers who, to some extent, compensated for the more numerous hearers whom he had previously influenced during his public career.⁴ Finally, the purpose seems to have developed with him of creating by his various theoretical works an encyclopaedic system which should make available to his fellow countrymen the treasures of Greek philosophic thought⁵ in a form which they could both understand and respect.⁶
- 2. Prominent in this encyclopaedic structure, as was to be expected in any Roman adaptation of Greek philosophy, were the groups of works
- ¹ Cf. Schmidt, Der Brieswechsel des M. T. Cicero (1893), 271; Schanz, Gesch. d. rom. Litt. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 375.
- ² Cf. Ac. 1, 11: nunc vero et fortunae gravissimo percussus volnere et administratione rei publicae liberatus, doloris medicinam a philosophia peto et oti oblectationem hanc honestissimam iudico; ad Att. 12, 14, 3; ad Fam. 4, 6, 2; N.D. 1, 9. On his methods of work during this period see Reid's edition of the Academica (1885), 28-29. Fowler, Roman Ideas of Deity (1914), 4, well remarks: "I do not think it has been sufficiently noticed that those writings point to an era in his life in which he was really bringing his mind to bear on great questions of human interest, as he had never yet done, except perhaps when, as a younger man by ten years, he wrote

the De Republica and the Somnium Scipionis,—in another period of recovery from serious misfortune and depression."

- ² Cf. 2, 3 infra.
- ⁴ Cf. 2, 7: in libris enim sententiam dicebamus, contionabamus; N.D. 1, 6.
- Cf. 2, 1: si optimarum artium vias traderem meis civibus; N.D. 1, 7: ipsius rei publicae causa philosophiam nostris hominibus explicandam putavi, magni existimans interesse ad decus et ad laudem civitatis res tam graves tamque praeclaras Latinis etiam litteris contineri; Off. 1, 1: magnum attulimus adiumentum hominibus nostris ut non modo Graecarum litterarum rudes sed etiam docti aliquantum se arbitrentur adeptos et ad dicendum et ad iudicandum; also Reid, op. cit. 20-24.
 - 6 Reid, op. cit. 20; 23.

upon ethics (both theoretical and practical) and upon the theory of religion, the latter centring about the *De Natura Deorum*, a work, as I have elsewhere⁷ attempted to show, of descriptive rather than polemic purpose. With it were intimately connected in subject matter and practical application the subjects of divination and fate, which, on account of their importance and complexity, it had become customary, among the Stoics at least, to treat in excursuses or separate works. This plan of separate treatment was adopted by Cicero, who, on the one hand, followed closely the fashion of his sources without pausing to make many new combinations of material, and, on the other, perhaps welcomed the opportunity of making a sharper distinction between superstitious belief in divination and legitimate religion.

3. The need of an attack upon divination was becoming more and more apparent. The decline of faith in the traditional Roman religion among a large part of the intellectuals of Cicero's day and the consequent formalizing of those rites which were still retained had led to the frequent and ridiculous abuse of this art for political or personal ends, as in the notable case of M. Bibulus in 59 B.C.¹⁰ and the absurd incident which in 56 had occasioned Cicero's De Haruspicum Responso.¹¹ Even Cicero himself, an augur¹² and the author of a work De Auguriis,¹³ illustrates this inconsistent political and antiquarian tendency to preserve an unreal but

⁷ Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 44 (1913), 25-87.

^a Cf. N.D. 3, 19: maximae res tacitae praeterierunt, de divinatione, de fato, quibus de quaestionibus tu quidem strictim, nostri autem multa solent dicere, sed ab hac ea quaestione quae nunc in manibus est separantur; 1, 9, n. (quod praetermissum est, etc.) infra. The relation of the De Natura Deorum to our work is indicated in 1, 8; et al.; that of the De Fato in 1, 127 (see note on id quod alio loco ostendetur); 2, 3; 2, 19; de Fat. 1; that of the De Natura Deorum and the De Fato in N.D. 3, 19; cf. Hirzel, Der Dialog, 1(1895), 539, and n. 3.

⁹ Cf. especially 2, 148-150. The Stoic attempt inextricably to involve divination with a belief in the gods (1, 82-83) he expressly attacks in 2, 101-106.

10 Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 257 (who also gives other instances); Fowler, Relig. Experience of the Rom. People (1911), 306-307.

11 Cf. de Har. Resp. 9; al.

¹³ Cf. 1, 15, n. (vestra); 1, 90; al. Cicero was chosen in 53 in place of Crassus.

13 The date of this work is disputed. Drumann (Gesch. Roms, 6 (1844), 352) and Schanz (op. cit. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 380; cf. 340) set it later than the De Divinatione, since it is not mentioned in the catalogue of Cicero's works in 2, 1-4 infra. But more probable is the view of Hirzel (op. cit. 1, 537, n. 3) that it is not there mentioned because its subject was technical rather than philosophical, that it may have been written soon after Cicero's election as augur, and that its composition may perhaps be hinted at in ad Fam. 3, 9, 3. Whether the phrase in 2, 75 infra (sed de hoc loco plura in aliis, nunc hactenus) suggests a work to be written or one already elaborated is not clear. The fragments of the De Auguriis (in Müller's edition 4, 3 (1904), 312) give little help.

convenient fiction,¹⁴ and the contrast of his attitude in our work to that in the *De Legibus*¹⁵ has struck the attention of many scholars.¹⁶ But the decline in the state religion, while it resulted, in the case of the intellectuals, in the discrediting of divination, had, for the populace, a somewhat opposite effect, in releasing them from what was, to be sure, a superstition, but yet a legitimized and regulated one, and exposing them to a selfish

14 Cf. 2, 75 infra; also such passages as pro Sest. 32; in Vat. 18; Rep. 2, 17. Cicero's consultation of the Pythian oracle (Plut. Cic. 5) was perhaps made while he was under the strong influence of Posidonius; cf. Thiaucourt, Essai sur les Traités philos. de Cic. (1885), 253; Jaeger, De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint (1910), 50.

¹⁸ 2, 31-33. The political value of divination is clearly uppermost in this passage. Reitzenstein (in Festschrift für Mommsen, 3 (1893), 28-29), comparing Leg. 2, 32-33 with the De Divinatione, concludes that the latter was the earlier and that from it and the second book of the De Natura Deorum Cicero composed various sections and inserted them in the already written second book of the De Legibus. Cf. also Loercher in Diss. philol. Halenses, 17 (1907), 343, n. 3.

¹⁶ Explanations have varied. Lamarre (Hist. de la Lit. lat. 3 (1901), 281) thinks it the contrast of an earlier attitude in the De Legibus and a later in the De Divinatione, and this was the view of some earlier scholars (e.g., Moser in his edition of the De Legibus (1824), 259-260). But the date of the De Legibus is too uncertain to allow us to argue thus, and it may well be that in its completed form it is even later than the De Divinatione; cf. Schanz, op. cit. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 347-348 for varying theories. Hirzel, on the other hand (op. cit. 1, 534, n. 2; cf. 538), thinks that our work and the De Fato represent a short relapse into scepticism. But the spirit of the work, as shown in such passages as seem to represent Cicero himself rather than his sources (e.g., the end of the second book), does not, on the whole, favor this interpretation. More

probable is the explanation of such writers as Moser (in his edition of the De Divinatione (1828), xi), Kühner (in his German translation (1868), xiv), Lecky (Hist. of European Morals, 1, 3 ed. (1888), 165, n. 3), Stoerling (Quaest. Ciceronianae ad Relig. spectantes (1894), 29-32), Zielinski (Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte, 2 ed. (1908), 147, who makes Cicero show toward religion a threefold attitude inherited from the Scipionic circle: poetic, civil, and philosophical), and Jaeger (op. cit. 49-50), who distinguish between Cicero the philosopher and Cicero the senator, magistrate, and orator. Similar inconsistency appears between Cicero's theory and practice in other religious fields as well. Perhaps few men of distinction during all history have kept their speculative theory and actual practice in more carefully separated compartmentsa support of the truth of Fowler's criticism (Roman Ideas of Deity (1914), 6-7) that Cicero (and perhaps his sources) failed to relate their philosophical thinking sufficiently closely to the life about them. The frequent employment by the Romans of legal fictiones may also have made more easy in the mind of a lawyer like Cicero the acceptance of one in a field which so closely affected politics. Again, we must make some allowance, as perhaps Hirzel (l.c.) would wish to do, for Cicero's temporary dependence upon sources which he had not thoroughly mastered, and also for the likelihood that in the second book of the De Legibus he is, in parts at least, describing and recording existing practices rather than creating in his imagination ideal ones. On this subject see also Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1 (1879), 72.

and irresponsible host of impostors¹⁷ and an increasing rather than a diminishing body of delusions. There had also to be considered a few reactionaries among the educated class, who, through bigotry or antiquarian interest, had assumed the defence of well-nigh discarded mantic practices. As prominent among such should be mentioned Appius Claudius Pulcher and Publius Nigidius Figulus. The former, an augur who had dedicated to Cicero a work upon augury, 18 was a friend of Cicero 19 and his predecessor as governor of Cilicia, but a decided reactionary in religious matters and an opponent of the rationalistic views of his fellow augur, C. Claudius Marcellus.²⁰ Appius had died in 48 B.C.²¹ Figulus was a Neopythagorean polymath of distinction, 22 especially in the fields of grammar, theology, and natural science.22 and also a recently deceased24 friend of Cicero.25 He had written works on private augury,28 extispicine,27 dreams,28 the significance of thunder,29 and astrology,30 and might be considered the most notable Roman defender of divination at the time. It is noteworthy that he is nowhere mentioned in our work, but it is very probable, as Hirzel^{30a} suggests, that Cicero had him more or less in mind.

4. Against popular ignorance, then, on the one hand, and political and antiquarian obscurantism on the other, the De Divinatione stands

¹⁷ This outcome, recognized from the time of Ennius (1, 132 infra), appears frequently in our work; cf. Fowler, Relig. Experience of the Roman People (1911), 306.

¹⁸ Cf. 1, 28, n.(scriptum habetis); ad Fam. 3, 4, 2; Schanz, op. cit., 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 492; also n. 138 infra.

19 Who addresses to him the letters of the third book of the ad Familiares. And cf. Zingler, De Cic. Historico Quaest. (1900), 19.

³⁰ Cf. 2, 75; Leg. 2, 32.

21 Cf. Schanz, l.c.

²² The testimony of various authors is collected by Schanz, op. cit. 1, 2, 3 ed., 422; cf. Boissier, Cic. et ses Amis, 9 ed. (1892), 283-284.

²² Cf. Schanz, op. cit. 1, 2, 3 ed., 419-422.

²⁴ According to Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 1972 he died in 45.

³⁵ Cf. ad Fam. 4, 13; ad Q. Fr. 1, 2, 16; Tim. 1-2 (the only citation); Plut. Cic. 20; an Seni, 27; Roehrig, De P. Nigidio Figulo (1887), 1-2; Fries in Rhein. Mus. (1900), 31. 26 Gell. 7, 6, 10.

²⁷ Gell. 16, 6, 12; Macrob. Sat. 6, 9, 5.

28 Lydus, de Ost. 45.

²⁹ Cf. 1, 72, n. (rituales); Lydus, de Ost. 27-38; Schanz, op. cit. 422.

³⁰ The remains of these works on divination will be found in Swoboda's edition of the fragments of Nigidius (1889), 91-128.

30a Op. cit. 1, 538, n. 1. He also tries to explain why Nigidius does not appear in the De Divinatione instead of Quintus Cicero, suggesting that Cicero had planned another memorial for Nigidius and also that he wished to honor his brother Quintus by a place in the dialogue. Furthermore Caesar had exiled Nigidius, and at the time when the plan of the dialogue was being elaborated Cicero may well have considered it inexpedient to insert allusions to him; but cf. n. 142 infra. Possibly, too, a feeling of delicacy about making Nigidius appear, so soon after his death, as the champion of ideas which Cicero subjects to such serious attack may have been a reason for his absence here.

forth as a vigorous rationalistic protest,²¹ which some have not hesitated to compare in its spirit with the passionate earnestness of Lucretius.²² It may be that the work is, in a sense, esoteric, and intended, like the *De Natura Deorum*, for a select circle of Cicero's friends²²—this is in some measure true of certain such works even at the present day—but within this circle, whether large or small, there could have been no doubt as to Cicero's plainly stated purpose: multum enim et nobismet ipsis et nostris profuturi videbamur si eam (sc. superstitionem) funditus sustulissemus.²⁴

5. The date of the work has been, on account of somewhat conflicting evidence, much disputed. We have as indications (1) its relation to other Ciceronian works, especially those noted in the catalogue of philosophical writings in 2, 1-4; (2) direct references to the death of Caesar; (3) allusions to Deiotarus and others which depend for their significance upon the question whether Caesar was alive or dead at the time when they were written. The way through this perplexing mass of detail has been skilfully traced by Durand, whose treatment I shall, in the main, here set forth. First those passages must be mentioned which refer to the Ides of March.

³¹ Lamarre, op. cit. 3 (1901), 280, considers it an epoch-making work directed against the superstitions which formed so large a part of the religious structure of the Romans; cf. also Stoerling, op. cit. 29-32.

28 So Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 70; followed by Thiaucourt, op. cit. 277 (who remarks that the poet shows more enthusiasm and indignation, the orator more logic), and Fowler, Roman Ideas of Deity, 8-9. The comparison with Lucretius applies particularly to the close of the second book. Jaeger, op. cit. 49, thinks that Cicero seldom expressed himself more independently than in this second book.

thus Thiaucourt, op. cit. 276, basing his view upon 2, 28: soli sumus; licet verum exquirere sine invidia, mihi praesertim de plerisque dubitanti. With the spirit of this remark cf. 2, 5: ne postulandum quidem est ut omnes adulescentes se ad haec studia convertant. pauci utinaml and N.D. 1, 61. But possibly these phrases are merely intended to entice the reader by that fascination of the illicit which has so often been the strongest appeal of heterodoxy.

4 2, 148.

"In Mélanges Boissier (1903), 173-183. The view of Sommerbrodt (12 ed. of the De Senectute (1896), Einleitung, 8) that our work was composed after the death of Caesar, and that of Maurer (in Neue Jahrb. 129 (1884), 386-390), Schwenke (in Burs. Jahresb. 47 (1886), 298), and Schanz (op. cit. 1, 2, 2 ed. (1898), 326; but in his 3 ed. (1909), 367 he accepts Durand's explanation) that the first book was written before and the second after the Ides of March (thus trying to account for the appearance of a procemium in the second book; but Hirzel (op. cit. 1, 535, n. 1) following Birt (Das entike Buchwesen (1882), 475) thinks that the procemium of the second book was justified by a change of scene, without any change of date in composition) are very properly rejected by Durand. remarkable theories of Sander (Quaest. de Cic. Libris quos scripsit de Div. (1908), 1-6), assuming posthumous publication by an anonymous person, have been well answered by Heeringa (in Philologus, 68 (1909), 562-568) and need not here detain us.

Surely written before that dates are these: 1, 11: hoc autem tempore, cum sit nihil aliud quod lubenter agere possim; 2, 52-53, where the rationalism of Caesar is favorably contrasted with the superstition of Pompey; 2, 142: nunc quidem propter intermissionem forensis operae et lucubrationes detraxi et meridiationes addidi, quibus uti antea non solebam, nec tam multum dormiens ullo somnio sum admonitus, tantis praesertim de rebus, 28 nec mihi magis umquam videor, quam cum aut in foro magistratus aut in curia senatum video, somniare; possibly also 1, 92: apud maiores nostros senatus tum cum florebat imperium. Subsequent to Caesar's murder are: 1, 26-27 (cf. 2, 78-79), where King Deiotarus is described in a tone which Cicero would hardly have used while Caesar was living;40 1, 43-45, where there may be an allusion suggested by the events of 6 July, 44; 1, 119 (cf. 2, 36): quod paulo ante interitum Caesaris contigit; 2, 7: nunc quoniam de re publica consuli coepti sumus tribuenda est opera rei publicae; 2, 23 (with an account of Caesar's murder); 2, 79: adseculae suo Pergameno nescio cui; 2, 99: quam multa ego Pompeio . . . quam multa huic ipsi Caesari a Chaldaeis dicta memini, neminem eorum nisi senectute, nisi domi, nisi cum claritate esse moriturum; 2, 110: quorum interpres nuper falsa quadam hominum fama dicturus in senatu putabatur eum quem re vera regem habebamus appellandum quoque esse regem si salvi esse vellemus. From these passages it will be clear that though the work as a whole could not have been published before Caesar's death, yet parts, at least, of each book were written before that date.42a By ingenious chronological elimination Durand argues, first, that the De Divinatione must have been written before the De Fato and hence before May-June, 44,49 and, secondly, that between the Ides of March and that date, during which time we know somewhat closely about Cicero's movements, he neither had the time nor was in the frame of mind to have composed such a work,44 and he concludes that it was written mainly before Caesar's death but completed and retouched here and there,4 provided with a new procemium to the second book,4 and pub-

^{*} Cf. Durand, op. cit. 179.

³⁷ See my note on this passage; parallel expressions for enforced retirement are collected by Durand, op. cit. 179, n. 2.

³⁴ Cf. Durand, op. cit. 179, n. 5.

³⁹ See my note on this passage.

⁴⁰ Cf. Durand, op. cit. 174.

⁴¹ See my note on 1, 43 (Bruto).

[&]quot; Cf. Durand, I.c.

^{42a} But cf. the improbable hypothesis of Sander mentioned in n. 35 above.

⁴ Op. cit. 175-176.

⁴⁴ Id. 176-180; cf. ad Att. 14, 13, 4.

⁴⁸ Durand (op. cit. 181, n. 11) fancies that in some of the insertions he can detect the traces of hasty revision. For retouching of works by Cicero cf. ad Att. 13, 21, 4; 16, 3, 1.

^{*}As evidence of Cicero's habit of writing his procemia after the works themselves Durand (op. cit. 173, n. 7) cites ad Att. 13, 32, 3; 16, 6, 4; cf. also Hirzel, op. cit. 1, 535, n. 2.

lished between the Ides of March and 6 April, 44.44 The date of composition may also be more exactly ascertained. The list of philosophical works in 2, 1-3, which is to be considered as chronologically correct.⁴⁷ names in order the Hortensius, the Academica (posteriora), the De Finibus, the Tusculan Disputations, the De Natura Deorum, and the De Senectute.48 Of these the De Finibus was finished by the end of June or early July, 45,49 the Tusculan Disputations probably between June and August, 50 and the De Natura Deorum apparently was begun at least by August, 45,51 but probably not finished until November. 22 It was followed by the De Senectute,50 and it, in turn, by the De Divinatione, preparations for which seem to reach back as far as June, when Cicero asked Atticus to send him a copy of the epitome of Coelius by Brutus and one of the περί προτοίας of Panaetius, but the scene is laid at Tusculum where Marcus and Quintus had recently been together, so and where we know that Cicero was in the last part of December, 45,4 while in January, 44 he was working at Rome in the company of Atticus.⁵⁷ It was, then, as Durand argues, in the period between the first of January and the Ides of March that our work was written.

6. The De Divinatione possesses no formal dedication. Hirzel¹⁸ feels that as a pendant to the De Natura Deorum it should have been dedicated, like that work, to Brutus, and that his absence is perhaps an additional indication that the treatise was composed after the death of Caesar. This reasoning as to the date is not convincing, yet we must agree¹⁹ that the

dae Durand, op. cit. 182. The latter date is reached from the fact that Cicero does not mention the De Divinations in his letters to Atticus, from which Durand argues that it appeared while Cicero and Atticus were together at Rome. The correspondence which was interrupted while Cicero was at Rome, was renewed (ad Au. 14, 1) on 7 April, 44.

⁴⁷ Plasberg, De M. T. Cic. Horiensio Dialogo (1892), 6.

44 interioclus est chiam nuper liber is . . . de senectute.

⁴⁰ Cf. ad Att. 13, 19, 4; also Durand, op. cit. 180, n. 5; Schanz, op. cit. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 353-354.

thinks in August-September; op. cit. 180, n. 8; 181 (where he suggests that the Tusculan Disputations and the De Natura

Deorum together fell between August and November, 45).

theory of Mayor (in his edition of the De Natura Deorum, 3 (1885), xxv-xxvi; condemned by Schwenke in Burs. Jahresb. 47 (1888), 284; cf. 1, 8, n. (perlegi) infra) that the De Natura Deorum was not published until after Cicero's death need not seriously trouble us in dealing with the present problem. Cf. Philippson in Burl. philol. Woch. 38 (1918), 409.

и Ор. cit. 181.

4 2, 3 infra.

4 ad Att. 13, 8; but cf. n. 121 infra.

41, 8: nuper, cum essem cum Q. fraire in Tusculano.

™ ad Att. 13, 42, 1-2.

17 ad Fam. 7, 30, 2.

68 Op. cit. 1, 535.

80 Id., 1, 536.

place of Brutus in the former dialogue is here filled by Quintus Cicero, 60 the only character in addition to Marcus himself. 61 It is quite possible that Cicero strove deliberately to emphasize the difference in purpose between the *De Natura Deorum* and this work by a change both in the dramatis personae and in the person to whom the dialogue is (here by implication) dedicated.

7. Cicero recognizes two types of dialogue, the Heraclidean and the Aristotelian. 62 to the former of which, where the speakers are men of the olden time, belong the De Republica, the De Amicitia, and the De Senectute, to the latter, with speakers contemporaneous with the author, most of Cicero's works in dialogue form, including the De Divinatione. Another feature of the Aristotelian dialogue is expressed in ad Att. 13, 19, 4: quae autem his temporibus scripsi 'Αριστοτέλειον morem habent; in quo sermo ita inducitur ceterorum ut penes ipsum sit principatus; and this idea is further treated in de Fat. 1: quod autem in aliis libris feci qui sunt de natura deorum, itemque in iis quos de divinatione edidi, ut in utramque partem perpetua explicaretur oratio, quo facilius id a quoque probaretur quod cuique maxime probabile videretur, id in hac disputatione de fato casus quidam ne facerem impedivit. The long unbroken speech naturally lent itself better to a writer who was following his sources somewhat slavishly, without having thoroughly mastered their content, than did the give and take of a real dialogue. As befitted a discourse in the Aristotelian style the scene of this conversation is laid in the Lyceum, or upper gymnasium46 upon

⁶⁰ To whom the *De Oratore* and the *De Republica* had already been dedicated. He had also appeared in the fifth book of the *De Finibus*.

⁶¹ Hirzel (*ibid.*, n. 1) observes that Quintus is not addressed in the preface, and compares the similar cases of the *Academica posteriora* (Varro) and the *Brutus* (Brutus), where it might seem unfitting to dedicate to one a dialogue in which he was himself a character.

and Att. 13, 19, 4; ad Fam. 1, 9, 23 (and Tyrrell and Purser's note); Reid's edition of the Academica (1885), 25. Hirzel (op. cit. 1, 276-277) presents various views as to what constituted an Aristotelian dialogue, but arrives at no very definite conclusion. On p. 342 he treats the use of monologue in dialogues contemporaneous with or subsequent to Aristotle. On the general characteristics of Cicero's dialogues cf. id., 1, 457-459; 550-552.

as This phrase Reid (op. cit. 25, and n. 4) takes to refer to the dialogues of about the year 45.

4 In Tusc. 1, 8 Cicero describes the vetus et Socratica ratio contra alterius opinionem disserendi. Wilamowitz (Platon, 1 (1919), 505, n.) remarks that there are no real debates in Cicero's dialogues, "weil er nicht hinreichend in die Gedanken eingedrungen war, übrigens auch den Schüler der Rhetoren nie verleugnete." Cf. also Hirzel, op. cit. 1, 537 on the monologues here represented. In our work the monotony of monologue is relieved (1) by the numerous quotations, especially from the poets; (2) by occasional apostrophes of opponents (as in 1, 23; 2, 108); and (3) by rare interruptions, the most noteworthy being perhaps 2, 100, after which Marcus continues (in 2, 101) quasi ab alio principio.

45 Cf. 1, 8, and n. (Tusculano); 2, 8; Hirzel, op. cit. 1, 537, n. 1.

Cicero's estate at Tusculum, where during the first book the two brothers walk about, while in the second they sit down in bibliotheca quae in Lyceo est. The time is limited to one day, the only break in the dialogue being due to the change from walking to sitting. 88

8. Unlike the De Natura Deorum the dialogue makes no provision for an exposition of Epicurean views, 69 since the Epicureans did not recognize the existence of divination. The Peripatetic doctrines in regard to this art were apparently not very precisely formulated,71 and hence the burden of positive support of divination fell to the Stoics, whose beliefs are here championed by Quintus Cicero. We must, however, avoid the conclusion that Quintus was himself a Stoic, for elsewhere72 he is represented as having Peripatetic sympathies. His selection may be due either to an eclectic synthesizing of the Lyceum and the Stoa, after the example of Cicero's teacher Antiochus,78 or, more likely, to a desire of Cicero to compliment his brother by making him a character in the dialogue, regardless of whether the views ascribed to him were his or not.74 Offset against Quintus and the Stoics in the first book stands Marcus in the second, with a destructive criticism drawn from sources presently to be discussed. but probably fairly well representing his own philosophical (as distinguished from political) views, culminating in the vigorous assault on superstition in 2, 148-150. As at the end of the first book,76 however, Quintus had qualified his constructive argument so that in defending divination he

** Cf. 1, 8: ambulandi causa (and note on this passage); 2, 8: cum . . . satis . . . ambulatum viderctur.

⁶⁷ 2, 8.

44 Cf. Hirzel, op. cit. 1, 528, n. 1.

89 Cf. Thiaucourt, op. cit. 251.

¹⁶ Cf. 1, 5, n. (Epicurum).

71 Cf. 1, 5, and nn.

n Cf. Fin. 5, 96: tum Quintus: mihi quidem, inquit, satis hoc confirmatum videtur, laetorque eam philosophiam cuius antea supellectilem pluris aestimabam quam possessiones reliquarum (ita mihi dives videbatur ut ab ea petere possem quidquid in studiis 'nostris concupissem), hanc igitur laetor etiam acutiorem repertam quam ceteras quod quidam ei deesse dicebant. And in de Div. 2, 100 he expresses a view consistent with this: mea sponte nimis superstitiosam de divinatione Stoicorum sententiam iudicabam; haec me Peripateticorum ratio magis movebat et veteris Dicaearchi et eius qui nunc floret Cratippus, etc. In Fin. 5, 3

Cicero is perhaps trying to indicate that the interests of Quintus were mainly poetical rather than philosophical; cf. Bücheler, Q. Ciceronis Reliquiae (1869), 15-24; Hirzel, op. cit. 1, 537, n. 2; Schanz, op. cit. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 409-410. Also cf. Zielinski, Cic. im Wandel der Jakrhunderte, 2 ed. (1908), 61-62: "zum Anwalt des stoischen Dogmatismus hat er seinen Bruder Quintus gemacht, dessen romantische Dichternatur die Kraft der Weissagung, wenigstens soweit sie unmittelbar im Geiste des Menschen wirkt, nicht missen möchte."

78 Cf. N.D. 1, 16.

74 On the occasional lack of correspondence between the beliefs of Cicero's characters and their views in real life see ad Att. 13, 19, 5; Reid, op. cit. 48; Hirzel, op. cit. 1, 507-508. Yet in Brut. 218-219 Cicero censures the inconsistencies found in some dialogues.

75 1, 132.

might not appear to support charlatanry,⁷⁶ at the end of the second Marcus qualifies his attack, so that in his prosecution of superstition he may not seem to imperil true religion.

- 9. The procemium to the first book sets forth the importance of the subject, due to its almost universal acceptance, and recounts the views of leading philosophers upon it.77 That to the second book has no specific connection with divination, but contains a catalogue of Cicero's philosophical works and an explanation of the reasons which have led him to write This second procemium seriously interrupts the course of the dialogue and was undoubtedly composed after the death of Caesar, 77a and though Birt and Hirzel78 think the slight change of scene sufficient to justify the insertion of another preface it seems more probable that Durand is correct⁷⁹ in suggesting that in presenting to the public a philosophical treatise so soon after the death of Caesar it was desirable for Cicero to offer some explanation. But he was unwilling to discard the introduction to the first book in which he had given a very necessary résumé of the views of earlier philosophers and was desirous that that introduction should stand, to explain to his readers the circumstances of enforced retirement under which the bulk of the work had been composed. 80 that is, his withdrawal from public affairs which had preceded the Ides of March. For a prominent statesman to have written a book on such a subject just after the death of Caesar would have given Roman readers an unfortunate impression of trifling and aloofness at a critical moment in the life of the state, and this impression the retention of the preface to the first book was intended to dispel. **Le manifeste, en tête du second livre, prenait le caractère d'une Postface à l'oeuvre entière."81
- 10. The problem of the sources of this dialogue, as of those of Cicero's other philosophical works, is one of considerable complexity. The speed with which these treatises were dashed off⁸² and the famous statement which Cicero himself makes as to his methods of composition⁸²— $4\pi b\gamma \rho a\phi a$ sunt; minore labore fiunt; verba tantum affero, quibus abundo—are suffi a priori indications that he could have made little use of widely scattered

⁷⁶ The correspondence in the matter here mentioned between the close of the first book and that of the second is perhaps an additional indication that little has been lost at the end of the first; cf. 1, 132, n. (praeclare . . . paratus).

⁷⁷ Cf. 1, 5, n. (philosophorum).

⁷⁷a Cf. 2, 7.

⁷⁸ Cf. n. 35 above.

⁷⁹ Op. cit. 182-183.

⁸⁰ Cf. 1, 11.

^{**} Cf. Ac. 2, 5: sunt . . . qui . . . earum rerum disputationem principibus civitatis non ita decoram putent.

⁸¹ Durand, op. cit. 183.

This has left its traces in almost every work, in such forms as inconcinnity of parts, unfulfilled promises, anachronisms, forgetfulness as to the setting of the dialogues, and occasional rhetorical carelessness.

⁴⁴ ad Att. 12, 52, 3.

sources.84 What the few which he employed were, however, has been much disputed. To reproduce here every argument adduced in regard to each section of our work and the arguments favoring or opposing each theory is manifestly impracticable; the larger aspects, nevertheless, will be here touched upon, and discussion of minor matters will frequently be found in the notes on particular passages. The sources may be roughly divided into a few main groups: (1) those for the résumé of the views of earlier philosophers in 1, 5-7; (2) Greek sources for the defence of divination by Quintus in the first book; (3) Greek sources for the destructive criticism expressed by Marcus in the second book; (4) literary and historical examples added by Cicero in both books and drawn mainly from Roman sources. These I shall now proceed to discuss.

11. The catalogue of views in 1, 5-7 corresponds in purpose to that in N.D. 1, 25-41, but is more plausibly put into the mouth of the author as part of his procemium. In form and content it bears some resemblance, as noted by Diels, 86 to a collection of placita, and likenesses appear between the opinion here ascribed to Xenophanes and that found in Aët. 5, 1, 2, and between that of Dicaearchus and that in Aët. 5, 1, 4. But the rest,

M Cf. Heeringa, Quaestiones ad Cic. de Div. Lib. duos pertinentes (1906), 13. In fact, the use of the few which he probably did employ lies open to much criticism on the ground of their not being thoroughly digested; cf. Usener, Epicurea (1887), lxv; also n. 64 above. That Cicero did not regard his work as original appears in many places, e.g., 1, 11: nihil . . . novi, nec quod praeler celeros ipse senliam, elc.

Among the more important discussions may be mentioned the following: Jacob, in his German translation (1841), 6-7; Drumann, Gesch. Roms. 6(1844), 352; Wachsmuth, Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Daemonen (1860), 14-15; Meltzer in Neue Jahrb. 105 (1872), 429-432; Schiche, De Fontibus Librorum Cic. qui sunt de Div. (1875)—perhaps the most important single contribution to the subject; Corssen, De Posidonio Rhodio (1878), 14-15; Hartfelder, Die Quellen von Ciceros zwei Büchern de divinatione (1878); Diels, Doxographi Graeci (1879), 224-225; Thiaucourt, Essai sur les Traités philos. de Cic. (1885), 251-277; Usener, Epicurea (1887), lxv-lxviii; Schmekel, Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa (1892), 13, n. 8; Masss, Aratea (1892), 156-158; Hoyer in Rhein. Mus. 53 (1898), 55-64; Zingler, De Cicerone Historico Quaest. (1900), especially 18-26; Vick, Quaest. Carneadeae (1901), 36; von Arnim, Stoic. vet. Frag. 1 (1905), xxx; Heeringa, op. cit.; Loercher, De Comp. et Fonte Lib. Cic. qui est de Fato in Diss. philol. Hal. 17 (1907), 342-345; Sander, Quaest. de Cic. Lib. quos scripsit de Div. (1908); Schanz, Gesch. d. rom. Litt. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 367-368; Heeringa in Philologus, 68 (1909), 560-568; id., edition of the de Div. (1909), 18-23; Jaeger, De Oraculis quid vet. Philos. iudicaverint (1910), 39-40; Laurand in Musée Belge, 15 (1911), 7: Schönberger in Bl. f. d. Gymnas.-Schulwesen, 51 (1915), 13-17; Norden, 2 ed. of Virgil, Aen. VI (1916), 41-43. Many other scattering allusions to the question occur, particularly in discussions of the sources of the other philosophical works, and in monographs on individual philosophers. A summary of many of the views in the principal works mentioned will be found in Heeringa, op. cit. 1-5; 35-39.

■ Doxographi Graeci, 224.

although Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics are mentioned, has little similarity, and the list of authors in 1, 6, doubtless added from the same source as the remainder, differs from the custom of the placita. The most recent name mentioned is that of Posidonius, who brings the list down to Cicero's own time, and in the description of the previous names a Stoic bias is at times to be detected, 87 or, at least, a disposition favorable to divination.88 The last part of the catalogue (1, 6-7) is apparently added by Cicero from some other source, for it is distinctly hostile to the art and contains the names of Panaetius and Carneades, who chronologically belong in the earlier list but were probably excluded from it on account of the dislike felt by Cicero's source for their sceptical opinions. 89 In view of these considerations we may perhaps surmise that 1, 1-6 (through the mention of Antipater) was derived from the five books of Posidonius here mentioned, 90 to which Cicero, from his own general knowledge and in his characteristically more copious style, added the counterblast in 1, 6-7 in praise of Panaetius and Carneades.

12. The remainder of the first book is chiefly occupied with an exposition of divination from the standpoint of a believer, and, in particular, of a Stoic.⁹¹ Heeringa⁹² gives a full list of passages in this book in which

87 Note the praise of Chrysippus (1, 6), the contempt for Epicurus (1, 5), and the relatively great space given to Stoics (Zeno, Cleanthes, Chrysippus, Diogenes, Antipater) as contrasted with other schools.

⁸⁸ To be seen in the emphasis on the almost universal acceptance of divination by philosophers. This would make against the ascription of the catalogue to an Academic source.

⁶⁹ The more expanded treatment of the passage containing these two stands in decided contrast to the brevity of what precedes.

•• On the interest of Posidonius in collecting the opinions of the ancients see Hartfelder, op. cit. 8; Diels, op. cit. 225.

⁹¹ 2, 8: alque ego: adcurate tu quidem, inquam, Quinte, et Stoice Stoicorum sententiam defendisti; cf. 1, 10: arcem tu quidem Stoicorum, inquam, Quinte, defendis; 1, 82; 1, 118; 2, 100.

eit. 5 ff.) very methodically shows that the source is (1) Stoic, (2) Greek (on

pp. 5-6 he notes the numerous examples from Greek history, and the employment of Greek words such as particip (1, 1). φυσιολογία (1, 90), μάνταις (1, 95), δαιμόνιον (1, 122), and eluapuism (1, 125); Schiche (ep. cit. 10) had also noted the mention (1, 34) of the Erythraean rather than the Cumaean Sibyl, and (op. cit. 16) the use in 1, 39 of Syracosiorum rather than Syracusanorum; and cf. Thiaucourt, op. cit. 254-255, against supposing that Cicero used a Roman source, such as Varro), (3) not Chrysippus but a more recent Stoic, (4) not Panaetius (on account of 1, 6; 1, 12; 2, 88; 2, 97; etc.; cf. Thiaucourt, op. cit. 259-260; 263; Heeringa, op. cit. 23-24), (5) not Diogenes of Babylon (for though he is cited in 1, 6 and 1, 84, yet it appears from 2, 90 that he did not accept astrology to the same extent as did the source of the first book), (6) nor Antipater (cf. Hartfelder, op. cit. 8), but, by elimination, Posidonius (cited in 1, 6, et al., and a friend and correspondent of Cicero; cf. ad Au. 2, 1, 2), and, in particular, probably his five-volume work περί μαντικής (Hartfelder, op. cit. 10-11).





Cicero cites his sources, but many of these 22a are far earlier writers and are surely used at second-hand, and of those who are mentioned by name only two—Cratippus and Posidonius—need be considered as possible sources on any large scale. Now Corssen⁹⁸ has listed those passages which are undoubtedly derived from Posidonius and finds the following: 1, 60-66 middle (in which the long quotation from Plato (60-61) is closely attached to what follows, and the phrase illo etiam exemplo confirmat Posidonius clearly makes him the source both of what precedes and of what immediately follows⁹⁶); 1, 118 (the reference to the selection of victims by divine guidance is in 2, 35 said to be due to Posidonius); 1, 125-131 (where he definitely announces a threefold division based on Posidonius, whose name is again brought in at 1, 130). Further, when 1, 114 is compared with 1, 129, and 1, 115 with 1, 63, such likeness of thought and expression is found as to make it seem probable that the passage in which they occur³⁶ should also be thus treated. We thus easily win nearly seventeen sections of the first book which can be confidently assigned to Posidonius. With so large an amount clearly due to him it becomes extremely likely that much more is also thus derived, and by elaborate use of combination Schiche. Hartfelder, and others have tried to show traces of his work at many other points, such as 1, 36 (references to astrology), 97 and 1, 47 (the story of Callanus),98 while numerous other details have been pointed out which are at least consistent with what we know of his views. 99 All things con-

⁸⁰ Cf. Pohlenz in *Berl. philol. Woch.* 28 (1908), 71.

10 Op. cit. 14-15.

4 1, 64, and n. (etiam).

The verse and the discussion of sagire in 1, 65, being, of course, excepted.

**Corssen, l.c., would make this include 1, 110-115, and Schmekel (op. cit. 251, n. 1) includes 1, 109-131—possibly too extended a passage to base on this evidence alone. Schiche (op. cit. 25) compares 1, 117 with the second book of the De Natura Deorum (where Posidonius is the probable source) and holds 1, 109-125 to be from Posidonius.

⁹⁷ Cf. Schiche, op. cit. 12-14.

98 So Schiche, op. cit. 18, on the basis of the references in 1, 64-65; cf. Hartfelder, op. cit. 9. An explanation of why this incident was inserted in the section on dreams is given by Schiche, op. cit. 17.

of Thus Hartfelder (op. cit. 9-10) emphasizes the great respect shown by

the source of the first book for Plato and Platonists (cf. Heeringa, op. cit. 14-15), and for writers on natural science, such as Democritus (1, 5; 1, 80; 1, 131; cf. Thiaucourt, op. cit. 263), and notes (p. 11) that Galen (de Plac. Hipp. et Plat. p. 399) says that Posidonius (in the style of our WOIK) βήσεις τε ποιητικάς παρατίθεται καὶ Ιστοplas παλαιών πράξεων μαρτυρούσας οίς λέγει. On Posidonius and the Druids cf. 1, 90, n. (Druidae). See also 1, 97, n. (nam et, etc.); 1, 122, n. (et nostrum, etc.); 1, 126, n. (causa, etc.). It is also not unlikely that by a comparison with Tertullian, De Anima (as suggested by Norden, 2 ed. of Virgil, Aen. VI (1916), 41-43), which shows great likenesses to our work and is apparently derived from Posidonius, yet other passages could be more definitely gained for Posidonian authorship. Similarly Malchin (De Auct. quibusdam qui Posid. Lib. meteor. adhibuerunt (1893), 41-44), from certain likenesses between our work and sidered, then, we seem justified in assuming that the first book is based, in the main, upon Posidonius, and that, in most cases, references to Greek philosophers and to writers and events in Greek history are taken mainly at second-hand through this source.¹⁰⁰ Posidonius seems to have defended

Manilius (especially 1, 1; 1, 34; and Manil. 1, 29; 1, 2 and Manil. 1, 44 ff.; 1, 109 and Manil. 1, 25-65; 1, 118 and Manil. 1, 557) would show that both used Posidonius real markers. In yet other cases where we cannot prove Posidonius the source it is clear that a Stoic is being followed; e.g., 1, 9 (cf. 1, 82-83; Hartfelder, op. cit. 3; Thiaucourt, op. cit. 255, n. 5); 1, 56-57; 1, 72; 1, 79, n. (aliae quae acuta); on 1, 84 cf. Heeringa, op. cit. 13.

100 Attempts have been made to find independent use by Cicero of the works of Cratippus, from whom a long passage is quoted in 1, 70-71 (cf. 2, 107-109), and who is mentioned in 1, 5; 1, 113; 2, 100-101. Loercher (op. cit. 344, n. 1) also thinks that most of the Greek exempla beginning in 1, 39 are from him. Against the use of Cratippus in 1, 110 (as Wachsmuth, op. cit. 20, n. 22 supposed) see Schiche, op. cit. 24, who rather plausibly supposes that Cicero's knowledge of his views is not derived from a published work but from conversations (cf. 1, 5, n. (Cratippus) infra) and correspondence (cf. also Corssen, op. cit. 13, n. 1). On the contrary Heeringa (Quaestiones, 3; 13; 33-34; and in Philologus, 68 (1909), 561-562; opposed by Pohlenz in Berl. philol. Wock. 28 (1908) 72) supposes all this information to have been taken at second-hand through Posi-Again Maass (op. cit. 156-158) would find borrowings from Boethus in 1, 13-16 (Boethus being named in 1, 13), but it is significant that 2, 47, which refers to the passage in the first book, says: prognosticorum causas persecuti sunt et Boethus Stoicus, qui est a te nominatus, et noster etiam Posidonius. There is even less necessity for imagining Boethus as a source in 2, 145. In short, Maass has not given sufficient weight to 1, 130, which Hartfelder (op. cit. 9) well cites as showing the interest of Posidonius in such matters, and Heeringa (Quaestiones, 29) seems to be right in ascribing 1, 13-16 to Posidonius. Similarly Chrysippus, though several times named (1, 6; 1, 37; 1, 39; 1, 84), was doubtless used only through the medium of Posidonius; cf. Hartfelder, op. cit. 6; Thiaucourt, op. cit. 257-259; von Arnim, op. cit. 1, xxx; Heeringa, op. cit. 12; though Hoyer (op. cit. 56) and Loercher (op. cit. 344, n. 1) think that it was through Cratippus. The desire of Wachsmuth (op. cit. 14) to include Diogenes of Babylon among Cicero's immediate sources (on the strength of 1, 6; 1, 82-84; and passages in the second book) should be similarly rejected; (cf. Heeringa, op. cit. 1-2), as well as the suggestion that Clitomachus was used for certain parts of this book which were later to be refuted in the second book (cf. Schiche, op. cit., 19; 21; 36; 42; Thiaucourt, op. cit. 264-265; Sander, op. cit. passim; against which cf. Heeringa, op. cit. 22-23; id., in Philologus, 68(1909), 566-567. In fact, the large size of the work of Posidonius on divination, as suggested by von Arnim (l.c.) was very likely due to its having contained a collection of the placita of earlier philosophers. The complicated and unscientifically developed theory of Hoyer (op. cit., especially 55-56) that Cicero used (1) a large work by Antiochus, already used by him in the De Natura Deorum; (2) an excerpt from Cratippus; (3) another from Posidonius (περί θεών?); and (4) a work of Chrysippus (cf. 1, 6), has been adequately refuted by Heeringa, op. cit. 29-30; 38-39 (cf. Pohlenz, op. cit. 72; Schanz, op. cit. 1, 2, 3 ed. 368), and need not here detain us.

The examples drawn from Greek historians and polymaths—Heraclides (1, 46; 1, 130); Dino (1, 46); Herodotus (1, 121; cf. 2, 116; Laurand, op. cit. 7, and n. 3; Schönberger, l.c.); Xenophon (1, 52; 1,

divination against the attacks made upon it by Carneades,¹⁰¹ and in several places¹⁰² Cicero has failed to notice that he had so modified his definitions as to avoid the criticisms made by Carneades and repeated by Cicero in the second book!

There yet remains the question what work of Posidonius was here used. From the mention of the $\pi\epsilon\rho l$ $\mu\alpha\nu\tau\iota\kappa\tilde{\eta}s$ in 1, 6 it has been not unnaturally thought that that treatise was Cicero's main source, but we know that Posidonius also discussed divination in his $\phi\nu\sigma\iota\kappa\delta s$ $\lambda\delta\gamma\sigma s$, ¹⁰⁸ and Heeringa has collected a noteworthy set of parallels between the first book of the *De Divinatione* and the second of the *De Natura Deorum*, which, following Hirzel¹⁰⁴ and other scholars, he supposes to be based (in sections 1-45; 154 ff.) on Posidonius, $\pi\epsilon\rho l$ $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$. ¹⁰⁶ But Pohlenz (*l.c.*) calls

122); Callisthenes (1, 74; cf. 2, 54; 2, 57); and Philistus (1, 39; 1, 73; Schiche, op. cit. 16; 21; Hartfelder, op. cit. 13; Heeringa, op. cit. 24; 28-29)—need not have been borrowed directly, in spite of Cicero's acquaintance with most of these authors; cf. Heeringa, op. cit. 15-16. Thiaucourt (op. cit. 264) suggests a somewhat larger use by Cicero of his memory of past reading in the insertion of passages independent of his main sources than would commend itself to a critic who was disposed to emphasize Cicero's own statements; cf. n. 83 above. The great influence of Posidonius on Cicero's thought is noted by Hirzel, Untersuchungen zu Ciceros philos. Schriften, 1 (1877), passim; Fowler, Relig. Experience of the Roman People (1911), 382; and for Posidonius as a great intellectual power in the background of the whole Ciceronian age see Leo in Die Kultur der Gegenwart, 1, 8, 2 ed. (1907), 360-361; with the criticism of tendencies to exaggerate his influence expressed by Dobson in Class. Quart. 12 (1918), 179-195.

The attempt of Schiche (op. cit., especially 25) to find in the first book traces of the five volumes into which the rest parties of Posidonius was divided—
(1) a general defence of divination; (2) artificial divination; (3) natural divination; (4) quibus rebus divinatio confirmetur; (5) philosophic explanations of divination—involves many difficulties and is convincingly refuted by Heeringa, op. cit. 18-21; cf. Pohlenz, op. cit. 72.

101 Cf. 1, 12; 1, 23; 1, 62; 1, 109.

102 Cf. 1, 9, and n. (de divinatione); contrast 2, 13; also Schiche, op. cit. 8-9; 29-30; Hartfelder, op. cit. 19-20 (Schiche and Hartfelder think that the definition of divination attacked in 2, 13 was probably that of Antipater); Thiaucourt, op. cit. 261; Heeringa; op. cit. 40-41; Sander, op. cit. 22. Also 1, 118, and n. (potest dux esse); contrast 2, 35; and cf. Heeringa, op. cit. 58-59. Schiche (op. cit. 34) and Hartfelder (op. cit. 19) further show that in 2, 130 the second book by no means exactly corresponds to the arguments of the first, and (Hartfelder, op. cit. 20) that the Stoic explanation of lightning (2, 44) is not that of Posidonius (ap. Sen. N.O. 2, 54). Thiaucourt (op. cit. 269, n. 6) detects anticipations of the arguments of the second book in 1, 23 (contrast 2, 52) and 1, 37 (contrast 2, 115), and the drawing of the rebuttal from works anterior to those containing the positive argument he notes also in the second book of the Academica and the first and second books of the De Finibus (op. cit. 270). And cf. especially 1, 12, n. (Carneades).

166 Cf. Diog. L. 7, 149.

104 Op. cis. 1, 197-243.

¹⁶⁶ Heeringa, op. cit. 25-28; citing 1, 24 (N.D. 2, 12); 1, 79 (N.D. 2, 17); 1, 80 (N.D. 2, 167); 1, 81 (N.D. 2, 6); 1, 87-89 (N.D. 2, 7); 1, 93 (N.D. 2, 7); 1, 118 (N.D. 2, 12; 2, 167).

attention to yet other parallels from Roman history which occur in these two places, but which we must suppose were derived by Cicero from a Roman source (he thinks from Coelius; cf. 1, 78), and concludes that N.D. 2, 6-11 is an injection made by Cicero himself, who there temporarily abandons his main source. If this be correct, then likenesses between that passage and the De Divinatione can hardly be held to show that the latter is derived from the $\pi \epsilon \rho l \theta \epsilon \tilde{\omega} \nu$. Heeringa further argues¹⁰⁶ that Posidonius's triple division of the causes of divination (god, fate, nature) does not appear in our work until 1, 125, all before that point being on the basis of its divine cause alone, and concludes that the first book of the De Divinatione, the subject matter of which, like that of the De Fato, is closely connected with the gods, is derived from the $\pi\epsilon\rho l$ $\theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\nu$. This view may be correct, but on the other side it should not be overlooked (1) that the likenesses cited appear in the De Natura Deorum in but four passages. 107 of which the latter two (which, in view of Pohlenz's reasoning, alone here concern us) do not specifically concern divination; (2) that these illustrations may have been inserted by Cicero in the second book of the De Natura Deorum from the περί μαντικής, or may have appeared in both the περί μαντικής and the περί θεών (as well in those two works of Posidonius as in these two of Cicero!); and (3) that the περί μαντικής may have contained in its earlier books a collection of placita (cf. n. 100 supra), roughly classified by the traditional grouping of natural and artificial divination. and only at the end (in the fifth book?) the philosophical explanation of Posidonius himself.¹⁰⁸ Summing up, then, we may say that the first book of the De Divinatione (with the exception of certain illustrations from Roman sources to be discussed in section 14 below) was apparently derived from a work of Posidonius, probably his περί μαντικής, though possibly his περί θεών.

13. The procemium to the second book¹⁰⁹ is mainly personal in character and not drawn from any outside writer, but the remainder of the book sets forth the case against divination, with Marcus Cicero as speaker, a fact which is perhaps in itself an indication that it has an Academic source.¹¹⁰ Many further passages,¹¹¹ too numerous to be here cited, show either advocacy of views known to have been supported by the Academics or attack upon doctrines of the Stoics which were the especial object of Academic criticism. Among the Academics Carneades here appears with

106 Id. 28.

¹⁰⁷ 2, 6-7; 2, 12; 2, 17; 2, 167.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Schiche, op. cit. 26-27; Hartfelder, op. cit. 13-16, who calls attention to the statements in 2, 8 and 2, 150 describing Cicero's methods of discussion; cf. also 2, 28.

¹¹¹ Cf. Schiche, op. cit. 33-42; Hartfelder, op. cit. 14-17.

¹⁰⁸ This view resembles that of Schiche, but does not go so far in trying to identify the different parts of the original as reflected in the *De Divinatione*.

109 2, 1-7.

particular prominence, ¹¹² but since, like Socrates, he left no writings of his own^{112a} (save some letters of doubtful authenticity), Cicero's knowledge of his doctrines must be derived from the works of some one of his school. Of these most notable as a writer was Clitomachus¹¹³ (a Carthaginian, whose native name was Hasdrubal), the author of over four hundred volumes, ¹¹⁴ of whom Cicero in other works makes considerable use, ¹¹⁵ and a clear indication that he is used in this one also is found in 2, 87: quod Carneadem Clitomachus scribit dicere solitum, etc. ¹¹⁶ The occasional allusions to Posidonius¹¹⁷ in the second book are best regarded as direct additions by Cicero himself, not using any Greek source.

The discussion of astrology (2, 87 middle—2, 97 middle) forms a unit by itself, and at the end we find this remark (2, 97): videsne me non ea

112 Cf. Hartfelder, op. cit. 17-18. Noteworthy passages are 2, 9: me movel illud quod in primis Carneades quaerere solebat, etc.; 2, 97 (at the beginning of a section from another source, to be discussed presently): videsne me non ea dicere quae Carneades sed ea quae princeps Stoicorum Panaetius dixerit? (cf. 2, 51, after another section not taken from Carneades: num ergo opus est ad haec refellenda Carneade?); 2, 115: casu veris (shown by a comparison with 1, 23 to be in accord with the teaching of Carneades); 2, 150. The numerous attacks upon Chrysippus, fighting the Stoics with their own weapons (Schiche, op. cit. 27; Hartfelder, op. cit. 17-18; Heeringa, op. cit. 35), are also quite in the style of Carneades, and the reference in 2,144 to Antipater (Hartfelder, op. cit. 20) is characteristic of Clitomachus.

113a Cf. Diog. L. 4, 65.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Ac. 2, 16; Schiche, op. cit. 27-28; Hartfelder, op. cit. 18-19.

114 Cf. Diog. L. 4, 67.

116 Cf. Vick, Quaestiones Carneadeae (1901), 35-36; Schanz, op. cit. 1, 2, 3 ed. 352 (for the Academica); 362 (for the De Natura Deorum; and Heeringa, op. cit. 37-38, cites parallels between the second book of the De Divinatione and the third book of the De Natura Deorum to show the use of Clitomachus in both); 370 (De Fato?). That Cicero considered him a better authority on the opinions of

Carneades than either Philo or Metrodorus is seen from Ac. 2, 78 (see Reid's note).

116 See also the reference in 2,28 to the haruspices . . . Poeni (Schiche, op. cit. 33), with which compare the allusion to Carthage in N.D. 3, 91; Hirzel, op. cit. 1, 243. The three books of Clitomachus περί μαντικής, which were followed by Cicero in the second book, are but a hypothetical reconstruction of Schiche, op. cit. 42-43, on the analogy of his similar reconstruction for Posidonius on the basis of the first book, and are naturally incapable of proof; cf. Heeringa, op. cit. 35-38, who thinks it more likely that Clitomachus discussed both the nature of the gods and divination in the same work. Loercher (op. cit. 343, n. 3) believes we should distinguish between Cicero's close and literal following of Clitomachus, which he would detect in 2, 9-25; 2, 110- (or 119-) 134; 2, 142-147 (excepting, of course examples from Roman sources), and passages in which he freely recalls or reworks ideas of Carneades, as in 2, 26-87; 2, 97-109; 2, 135-142. Cf. Usener, op. cit. lxvi: umbram captes eamque fallacem si quaeras quem auctorem sequi Cicero voluerit, nisi simul quo modo sequatur, expresserit necne, explores.

117 2, 35; 2, 47; cf. Schiche, op. cit. 33; Hartfelder, op. cit. 20, who similarly regards the references to Cratippus (2, 100-101; 2, 107-109) and Dicaearchus (2, 100; 2, 105).

dicere quae Carneades sed ea quae princeps Stoicorum Panaetius dixerit? And near the beginning of the passage (2, 88) Panaetius is directly cited, and a reference is made to his friend Scylax of Halicarnassus. 118 Panaetius differed from the rest of the Stoics in his scepticism in regard to divination, as is shown by 1, 6119; 1, 12; 2, 88. That he wrote a detailed work on the art we are not told, but, since divination and fate were closely connected in Stoic expositions^{119a} and since we know from a letter of Cicero's¹²⁰ written in June, 45121 that he wished Atticus to send him a copy of the περί προνοίαs of Panaetius, it is a not unreasonable inference that 2, 87-97 have their source in that work. Schmekel¹²² suggests that the Academic refutation of astrology had been reserved by Cicero to use in his De Fato, and that of Panaetius here inserted in its place. Another reason may also be advanced, namely the added impressiveness of refuting Stoic views by the arguments of leaders of the Stoic school.¹²³ We may summarize, then, by saying that the Greek sources of the second book appear to have been (1) a work of Clitomachus, and (2), for the astrological section, the $\pi\epsilon\rho l$ $\pi\rho\sigma\nu olas$ of Panaetius.

14. Quantum . . . Graeci praeceptis valent tantum Romani, quod est maius, exemplis. Thus speaks Quintilian, who also remarks that the orator should be provided with illustrations, both ancient and modern, historical and mythical. Accordingly Cicero, who, even in his philosoph-

118 Also in 1, 95 one to Scipio Africanus (a friend of Panaetius), and in 1, 94 one to weather signs, in which not only the Stoics (1, 13; 2, 47) but especially Panaetius himself (cf. Rep. 1, 15) were much interested; cf. Hartfelder, op. cit. 22; also Schiche, op. cit. 39-40 for other indications of Panaetius as author.

119 Cf. the note at that point on negare.

11% Cf. Hartfelder, op. cit. 22-23.

128 below; Schiche, op. cit. 15-16; 40.

121 Cf. section 5 above. Hirzel, op. cit. 1, 225, n., doubts whether Panaetius treated divination in his περί μαντικής, and thinks that Cicero meant to use the work in the composition of the De Natura Deorum.

122 Op. cit. 176; followed by Heeringa, op. cit. 41.

128 Cf. 1, 6. It may be that the doubt of Panaetius (nec tamen ausus est negare vim esse divinandi sed dubitare se dixit)

was only in the case of astrology so definitely formulated as to be an effective weapon of attack. Schiche thinks (op. cit. 13-14; 32) that the earlier Stoics did not defend astrology, hence that Clitomachus furnished no refutation of it and that Cicero was here forced to draw upon Panaetius. But cf. Hartfelder, op. cit. 20-21.

134 12, 2, 30.

128 12, 4, 1: in primis vero abundare debel orator exemplorum copia cum velerum tum eliam novorum, adeo ut non ea modo quae conscripta sunt historiis aut sermonibus velut per manus tradita quaeque colidie aguntur debeat nosse verum ne ea quidem quae sunt a clarioribus poetis ficta negligere. Cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius) infra. And in 2, 8 Maxcus praises Quintus because plurimis nostris exemplis usus es, et iis quidem claris et inlustribus. See also Reid, op. cit. 25, for the use of exempla as lending to theoretical philosophy that dignity and concreteness which for the practical Roman it otherwise lacked.

cal works retained a touch of the orator, 126 liberally supplied these writings with examples drawn from the history of his own land. In the De Divinatione these illustrations furnish another problem, since they are obviously not derived from Posidonius, 127 Clitomachus, or probably even from Panaetius. In a letter to Atticus already quoted128 Cicero asks for a copy of the epitome of Coelius by Brutus, and it is noteworthy that Coelius is a number of times cited as an authority in our work.¹²⁹ Other writers similarly named are Fabius Pictor, 130 Gellius, 131 C. Gracchus, 138 Sulla,133 and Sisenna,134 while in other instances he mentions annales135 and various indefinite sources.186 That these were all individually consulted in the composition of the De Divinatione is unlikely; perhaps in some instances the information contained in them had lingered in Cicero's memory, but more probable, I believe, is the theory of Zingler¹³⁷ that they are derived from some Roman work supporting divination. Such a work he would find indicated in the various allusions to Appius Claudius Pulcher,138 who, in augural matters, stood in much the same relation to his colleague C. Marcellus as does Quintus Cicero in this dialogue to his brother Marcus.¹³⁹ Definite references to Appius Claudius are also found

136 Cf. n. 4 above.

127 Cf. Zingler, op. cit. 22.

138 ad Att. 13, 8 (June, 45): epitomen Bruti Coelianorum velim mihi mittas, et a Philozeno Harairlou mepl moorolas.

129 1, 48; 1, 49 (where Coelius follows Silenus); 1, 55-56; 1, 78 (the introductory expression magnum illud etiam quod addidit Coelius may imply that 1, 77 also belongs to this quotation, and N.D. 2, 8 would further support this view). With the exception of Orat. 230 Coelius is not mentioned by Cicero outside these two works; cf. Zingler, op. cit. 13. See also Schiche (op. cit. 15-16), who sees no reason to suppose that Cicero used the original of Coelius rather than the epitome; Hartfelder, op. cit. 13, who cites Wölfflin (Antiochus von Syrakus u. Coelius Antipater (1872), 75 ff.) for the interest of Coelius in prodigies; Thiaucourt, op. cit. 265. Meltzer, op. cit. 431, and Wölfflin, op. cit. 26, would detect in these quotations ascribed to Coelius certain archaisms which were apparently retained in the epitome; but cf. Zingler, op. cit. 25.

130 Cf. 1, 43, and n. (Fabi Pictoris Graecis annalibus); 1, 55.

131 Cf. 1, 55, and n. (Fabii, Gellii); Meltzer, op. cit. 430-431; Heeringa, op. cit. 2.

122 Cf. 1, 36, and n. (scriptum reliquit); 2, 62.

132 Cf. 1, 72; 2, 65.

134 Cf. 1, 99; 2, 54.

126 Cf. 1, 33; 1, 51; 1, 100.

120 Cf. Heeringa, op. cit. 2; Zingler, op. cit. 25. Needless trouble is taken by Heeringa (op. cit. 17) in explaining Cicero's use of Silenus. There seems no good reason to doubt that his name was preserved as authority for the incident in 1, 49 both by Coelius and by Brutus in his epitome.

127 Op. cit. 24-25; cf. Soltau in Woch. f. kl. Pkilol. 17 (1900), 571 (who rightly, I think, excepts Coelius from the number of those so used); Holzapfel in Berl. philol. Woch. 21 (1901), 1037-1038.

138 Cf. nn. 18-19 above; 1, 28, n. · (scriptum habetis).

139 Cf. 2, 75; Leg. 2, 32 (which mentions the works of both on the subject of divination); Zingler, op. cit. 20.

in 1, 29-30; 1, 105; 1, 132.140 The extent to which Marcellus may have been used—if used at all—is not clear. Further sources are perhaps to be sought for Cicero's knowledge of the Etrusca disciplina, which is less likely to have been handled either by his Greek authorities or by a distinctly augural source like Appius Claudius. Especially striking is the legend of Tages in 2, 50,141 which appears not to be derived from either Nigidius Figulus¹⁴² or Varro, ¹⁴³ but which Schiche conjectures is due to A. Caecina, 144 a friend of Cicero and an expert in such matters. 145 Finally, there are not a few passages in the two books which are taken directly from Cicero's own works146 or his own experience,147 and so much in accord with his habits in other works is the citation of the old Roman poets that we may be confident that most of such quotations were his direct addition. 148 The Latin sources used in the De Divinatione appear, then, to have been Appius Claudius Pulcher (and possibly C. Marcellus), Coelius Antipater, possibly A. Caecina, and various passages from the Latin poets (including especially the author!) and incidents from Cicero's personal knowledge and experience.

15. In view of the employment of differing and unrelated main sources for the two books and also of the speed with which Cicero wrote, it is not surprising that numerous cases of inconcinnity appear between the different parts of the work. It is unnecessary, however, with Sander 180 to suppose that these defects arose because the work was post-

140 Cf. 1, 28, n. (scriptum habetis); 1,
29, n. (ut P. Claudius); 1, 46, n. (redeamus). That some of these, if based upon Appius, must have been considerably modified by Cicero may be seen from 1, 29.
141 Cf. Schiche, op. cit. 34-35; 43.

148 Cf. nn. 22-30 above; 1, 72, n. (rituales) for the theory of Hertz (De

Nigidii Studiis (1845), 33) that Cicero in our work made use of Nigidius.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Schiche, op. cit. 43; followed by Thiaucourt, op. cit. 274-275; Heeringa, op. cit. 21-22.

144 Cf. Schmeisser, Quaest. de Etrusc. Discipl. (1872), 29; Schiche, l.c.; Thiaucourt, l.c.; Heeringa, l.c.

145 Cf. Schanz, op. cit. 1, 2, 3 ed., 496. Schiche's theory, as Aristotle remarks of dreams, obte καταφρονήσαι βάδιον οδτε πεισθήναι.

the Greek original may have been used in Posidonius); 1, 17-22 and 2, 45 (from the poem on his consulship); 1, 106 (from

his Marius); 2, 63-64 (translation from the Iliad); etc.

147 E.g., 1, 58-59 (the dreams of Marcus and Quintus Cicero); 1, 68-69 (experiences at Dyrrachium); 1, 79 (incident of Roscius); 1, 119 (incident before Caesar's death); etc.

148 E.g., 1, 24; 1, 29; 1, 40-42; 1, 44-45; 1, 66-67; 1, 80; 1, 88; 1, 107-108; 1, 114; 1, 131-132; 2, 57; 2, 82; 2, 104; 2, 112; 2, 115-116; 2, 133; cf. Quintil. 1, 8, 11: praecipue . . . apud Ciceronem . . . vidimus Ennii, Accii, Pacuvii, Lucilii, Terentii, Caecilii, et aliorum inseri versus, summa non eruditionis modo gratia sed etiam iucunditatis, etc.

149 Cf. Schiche, op. cit. 30. The disproportion between the treatment of astrology in the first book and that in the second is striking.

150 Op. cit. 1-6; well answered by Heeringa in *Philologus*, 68 (1909), 562-568. But cf. Sander's rejoinder in *Philologus*, 75 (1919), 388-389.

humously published by an anonymous editor who included in it various marginal jottings not yet worked by Cicero into the text. Faulty arrangement of main divisions of the argument, ¹⁵¹ alternation in the use of sources, ¹⁵² and disproportionate digressions are among the natural results of the methods of composition employed, and are not without parallel in Cicero's other work. ¹⁵³ It was indeed true that *minore labore fiunt*. ¹⁵⁴

16. The effects and the subsequent history of the *De Divinatione* are not altogether easy to trace. In Cicero's own day the work was probably either so esoteric as to have affected few readers, or else, if publicly circulated, one that drew but little attention from a public of which a large part was steeped in superstition, while all were distracted by social and political crises. How generally it was known in the early empire is uncertain, but it is clear that it did not stem the tide of superstition and the mystical reaction against rationalism represented in Cicero's time by Nigidius and Appius Claudius and increasing through the decades which followed. Unless its influence may be detected in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, our first definite cases of borrowing are found in Valerius Maximus. It is, of course, the *exempla* in which he is interested, and it is noteworthy that these are, with two exceptions, drawn from the first book, and are used (chiefly in Valerius, 1, 1-8), as Quintus employs them, as arguments for rather than against belief in divination. Verrius Flac-

181 Cf. 1, 37, n. (barbari, etc.); 1, 72, n. (haruspices, etc.); 1, 93, n. (ac mihi); Schiche, op. cit. 37.

188 Cf. 1, 46, n. (redeamus).

¹⁸⁸ Cf. Mayor on N.D. 3, 42; also id. 3, lxviii for instances in the third book of the De Natura Deorum in which arguments are refuted which had not been advanced in the second book. For forgetfulness due to hasty composition see 1, 87, n. (dixi).

154 ad Att. 12, 52, 3.

185 Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 73-91.

Dion. Hal. 2, 6. Very likely, however, both authors are following the same source. In the parallels which I shall cite in the succeeding notes it is difficult to be sure, when Cicero is not cited by name, that borrowings have not been made from a common source, or, in many cases, at second-hand, e.g., through writers like Valerius Maximus.

167 Cf. Zschech, De Cic. et Liv. Val. Max. Fontibus (1865), 45-50; Krieger, Quibus Fontibus Val. Max. usus sit, etc. (1888); Thormeyer, De Val. Max. et Cic. Quaest. crit. (1902), 80-84. The following likenesses may be noted, though in some cases Valerius probably drew from Livy: 1, 26 (Val. 1, 4, ext. 2); 1, 28 (Val. 2, 1, 1); 1, 30 (Val. 1, 8, 11); 1, 31-32 (Val. 1, 4, 1; probably not from Cicero?); 1, 36 (Val. 4, 6, 1); 1, 39 (Val. 1, 7, ext. 7); 1, 47 (Val. 1, 8, ext. 10); 1, 50 (Val. 1, 7, ext. 8); 1, 51 (Val. 5, 6, 5; conflated with Livy, according to Krieger, op. cit. 7; 25); 1, 55 (Val. 1, 7, 4; probably from Livy; cf. Thormeyer, op. cit. 82); 1, 56 (Val. 1, 7, 6; also cf. Val. 1, 7, ext. 3; Thormeyer, ibid.); 1, 57 (Val. 1, 7, ext. 10); 1, 59 (Val. 1, 7, 5); 1, 72 (Val. 1, 6, 4); 1, 77 (Val. 1, 6, 6); 1, 78 (Val. 1, 6, ext. 2-3); 1, 81 (Val. 1, 1, ext. 9 in Nep. and Par.); 1, 88 (Val. 8, 15, ext. 3); 1, 92 (Val. 1, 1, 1); 1, 103 (Val. 1, 5, 3); 1, 104 (Val. 1, 5, 4); 1, 119 (Val. 1, 6, 13); 2, 52 (Val. 3, 7, ext. 6); 2, 143 (Val. 1, 7, ext. 9).

29

cus158 cited our work, and Pliny the Elder159 quotes three lines of the Prognostica as they stand in the De Divinatione, while elsewhere he shows his acquaintance with the treatise. Plutarch¹⁶¹ transcribes the dream of C. Gracchus (citing Cicero as authority) and the incident of Aemilius Paulus and the dog Persa. Apuleius¹⁶³ possibly, and Aulus Gellius¹⁶⁴ certainly knew the work. At least one characteristic passage¹⁶⁵ impressed Minucius Felix, 166 who, as is well known, makes ample use of the De Natura Deorum, 167 and a passage in Arnobius 168 fairly closely paraphrases part of Cicero's poem on his consulship. Elsewhere¹⁶⁹ Arnobius says that many pagans would like to have Cicero's books burned by order of the Senate, as supporting Christianity and unfavorable to paganism. He is probably thinking especially of the De Natura Deorum, but his remarks are perhaps applicable to the De Divinatione as well, and are suggestive of reasons for its comparatively infrequent mention by pagan writers. Lactantius, the 'Christian Cicero,' also draws much from the philosophical works, 170 and in several places uses the De Divinatione. 171 The citations by Nonius are naturally brief, 172 and the alleged references in Symmachus are not very convincing.¹⁷³ Whether Marius Victorinus, who, according to Jerome, ¹⁷⁴ wrote commentaries on the dialogues of Cicero, included our work within the scope of his labors is very doubtful, for Jerome lists his commentaries

¹⁶⁸ 1, 65; cf. Fest, p. 254 M. (Paul. p. 255M.).

¹⁶⁹ N.H. 18, 228: iam vero . . . arandi.

¹⁶⁰ N.H. 2, 191; cf. de Div. 1, 112. With N.H. 11, 186 cf. de Div. 1, 119.

161 C. Gracch. 1; de Div. 1, 56.

162 Aem. Paul. 10-11 (Κυέρων ὁ βήτωρ ἐν τοῖς περί μαντικῆς); cf. Reg. et Imp. Apophth. Paul. Aem. 2; de Div. 1, 103. The anecdote is repeated by Nicephorus Greg. ap. Synes. de Insomn. p. 132 (in Migne, Patr. Gr. 149, 537), doubtless from Plutarch, although Terzaghi (in Stud. ital. di Filol. class. 12 (1904), 184) is unable to find its source.

163 de Deo Socr. 7; de Div. 1, 32; but Apuleius may be copying Liv. 1, 36, 3.

¹⁶⁴ de Div. 1, 53 (Gell. 15, 13, 7); 1, 62 (Gell. 4, 11, 3—a long quotation); 1, 87 (Gell. 15, 13, 7).

166 1, 7; see n. (anili superstitione).

166 See the numerous passages cited by Wilhelm in *Bresl. philol. Abh.* 2 (1888), 4-5. ¹⁶⁷ Cf. Wilhelm, op. cit. 4; Schanz, op. cit. 3, 2 ed. (1905), 273-274, and the works there cited; Zielinski, Cic. im Wandel der Jahrhunderte, 2 ed. (1908), 115-118; 381-382.

108 7, 40; cf. de Div. 1, 20.

169 3, 7.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. Fessler, Benutzung der philos. Schriften Ciceros durch Lactanz (1913).

¹⁷¹ 1, 19 = 2, 45 (div. Inst. 3, 17, 14; quoting three lines); 1, 34 (div. Inst. 4, 15, 27); 1, 36 (div. Inst. 7, 14, 4); 2, 104 (de Ira, 17, 1; but perhaps from Leg. 1, 21).

172 1, 69 (Non. p. 190M.); 2, 5 (Non. p. 265M.); the formula of citation is M. Tullius de Divinatione.

178 Cf. Kroll in Bresl. philol. Abh. 6, 2 (1891), 73-74; the cases are 1, 78 (Symm. 9, 84: Platonicum nectar); 1, 89 (Symm. 4, 34, 3: et Marciorum quidem vatum divinatio caducis corticibus inculcata est); 1, 132=2, 104 (Symm. 8, 6: ne optimi senatoris longa vexatio fidem faciat nikil curare caelestes; but cf. n. 171 above).

174 adv. Rufin. 1, 16.

in a catalogue of books used by schoolboys, and for such the sceptical character of the De Divinatione would hardly have commended it. Among the grammarians we find it cited by Probus, 176 Charisius, 176 and Diomedes.¹⁷⁷ Several rather dubious parallels have been noted in Ammianus Marcellinus, 178 but a rather definite knowledge of the work and its character is shown by Macrobius.¹⁷⁹ The acquaintance of Jerome¹⁸⁰ with the De Divinatione apparently centred about one passage in the second book.¹⁸¹ Much more significant are certain places in Augustine, 182 especially one 188 in which he discusses the real purpose of the De Natura Deorum and the De Divinatione (which he feels to be the destruction of a belief in prescience and determinism), and remarks: in libris vero de divinatione ex se ipso apertissime ob pugnat praescientiam futurorum, hoc autem totum facere videtur ne fatum esse consentiat et perdat liberam voluntatem, putat enim concessa scientia suturorum ita esse consequens satum ut negari omnino non possit.184 Priscian furnishes testimony for one phrase of our work.¹⁸⁶ Boethius.¹⁸⁶ after a poem describing the difficulties and disadvantages of knowledge of the future, continues: vetus . . . haec est de providentia querela, M. que

176 1, 85 (Prob. Comm. in Virg. p. 25 Keil: ut Cicero divinarum: quorum a dextra corvus, a sinistra corniz facit augurium).

¹⁷⁶ Inst. gram. 1 (GLK, 1, 130).

177 Ars gram. 1 (GLK, 1, 374).

178 Michael, De Amm. Marc. Studiis Ciceronianis (1874), 34, who cites 1, 127 (Amm. 29, 1, 6: rudentem explicuit); 2, 15 (Amm. 22, 1, 1: fortunae . . . volubiles casus; cf. 26, 1, 3: volubilium casuum); 2, 115 (Amm. 18, 5, 6: flexiloquis ambagibus vel obscuris; cf. 31, 2, 11: Hunni flexiloqui et obscuri). See also Amm. 23, 5, 9 for possible borrowings.

178 Sal. 1, 24, 4: cum ipse Tullius, qui non minus professus est philosophandi studium quam loquendi, quotiens aut de natura deorum aut de fato aut de divinatione disputat, gloriam quam oratione conflavit incondita rerum relatione minuat.

180 Cf. Lübeck, Hieronymus quos noverit Scriptores et ex quibus hauserit (1872), 146.

181 2, 115-116. To this Ep. 84, 4, 5 seems to allude; the Comm. in Is. 12, p. 504 Vall. quotes the verse aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse; but for Croesus Halyn penetrans magnam pervertet opum vim Jerome reads Croesus transgressus Halyn maxima regna perdet.

182 2, 110 (Aug. C.D. 3, 17: sicut Cicero in libris de divinatione commemorat, etc., which suggests that the reference a little before this (dico te, Pyrrhe, vincere posse Romanos) is taken from 2, 116: aio te, Aeacida, Romanos vincere posse. This verse, however, was very widely quoted (cf. Vahlen's 2nd edition of Ennius (1903), 33), and in most instances, as with Jerome in the passage discussed above, it is hardly safe to assume that the verse was known only through Cicero. Could we assume this we should be able to add to the list of those familiar with our work a number of writers not otherwise represented, such as Quintilian (7, 9, 6); [Aurelius Victor], de Vir. ill. 35, 1; Porphyrio (on Hor. A. P. 403); and a number of Roman grammarians; cf. Vahlen, l.c.). Further parallels to Augustine are 1, 55 (C. D. 4, 26); 2, 78 (C. D. 4, 30).

183 C.D. 5, 9; cf. Zielinski, op. cit. 154-156; Pease in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 44 (1913), 27-28.

¹⁸⁴ The context is also of interest in this connection.

188 1, 59 (Partit. XII Vers. Aen. 162=GLK, 3, 498: Cicero fasces laureatos).

106 Cons. 5, pr. 4.

Tullio, cum divinationem distribuit, vehementer agitata tibique ipsi res diu prorsus multumque quaesita, etc.¹⁸⁷ In the centuries which immediately follow I have found little allusion to our work,¹⁸⁸ the reference in Isidore¹⁸⁹ to the acredula, sometimes connected with it, being really derived from an earlier version of the Prognostica¹⁸⁰ than that which Cicero quotes in 1, 14.

We should next note an important collection of excerpts found in Cod. Vat. Regin. 1762¹⁹¹ of the ninth or tenth century. Introduced by a poem of fifty-six distichs by the maker of the collection, the presbyter Hadoardus, it contains about a hundred pages¹⁹⁴ drawn from Cicero (with some passages inserted from Sallust and Macrobius) in nineteen chapters. The Ciceronian works used are the Lucullus, Tusculan Disputations, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Fato, De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Officiis, Paradoxa, De Legibus, Hortensius, Timaeus, and De Oratore, a remarkably large number for that epoch. Hadoardus is a West Frankish name, and he was thought by Schwenke to be both the compiler and the copyist of this collection, but Mollweide has clearly shown that could hardly have been made by the compiler, and hence the selection of the excerpts must have antedated our manuscript of them. By less convincing arguments he would date the composition between

¹⁸⁷ There are perhaps other traces of Cicero to be noticed in this section.

188 Cf. Manitius, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. des Mittelalters, 1 (1911), 481-483, for Cicero from the seventh to the ninth century; also Deschamps, Essai bibl. sur M. T. Cic. (1863), 11 ff., on the knowledge of Cicero in the Middle Ages; and Zielinski, op. cit. passim.

- 189 Etym. 12, 7, 37.
- 190 Cf. 1, 14, n. (saepe) infra.
- 191 Noted by Bethmann in Archiv d. Ges. f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, 12 (1874), 325; Dümmler in Neuer Archiv, 4 (1879), 531; Narducci in Bull. di Bibliogr. e di Storia delle Sciense matematiche e fisiche, 15 (1882), 512-518; and published after Narducci's copy by Schwenke in Philologus, 5 Supplbd. (1889), 397-588; cf. id. in Burs. Jahresb. 47 (1888), 270, and Class. Rev. 4 (1890), 349; Manitius, op. cit. 1 (1911), 478-481; also the elaborate treatment of Mollweide in Wien. Stud. 33 (1912), 274-292; 34 (1912), 383-393; 35

(1913), 184-192; 314-322; 36 (1915), 189-200; 37 (1915), 177-185.

198 Following Dümmler and Narducci Schwenke at first considered this manuscript to be of the ninth century; later (in Class. Rev. l. c.) he was influenced by Guenther to date it in the tenth. Plasberg (De M. T. Cic. Hortensio Diologo (1892), 12), without statement of reasons, puts it in the eighth century. Mollweide (op. cit. 33, 278) is inclined to say the ninth.

Verses 111-112 read: hoc opus explicuit nomen cui est Hadoardus, / ordine presbiteri oficioque cluit.

¹⁹⁴ Philologus, l.c. 419-522.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Schwenke, 445-450 (with heading De Divinatione Fato Sorteque ac Somnis); 547-550.

¹⁶⁶ Schwenke, op. cit. 401-402; Moll-weide, op. cit. 34, 384.

197 Op. cit. 400.

198 Op. cit. 34, 387; 35, 190-191.

199 Id. 34, 386.

the time of Jerome²⁰⁰ and the middle of the sixth century, but—sub iudice lis est. The methods of excerpting here used are foreshadowed in the introductory verses, and consisted²⁰¹ in the elimination of what was undesirable from a Christian standpoint, such as references to polytheism, Epicurean views, etc. Again, the interest of the excerpter, unlike that of Valerius Maximus, is not in the illustrations, which he rather consistently omits, but in the abstract argument. As Mollweide points out, however,²⁰² the eliminations are due, not to piety alone but also to the expensiveness of an unabridged edition of the works in question.

The existence of a corpus of the philosophical writings of Cicero as a basis for these excerpts is very probable, 208 and most writers, with the exception of Mollweide, 204 consider that the corpus of eight works 205 which appears in a goodly series of manuscripts 206 receives in these excerpts its oldest testimony. But in view of the fluctuating number of works contained in different manuscripts there is some color for the theory of Mollweide 207 that there may have been in the early Middle Ages at least two different corpora of the philosophical works, one of which, normally with eight component works, is represented by the Leyden corpus (Codd. A, B, F), and the other, with twelve, by the excerpts of Hadoardus, 206 but both of which are ultimately derived from the same source.

By the ninth or tenth century, then, we come to our earliest extant manuscripts. The discussion of the manuscripts I purpose to defer to an appendix to the second book, but in passing a word should be said of one

with whose interest in the classica he attempts (following a hint in Schwenke, ep. cit. 411) to connect the origin of the collection, perhaps among a Gallic circle inspired by Jerome; ep. cit. 34, 384. Not a little in this hypothesis appears very questionable.

³⁰¹ Cf. Schwenke, op. cit. 411-412.

see Op. cit. 34, 384. Hortis (M. T. Cicerone nelle Opere del Petrarca e del Boccaccio (1878), 17) observes that many of Cicero's works were not cited in the Middle Ages largely because their very number made it impossible to acquire them all.

200 Halm, ed. of Cicero, 4 (1862), praef. i; Schwenke, op. cit. 410; id. in Class. Rev. 4 (1890), 347-348; Schanz, op. cit. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 341-342; Manitius, op. cit. 1, 480-481; Mollweide, op. cit. 33, 277-278; Clark, Descent of Manuscripts (1918), 324-363.

204 Op. cit. 33, 278.

²⁰⁶ The De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, Timaeus, De Falo, Paradoxa, Lucullus, De Legibus, Topica.

Be Especially A (Cod. Leid. Voss. 84), B (Cod. Leid. Voss. 86), and F (Cod. Flor. Marc. 257). Codices M (Monac. 528) and V (Vindob. 189) lack the Topica, and others lack one or more additional works. Manitius (op. cit. 480-481) gives a useful list of nine library catalogues from the twelfth to the fifteenth century in which the group appears (with which compare the list of books given by Bishop Harcourt of Bayeux to Corbie; Sandys, Hist. of Class. Schol. 1, 2 ed. (1906), 650), but at least one of the eight (and often more) is lacking.

²⁰⁷ Op. cit. 33, 278.

208 Common to the two would be the Luculius, De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, De Fato, Paradoza, De Legibus, or two of the more important in so far as they affect the question under consideration. Codex A (Leid. Voss. 84) contains at the top of fol. 1 recto the words: hunc librum dedit Rodulf' eps. . . and Plasberg. 200 though unable to identify this particular bishop, would, by an elaborate and not entirely certain process of combination, associate the book with the monastery of St. Mesmin (Aube). The history of H is more clear. for a note of the thirteenth or fourteenth century on fol. 9 verso indicates that it belonged to the monastery at Monte Cassino, and its Beneventan script suggests that it was probably written there, for Petrus Diaconus²¹¹ says of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino from 1058-1087: non solum autem in aedificiis verum etiam in libris describendis operam Desiderius dare permaximam studuit. codices namque nonnullos in hoc loco describi praecepit, quorum nomina haec sunt, and a little later he mentions Ciceronem de natura deorum (which this manuscript contains). This certainly agrees with what we know of H_1^{212} as does the style of writing, which Loew²¹² assigns to the last part of the eleventh century.

The knowledge of our work by John of Salisbury has been disputed. Schaarschmidt²¹⁴ detected its influence, but Krey,²¹⁵ though admitting that it and certain other Ciceronian works were known in John's day, yet finds the references to the *De Divinatione* too scanty and vague.²¹⁶ Webb's edition, however, in 1909, notes a number of other parallels to Cicero,²¹⁷ of which several, but not all, appear also in Valerius Maximus. Whether, then, John compiled his instances directly from Cicero or from Valerius and some other source, or, again, followed some author who had used one

Timaeus; peculiar to the former the Topica, to the latter the Tusculan Disputations, De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Officiis, and De Oratore.

Voss. Lat. Fol. 84 (1915), ii.

²¹⁶ For its later owners (Alexander Petavius, Queen Christina of Sweden, and Isaac Voss) see Plasberg, op. cit. i.

Monast. Casin. 3, 63 (Mon. Germ. Hist. 7, 747; this part reprinted in Loew, Beneventan Script (1914), 81-82); cf. Schwenke in Class. Rev. 4 (1890), 348; Plasberg, Cicero de N.D. de Div. de Leg. Cod. Heins. (Leid. 118) (1912), i.

218 It is doubtless the book which the catalogue of the library of Monte Cassino in 1532 (in Cod. Vat. 3961) calls Lib. de natura Deorum inc. Cum multae res. Divinationum.

²¹³ ap. Plasberg, l.c.; also in his Beneventan Script, 340; cf. id. 50, n. 5.

in a list of works of Cicero known to John, gives the *De Divinatione*, on the strength of a single passage.

²¹⁸ John of Salisbury and the Classics in Wisc. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Lett. 16 (1909), 976.

216 But he obviously relies on the single reference noted by Schaarschmidt.

^{\$17} 1, 78=2, 66 (cf. Policr. p. 409c-d; but this may be from Val. Max. 1, 6, ext. 2-3); 1, 99 (cf. Policr. p. 409d); 1, 103 (cf. Policr. p. 413b; but perhaps from Val. Max. 1, 5, 3); 2, 20 (cf. Policr. p. 409c; but perhaps from Val. Max. 4, 3); 2, 56 (cf. Policr. p. 411c); 2, 115-116 (cf. Policr. p. 462b). The whole question of the sources of John apparently merits a more detailed study.

of these two methods is not clear. Vincent of Beauvais includes the De Divinatione in a list of Ciceronian works,217a and evidence of acquaintance with it on the part of Richard de Fournival (ca. 1250) is to be seen both in his allusion to it in a catalogue and also, perhaps, in a misunderstanding which he seems to show of de Div. 2, 1.218 Roger Bacon remarks:210 Tullius etiam in libro Divinationum magis in particulari ad eius (sc. astrologiae) malitiam descendens ostendit quod cultum divinum destruxit, rempublicam violavit, et medicinam infecit et naturalem philosophiam et omnes bonas artes subvertit. Dante makes no use of the De Divinatione, 200 but Dionigi Roberti da Borgo San Sepolcro²²¹ cites it in his commentary on Valerius Maximus, 1, 6, 4, as does the contemporary Walter Burley (or Burleigh) in his Vita omnium Philosophorum et Poetarum, etc.,222 in a list of Cicero's works. Robert Holkot²²³ in his work on the Wisdom of Solomon²²⁴ is acquainted with the two dreams described in 1, 56-57, but apparently . took them through Valerius Maximus,255 and it seems that Chaucer, in the Nun's Priest's Tale, borrowed them from Holkot, 200 though that he knew of our work, at least indirectly, may be seen from his translation of Boethius.227 The English translation of Ralph Higden's Polychronicon by John of Trevisa²²⁸ also names the De Divinatione among other works of Cicero.

217a Spec. hist. 7, 6.

²¹⁸ Manitius in Rhein. Mus. 47 (1892), Ergänzungsheft, 17.

opus maius, part 4 (1, 240 of Bridges' edition). And cf. Charles, Roger Bacon, sa Vie, ses Ocuvrages, ses Doctrines (1861), 323; on p. 325 he quotes from a curious fragment (Bibl. imp. 7740, fol. 26) a list of works available to Bacon, including the De Divinatione.

²³⁰ Cf. Schück in *Neue Jahrb.* 92 (1865), 264 for classical writers known to Dante; Hortis, op. cit. 23, n. 2.

²²¹ He died in 1342; cf. Hortis, op. cit. n. 3.

²²² Chapter 94; cf. Orelli-Baiter, M.T. Cic. Opera, 3 (1845), xi.

222 Professor at Oxford; died 1349.

254 Lectio 103.

200 Cf. Petersen, On the Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale (1898), 106-110, following the view of Warton but in opposition to Lounsbury (Stud. in Chaucer, 2 (1892), 272-274) and Skeat (edition of Chaucer, 4 (1894), 253), who think that Chaucer drew directly from Cicero.

256 Id. 106-110; 117.

257 5, 4: "Marcus Tullius, when he devyded the divynaciouns (that is to seyn, in his book that he wrot of dyvynaciouns), etc." The parenthesis is not found in the Latin original; cf. n. 186 supra. Whether it is Chaucer's own addition, and so a further testimony to his knowledge of the De Divinations, or is due to some of the other aids which he is thought to have employed (cf. Petersen in Publ. mod. Lang. Assoc. 18 (1903), 173-193; Körting, Grundriss d. Gesch. d. engl. Litt. 4 ed. (1905), 186; Hammond, Chaucer (1908), 87; Wells, Man. of the Writings in Middle English (1916), 650-652; 872; Lowes in Romanic Rev. 8 (1917), 383-400) is a question for Chaucerian scholars.

200 Rolls Series, 41, 4(1872), 143.

The name of Petrarch²³⁹ marks an epoch in the restoration of Cicero, and the interest which he felt in this tractate was considerable. A four-teenth century manuscript of Cicero at Troyes which probably belonged to Petrarch contains the *De Divinatione*,²³⁰ and marginal notes express Petrarch's admiration for particular passages.²³¹ Other important references in Petrarch bearing upon his use of the *De Divinatione* are collected by Hortis.²³² Boccaccio also knew and used the work,²³² naming it among those of Cicero,²³⁴ employing the parts on dreams,²³⁵ and remarking:²³⁶ dicit ergo de fato sic Tullius in libro quem de divinatione scripsit. From a French paraphrase of his *De Casibus Virorum illust*. are probably²³⁷ derived three lines in John Lydgate's Falls of Princes:²³⁸ "He wrote also the dreame of Scipion, / Of rethorikes compiled bokes twayne. / And twayne he wrote of Diuinacion." Giovanni Pontano not merely knew our work but even wrote out a copy with his own hand,^{235a} and Pico della Mirandola, in his work against astrology, makes occasional citations from it.^{236b}

Of the more abundant use in subsequent centuries space forbids more than brief mention. The influence of 1, 34 on Herbert, Lord Cherbury's De Veritate (1624) is noted by Zielinski.²³⁹ Cudworth, in his True Intellectual System,³⁴⁰ quotes from the De Divinatione, and John Toland³⁴¹ praises Cicero's habit, as illustrated in our work and the De Officiis, of artistically inserting Greek exempla to add to the interest of a theoretical discussion. To other English deists the work seems to have appealed because of its vigorous attacks upon superstition; among such may be

²³⁰ Cf. Hortis, op. cit. 46; 49, n. 2; 50, n.; de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme* (1892), 176-223; Zielinski, op. cit. 2 ed., especially 216.

250 Cf. de Nolhac, op. cit. 186-187.

²⁰¹ Id. 196, n. 5; 197, n. 1; cf. 200, and n. 2,

4, p. 525); 46, n. 5 (id. 3, p. 495; fam. Epp. 3, 8; de Otio Relig. 1, p. 352); 49, n. 2 (Apol. c. Galli Cal. p. 1194); 50, n. (de Vita sol. 2, 8, 2; on Cicero's villas—ibi . . . divinationem radicem errorum multiplicium convulsit; fam. Epp. 12, 8: Quintus Cicero frater, cum quo divinationem legesque tractabat). Most of these passages are also cited by de Nolhac.

256 Hortis, op. cit. 73; 82.

²²⁴ Comm. a Dante, Lez. 16; cf. Hortis, op. cit. 73.

²⁸⁵ Passages are collected by Hortis, op. cit. 82.

²²⁶ De Gen. Deor. 1, 5; cf. Hortis, op. cit. 73, n. 2.

227 Cf. Hortis, op. cit. 77, n.

²³⁸ 6, 15.

Soldati, La Poesia astrologica nel Quattrocento (1906), 239, n. 2, and esp. 244, n. 1, quoting Filangeri, Documenti per la Storia, etc. 3 (1885), 50, for a list of the books of Pontano presented by his daughter in 1505 to the church of S. Domenico. Among them was "Cicerone, De Divinatione, scritto di pugno di Gioviano stesso."

²²⁶b Disput. adv. Astrol. (1557 ed.) 1, pp. 77 recto; 2, p. 83 verso; 11, p. 146 verso.

20 Op. cit. 2 ed., 263-264.

Me In the 1845 edition, 3, 97 (de Dis. 1, 115). The reference in 3, 21 to "Cicero in his book of Divination" is really to de Pato, 7.

³⁶¹ In the introduction to his letters to Serena, 8; cf. Zielinski, op. cit. 437-438.

mentioned Anthony Collins,²⁴² Thomas Woolston,²⁴³ Peter Annet,²⁴⁴ and Henry, Viscount Bolingbroke.²⁴⁵ Of its influence upon Voltaire indications are not lacking.²⁴⁶ Quite a different use is made of it by Defoe, in his *Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell.*²⁴⁷ That it was read by Goethe appears from various excerpts in his *Ephemerides.*²⁴⁸

Here we may perhaps close this hasty and inadequate résumé. Enough material, however, has been collected to reveal the *De Divinatione* as a work of rationalism, unsuited to be a text-book for pagan students and hence chiefly cited—when cited at all—as Valerius Maximus used it, for exactly the opposite purpose to that for which it was intended. Christian readers, on the other hand, while welcoming attacks by a pagan upon pagan superstitions, probably felt that the arguments undermined all beliefs in prophecy, Christian as well as pagan, and so used chiefly those portions which were valuable or interesting as exempla. It was hardly before Petrarch that the work was accepted in its true purpose, and perhaps not until the deistic movement that it gained any considerable influence, amid surroundings in which Cicero's other philosophical works were also regarded as of importance. 250

- who in his Discourse of Freethinking makes especial use of 2, 148 ff.; cf. Zielinski, op. cit. 277.
 - 243 Zielinski, op. cit. 280.
 - M Ibid.
- ³⁶⁶ Who repeatedly cites the work, especially with reference to dreams; cf. Zielinski, *op. cii.* 282.
 - 343 Id. 309; 314.
- M⁷ In chapter 5 (p. 85 of the 1903 ed.) he quotes from *de Div.* 1, 64; on p. 101 our work is mentioned in a list of evidences for demonism.
- of the Greek and Latin Writers in Bull. of the Univ. of Wisc. no. 786 (1916), 159.
- ³⁴⁰ On the attitude of different ages toward Cicero's philosophical works in general see Zielinski, op. cit. 314-315; Norden, Die antike Kunstproza, 2, 2 ed. (1919), 691, n.
- ³⁶ An account of manuscripts, editions, and translations is reserved for the appendix.

A—Cod. Leid. Voss. 84, S. IX-X B—Cod. Leid. Voss. 86, S. X H—Cod. Leid. Heins. 118, S. XI V—Cod. Vindob. 189, S. X C—ABHV O—editio Orelliana (1828)

M. TVLLI CICERONIS DE DIVINATIONE LIBER PRIMVS

I. 1. Vetus opinio est iam usque ab heroicis ducta temporibus, eaque et populi Romani et omnium gentium firmata consensu, versari quandam

- 1. vetus opinio: cf. 2 Verr. 4, 106: vetus est haec opinio, iudices . . . hoc cum ceterae gentes sic arbitrantur, tum ipsis Siculis ita persuasum est; N.D. 2, 63: vetus haec opinio Graeciam opplevit.
- 1. heroicis: cf. N.D. 3, 54: is quem heroicis temporibus Acantho Rhodi peperisse dicitur; Tusc. 5, 7: iam heroicis aetatibus Ulixem et Nestorem accepimus. Cicero is doubtless here thinking of various instances of divination mentioned by Homer, such as those cited in 1, 65; 1, 72; 1, 87-89; 2, 63-64; 2, 82, infra. Other examples are those from tragedies based on the Trojan cycle, e.g., 1, 29; 1, 42; 1, 66-67; 1, 80; 1, 114; etc.
- 2. populi Romani: for this distinction between native and foreign theory or evidence see 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius); Leg. 2, 33.
- 2. consensu: cf. 1, 11-12; 1, 84; Leg. 2, 33: iam vero permultorum exemplorum et nostra est plena res publica et omnia regna omnesque populi cunctaeque gentes augurum praedictis multa incredibiliter vera cecidisse; Xen. Apol. Socr. 13: άλλά μέντοι καὶ τὸ προειδέναι γε τον θεόν το μέλλον, και το προσημαίνων & βούλεται, και τούτο, ώσπερ έγώ φημι, ούτω πάντες και λέγουσι και νομίζουσιν; Plut. de Faio 11: μαντική μέν απασιν άνθρώποις εὐδόκιμος ώς άληθως θεών ὑπάρχουσα; id. adv. Col. 27; 31. Elsewhere in Cicero consensus appears as an argument for the existence of the gods or for the immortality of the soul, as in Tusc. 1, 30; 1, 35; omnium consensus naturae vox est; 1, 36: permanere animos arbitramur consensu nationum omnium; Leg. 1, 24. It is sometimes adduced by speakers opposed to Cicero's own views, as by Q. Cicero in this dialogue (e.g., 1, 11-12; 1, 84); Velleius in N.D. 1, 43-44 (an important passage); 1, 46; and Balbus in the same work (2, 12); while it is attacked

by critics, notably by Cotta (N.D. 1, 62; 3, 8; 3, 11; 3, 17). For commonly accepted goural Errotat see also Corssen, De Posidonio Rhodio (1878), 7-8; Wachsmuth, Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik und Dasmonen (1860), 8, who cites Sext. Emp. 9, 132: άτοπον δέ γε τοσούτο πλήθος πραγμάτων άναιρεῖν πεπιστευμένων φόη παρά πάσιν άνθμώποις; Sen. Epist. 117, 6: praesumptioni omnium hominum . . . consensus hominum; cf. Min. Fel. 8, 1; Lact. Inst. 1, 2, 5; Arnold, Roman Stoicism (1911), 143. In other instances Cicero limits his appeal to the consensus of philosophers (N.D. 1, 13; 3, 79; Off. 2, 35); with which may perhaps be compared the famous test of ecclesiastical catholicity formulated by Vincentius Lerinensis (Commonit. 1, 2): in ipsa item catholica ecclesia magnopere curandum est ut id teneamus quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est. For the doctrine of consensus in the deistic movement, influenced in part by Cicero, cf. Zielinski, Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte, 2 ed. (1908), 261 ff.

2. quandam: commonly used by Cicero with abstracts (1) to designate one of a class (e.g., 1, 118: vis quaedam sentiens) or (2) sometimes combined with quasi, in apology for an unusual metaphor (e.g., Tusc. 2, 64: quasi quandam exaggerationem animi) or a translation from the Greek (as N.D. 1, 43: anticipationem quandam decrum). Here translation is clearly not involved, and probably the class idea is vaguely present. Cicero indeed uses divinatio with modifiers of different sorts (1, 4: furoris d.; 1, 115: sommiantis . . . d.). The word divinatio seems not to be used in any extant work earlier than Cicero, but its occurrence in our work is by no means his earliest use of it, nor is there reason for supposing that it was not in familiar use before he employed it.

inter homines divinationem, quam Graeci μαντικήν appellant, id est praesensionem et scientiam rerum futurarum. Magnifica quaedam res et salutaris, si modo est ulla, quaque proxime ad deorum vim natura mortalis possit accedere. Itaque ut alia nos melius multa quam Graeci, sic huic praestantissimae rei nomen nostri a divis, Graeci, ut Plato interpretatur,

- 1. manticen C.
- 3. quaque proxime Turnebus, quaeque (sique V corr.) proxima C.
- 3. mortalis Marsus, mortali C, sed in A i supra lin.
- 1. μαντικήν: cf. Leg. 2, 32: divinationem quam Graeci μαντικήν appellant; N.D. 1, 55: μαντικήν vestra quae Latine divinatio dicitur. For the form of expression see also 1, 90: naturae rationem quam φυσιολογίαν Graeci appellant. The use of the Greek alphabet in Latin works is discussed by Nieschmidt, Quatenus in Scriptura Romani Litteris Graecis usi sunt (1913), esp. p. 40; see also 1, 90; 1, 95; 1, 122; 1, 125; 2, 11; 2, 34; 2, 89; 2, 92; 2, 108; 2, 111; 2, 118; 2, 124; 2, 142, infra. μαντική was originally an adjective, probably modifying ἐπιστήμη (Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 3, n. 1).
- 1. id est: on definitions of divination see 1, 9 (de divinatione). The coupling of praesensio and scientia is found in 1, 105. For scientia cf. also 1, 132.
- 3. si modo: cf. N.D. 2, 78: cum sint di, si modo sunt; 3, 71; Rep. 3, 12: quae est una, si modo est.
- 3. ad deorum vim: cf. Gell. 14, 1, 34: ex quibus est Pacuvianum illud [407 Ribb.]: nam si quae eventura sunt provideant, aequiparent Iovi. The words deorum vim are surely not a periphrasis for deos (so Moser misinterprets Ernesti as thinking), for the comparison is between mortal natura and divine vis, the two being here closely parallel (cf. their use in combination in N.D. 1, 32). A similar expression is found in 1, 34, infra. See also Rep. 1, 12: neque enim est ulla res in qua propius ad deorum numen virtus accedat kumana.
- 4. nos melius: cf. Rep. 2, 30: multa intelleges etiam aliunde sumpta meliora apud nos multo esse facta quam ibi fuissent unde huc translata essent; Tusc. 1, 1: meum semper iudicium fuit omnia nostros aut invenisse per se sapientius quam Graecos aut accepta

- ab illis fecisse meliora; N.D. 2, 8. Though once admitting (Tusc. 2, 35) the greater copiousness of the Greek vocabulary and recognizing a certain popular distrust of the Latin one (N.D. 1, 8 and Mayor's n.). Cicero yet takes every opportunity to insist that Latin is at least equal to Greek (N.D. 1, 8) or even superior (Fin. 1, 10; 3, 5). He also notes certain concepts for which Latin possesses and Greek lacks proper terms (de Or. 2, 17-18; Leg. 1, 27), or cases in which the Latin word is more precise or appropriate (Tusc. 3, 7; 3, 10-11; 3, 23; ad Fam. 9, 24, 3, on the word convivium vs. the Greek συμπόσιον, for which cf. de Sen. 45; Hier. in Is. 1, 22, p. 26 Vall.; Isid. Etym. 20, 1, 3). See Lange in Diss. phil. Hal. 4 (1880), 232-234; Zillinger, Cicero und die altröm. Dichter (1911), 15, n. 2; De Quincey, Collected Writings 10 (1890 ed.), 254-255.
- 5. divis: this form is here used in preference to deis on account of the clearer etymology. Elsewhere in the philosophical works Cicero uses it only in verse quotations and in the archaic language of the De Legibus (except in N.D. 1, 63, in translation from the Greek). Cicero's etymological methods as shown here and elsewhere are discussed by Dietrich, De Ciceronis Ratione etymologica (1911), 43-44.
- 5. Plato: Phaedr. p. 244b-c: τῶν παλαιῶν οὶ τὰ ὁνόματα τιθέμενοι οἰκ αἰσχρόν ἡγοῦντο οἰδὲ δνειδος μανίαν. οἱ γὰρ ᾶν τῆ καλλίστη τέχνη, ἦ τὸ μέλλον κρίνεται, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἐμπλέκοντες μανικὴν ἐκάλεσαν ἀλλ' ὡς καλοῦ ὅντος, ὅταν θεία μοίρα γίγνηται, οῦτω νομίσαντες Θεντο. οἱ δὲ νῦν ἀπειροκάλως τὸ ταῦ ἐπειμβάλλοντες μαντικὴν ἐκάλεσαν; cf. Tim. p. 71 e: ἰκανὸν δὲ σημεῖον ὡς μαντικὴν ἀφροσίνη θεὸς ἀνθρωπίνη δὲδωκεν

a furore duxerunt. 2. Gentem quidem nullam video neque tam humanam atque doctam neque tam inmanem tamque barbaram, quae non significari futura et a quibusdam intellegi praedicique posse censeat. Principio Assyrii, ut ab ultimis auctoritatem repetam, propter planitiam magnitudi-

οδδείς γάρ έννους εφάπτεται μαντικής ένθεου και άληθοῦς, κτλ. (in what follows Plato distinguishes between the inspired uarts and the sane *poophrns or interpreter); Cael. Aur. Chron. 1, 5. This etymology of Plato has been variously regarded by scholars. Meyer, Gr. Etymol. 4 (1902), 365 assigns the word to the root war. but is not certain in what sense it is to be taken, probably not in that of μαίνεσθαι. Prellwitz, Elym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1905), 281, like Plato, connects it with μηνες, Doric µarıs, and µalroµaı, and compares Hdt. 4, 79: ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. Boisacq, Dict. étym. de la Langue grecque (1912), 608-609, discards the explanation proposed by Osthoff (Indog. Forsch. 15(1904), Anz. 104-105): μά-ν-τις, 'seer,' cf. ματεύειν, 'search,' and thinks it a combination of *ματι-(=Skt. mali-, Lat. mens) and *μανι-(=Skt. muni-, 'inspired,' 'seer'). For Plato as an etymologist cf. Muller, De Veterum imprimis Romanorum Studiis etymol. 1 (1910), 15-33, esp. 26, n. 3.

Serv. Aen. 3, 443 (in Cod. Dresd. D. 136): a Graecorum tractum etymologia qui parreis à nò riis parlas appellaverunt. nam supra sensus humanos intelligentia furor et insania dicitur, teste Cicerone lib. de divinatione 'huic praestantissimae . . . a furore dixerunt (sic).'

1. furore: in this sense in many passages in our work: 1, 4; 1, 5; 1, 18; 1, 66; 1, 70; 1, 80; 1, 81; 1, 85; 1, 118; 1, 126; 2, 16; 2, 100; 2, 101; 2, 110-112. In Tusc. 3,11 it is made the equivalent of $\mu e \lambda a \gamma \chi o \lambda l a$ rather than of $\mu a \nu l a$.

1-2. humanam atque doctam: cf. 2 Verr. 4, 98: homo doctissimus atque humanissimus. Similar sweeping assertions are found in Leg. 1, 24: nulla gens ést neque tam mansueta neque tam fera quae non, etiam si ignoret qualem habere deum deceat, tamen habendum sciat; Leg. 2, 33; Tusc. 1, 30; N.D. 1, 43;

also 1, 12 infra. For the extent of beliefs in divination see Toy, *Introduction to the History of Religions* (1913), 410, and the bibliography in n. 1.

3. principio: cf. 1, 3; 1, 17; al. The catalogue in the following passage of kinds of divination, arranged geographically and historically, is closely parallel to that in 1, 87-94; cf. 1, 93, n. (ac mihi).

4. Assyrii: here confused with the Babylonians, the reasons for whose interest in the stars are related in similar words in 1, 93. Cf. Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 8: nam si principes Chaldaei, qui in patentibus campis colebant, stellarum motus et vias et discessiones et coetus intuentes, quid ex his efficeretur observaverunt, etc. Elsewhere (Tusc. 5, 101, and Kühner's n.) Cicero confuses Assyrians and Syrians.

4. ultimis: the subsequent order, gradually approaching Rome, might suggest that this applied to location rather than to time, and I find no case in Cicero's philosophical works in which ultimus without a qualifying word refers to past time. Yet compare two similar passages with repeto: Fin. 1, 65: ab ultima antiquitate repetitis; N.D. 1, 25: ab ultimo repetam superiorum; also Leg. 1, 8. In 1, 36 infra the extreme age of the Babylonian astrological records is noted.

Various mythical inventors of divination and of its different branches are recorded. Pliny says (N.H. 7, 203): auguria ex avibus Car (sc. invenit) a quo Caria appellata, adiecit ex ceteris animalibus Orpheus, haruspicam Delphus, ignispicia Amphiaraus, extispicia avium Tiresias Thebanus, interpretationem ostentorum et somniorum Amphictyon, astrologiam Atlas Libyae filius, ut alii Aegyptii, ut alii Assyrii; Clem. Strom. 1, 16, 74: Αιγύπτιοι γοῦν πρῶτοι ἀστρολογίαν els ἀνθρώπους ἐξηνεγκαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Χαλδαῖοι. . . elσίν δὲ οἱ Κᾶρας τὴν δι' ἀστέρων πρὸγνωσιν ἐπινενοηκέναι λέγουσιν. πτήσεις δὲ

nemque regionum quas incolebant, cum caelum ex omni parte patens atque

δρυίθων παρεφυλάξαυτο πρώτοι Φρύγες, καί θυτικόν ἡκρίβωσαν Τοῦσκοι, Ίταλίας γείτονες. Ίσαυροι δὲ καὶ "Αραβες Εξεπίνησαν τήν οίωνιστικήν, ώσπερ < άμέλει> Τελμεσείς τήν δι' όνείρων μαντικήν. Justin 1, 1, 5 traces the astrological knowledge of the East from Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum . . . qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse et motus diligentissime spectasse; siderum and by Servius the invention is ascribed to Prometheus (Serv. Ed. 6, 42): Promotheus dictus est and the apopulates, id est a providentia. hic primus astrologiam Assyriis indicavil quam residens in monte altissimo Caucaso nimia cura et sollicitudine deprenderat. Aeschylus (in Prom. Vinct. 484 ff.) ascribes to him the invention of divination through dreams, exôlic, augury, and exta, but says nothing of astrology—an indication that it was not yet familiar to the Greeks (cf. Riess in P.-W. s.v. Astrologie, 1810). Other supposed inventors are Apollo (Plat. Symp. p. 197a: τοξικήν γε μήν και laτρικήν και μαντικήν 'Απόλλων άνηθρεν); Atlas (Eupolemus ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 9, 173 = F. H.G. 3,212; Arnob. 2, 69; Serv. Acs. 4, 246-247; Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 380: Atlas frater Promethei praecipuus astrologus dictus est, qui ob eruditionem istius disciplinae etiam caelum sustinere affirmatus est; Theutis the Egyptian (Arnob. I.c.); Hippo, daughter of Chiron (Eur. Medarinan & soot in Tr. Graec. Fr. 2 ed. 452); Abraham (Eupolemus l.c.: & δή και την άστρολογίαν και Χαλδαϊκήν εύρειν); demons (Lact. Inst. 2, 16, 1); and finally the devil himself (Firm. Mat. Esr. 1, 1).

The ages of the Babylonian and Egyptian astrologies have been the subject of much controversy, ancient and modern (cf. Riess in P.-W. s.v. Astrologie, 1805). The opinion of most scholars, however, favors Babylonia as the earlier source. For a review of the discussion as to the age of the Babylonian astrology see Jastrow in Proc. Am. Philos. Soc. 47 (1908), 667, and n. 53. Kügler (Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel (1907), 61) maintains that the earliest dated genuinely astrological tablet dates from 522 B.C.,

although based on an older original, and in his Kulturkistorische Bedeutung der babylon. Astronomie (in Vereinschriften der Görres-Gesellschaft, 3 (1907), 38-50) further supports the late origin of the Babylonian astrology. He is followed by Boll (in Neue Jahrbücher für kl. Altertum, 31 (1913), 103-126) and King (in Proc. Soc. of Bibl. Arch. 35 (1913), 41-46), who states that even late Babylonian astrology was very primitive in character, and that scientific astronomy is hardly earlier than the eighth century before Christ. On the other hand, Jeremias (Das Alter der babylon. Astronomie (1908), and the adherents of the Winckler school hold to the view that it arose in the early period of Babylonian history; cf. 1, 36, n. (quadringenta, etc.). Jastrow (op. cit. 655), believes that the earliest texts known to us do not revert to originals older than the time of Hammurapi (dated by Meyer (Gesch. d. Alteriums 1, 2, 2ed. (1909), 341 from 1958-1916 B.C.), but that astrology in Babylonia may be older than this (see also his Relig. Babylon. u. Assyr. 2 (1912), 432, n. 1), and Meyer (op. cit. 525) finds the first inscriptions of astrological tendency(?) in the time of Gudea (ca. 2500 B.C.), but thinks their source may be dated in the time of Sargon (ca. 2850), while to the periods of Gudea and Sargon Weidner (Oriental. Liter. 16 (1913), 41-46; 102-103) ascribes certain astrological texts. From these and other elements, according to Meyer (op. cit. 528; cf. 402, n.), in the early part of the first millennium B.C., a new Aramaic branch, the Chaldaeans, entering the south, developed an elaborate system, the Chaldaean astrology. In any event, astrology must be considered an advanced and learned rather than a primitive product (cf. Jastrow in Proc. Am. Philos. Soc. 47 (1908), 647, n. 3; 656). The Babylonian astrology was at its height in the Seleucid and Arsacid periods (id. 667-668).

Of early astrological remains in Egypt there is little or no trace (Meyer, op. cit. 152, says that astrology is foreign to Egypt), and apertum intuerentur, traiectiones motusque stellarum observitaverunt, quibus notatis, quid cuique significaretur memoriae prodiderunt. Qua in natione Chaldaei, non ex artis sed ex gentis vocabulo nominati, diuturna

in Greece the first indication is probably to be found in the fragment of Euripides, Medaplann & sooth, cited above. Its first teacher among the Greeks was apparently Berosus, who in the time of Alexander opened a school in Cos (Vitr. 9, 6, 2). Genethlialogy, or the casting of individual horoscopes from the position of the heavenly bodies at the moment of birth, is a Greek contribution to the art, and nowhere appears in Babylonia. Greek social and political theory may in part account for this increased importance attached to the fate of the individual (cf. Jastrow, op. cit. 669).

After astrology developed in Greece, the Egyptians found it profitable to dispute the Babylonian origin in favor of an Egyptian one, and thus two schools arose whose exact differences are unknown to us (Riess, op. cit. 1817). This Egyptian influence is to be dated in the Ptolemaic period, (Jastrow, op. cit. 670, n. 67.). The Egyptian claims were supported by various authors, especially by Diodorus: 1, 9, 6; 1, 50, 1; 1, 81, 6: φασὶ δέ και τούς 🖢 Βαβυλώνι Χαλδαίους, άποίκους Δίγυπτίων δυτας, την δόξαν έχειν την περί της άστρολογίας παρά των Ιερών μαθόντας των Alyuntlar; 5, 57, 2-4, in which Actis, one of the Heliadae and founder of Heliopolis, is said to have taught the Egyptians astrology. The source of Diodorus in these accounts seems to be Hecataeus, a contemporary of Ptolemy I (Riess, op. cit. 1816). Cf. also Macr. Somn. 1, 21, 9: Aegyptiorum . . . quos constat primos omnium caelum scrutari et metiri solitos; [Luc.] de Astrol. 3; 5; 9; Arnob. 2, 69; Lact. Inst. 2, 13, 10; [Clem.] Recogn. 5, 20. For the contrary claims of Babylon cf. Arist. ap. Diog. L. praef. 8; Orig. c. Cds. 6, 80; Joseph. Antiq. 1, 168; Procl. in Plat. Tim. p. 277d; Eupolemus ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 9, 17, 3; Thdt. Gr. Affect. 1, p. 6. Non-committal are Pliny N.H. 7, 203; Philostr. Vit. Sopk. 1, pracf. 1 (who considers the Hindus still earlier discoverers); Iambl. Vit. Pyth. 158; Julian, Or. 4, p. 156b; Serv. Aen. 6, 848; Schol. Greg. Naz. Or. 1 c. Iul. 70 (Migne, Patr. Gr. 36, 1022). Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 2 says: disciplinam istam Chaldaeorum tantae vetustatis non esse quantae videri volunt, neque eos principes eius auctoresque esse quos ipsi ferant, sed id praestigiarum alque offuciarum genus commentos esse homines aeruscatores et cibum quaestumque ex mendaciis captantes.

[42] If. caelum..apertum: Theophr. de Signis plus. 4 speaks of the observation of the stars from mountains, for a similar reason.

- 1. traiectiones: cf. 2, 16; 2, 60.
- 1. observitaverunt: cf. 1, 102; Gell. 10, 15, 27; possibly it is a technical term.
- 2. cuique significaretur: Hottinger, comparing 1, 92 (quid quibusque ostendatur monstris), emended to quoque (sc. signo), and Allen explained cuique as a dative used for the ablative 'more Graeco,' which, however, as Klotz well pointed out (Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Paedagog. 33 (1841), 310), is a construction employed with reference to persons rather than to things. The phrase is apparently used, then, in the same general sense as quid cuique eventurum in the next sentence, save that the emphasis is here upon the prediction rather than upon the fulfilment.
- 2. memoriae prodiderunt: cf. 1, 55. The phrase appears ten times in the philosophical works alone.
- 3. Chaldaei non ex artis: cf. 1, 91; also see 1, 2, n. (ultimis) supra. Berosus used the term Chaldaei for the inhabitants of Babylonia (and called the population of the city Babylonians), but this was because of his failure to understand racial differences (Meyer, Gesch. d. Alteriums, 1, 2, 2 ed. (1909), 402, n.). The art came to be called Xaldauri (Riess in P.-W. s.v. Astrologie (1896), 1807), and its practitioners appear frequently in Greek

observatione siderum scientiam putantur effecisse, ut praedici posset quid cuique eventurum et quo quisque fato natus esset. Eandem artem etiam Aegyptii longinquitate temporum innumerabilibus paene saeculis consecuti putantur. Cilicum autem et Pisidarum gens et his finituma Pamphylia, quibus nationibus praefuimus ipsi, volatibus avium cantibusque, ut

5. ut addidit Lambinus, et addidit V2.

and Latin literature under the (often derogatory) title of Chaldaei (e.g., 2, 84; Tusc. 1, 95), and similarly in Hebrew (cf. Toy, Introduction to the History of Religions (1913), 375, n. 3). Yet the geographical character of the name is also recognized, as, for instance, by Strabo 16, p. 739; Amm. Marc. 23, 6, 25. Cf. Gell. 1, 9, 6: vulgus autem quos gentilicio vocabulo Chaldaeos dicere oportet mathematicos dicit. Cf. Jastrow in Proc. Am. Philos. Soc. 47 (1908), 674-675; id. Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria (1911), 259-260.

[43]3f. diuturna observatione: cf. 1, 34; Hier. in Is. 11, p. 476 Vall.; Jul. Afric. Chronogr. fr. 1 (quoted below); and with the phrase cf. 1, 109; 1, 128; 2, 26; 2, 28; 2, 42; 2, 124; 2, 146.

1. siderum: possibly modifying observatione, but more probably either scientiam or both words; observatio in the philosophical works being usually unmodified, while scientia frequently has a dependent genitive.

1. scientiam . . . effecisse: cf. 1, 3, n, (scientiam); 1, 25, n. (ars est effecta).

2. quo quisque fato; cf. Manil. 1, 51-57: hi tantum movere decus primique per artem / sideribus videre vagis pendentia fata. / singula nam proprio signarunt tempora casu / longa per assiduas complexi saecula curas, / nascendi quae cuique dies, quae vita fuisset, / in quas fortunae leges quaeque hora valeret, / quantaque quam parvi facerent discrimina motus.

3. longinquitate temporum: cf. Jul. Afric. Chronogr. fr. 1 (Migne, Patr. Gr. 10, 63): Αιγύπτιοι μὲν οὖν ἐπι τῶν κομπωδέστερον <φλυαροῦντες> χρόνων, περι τὰς περιόδους και μυριάδας ἐτῶν, κατάθεσίν τινα τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀστρολογουμένων ἐξέθεντο

... 4 τον των Χαλδαίων λήρου, το των τεσσαράκοντα όκτω μυριάδων, τι δεί λέγειν; For the age of Egyptian records see Rep. 3, 14; and for the phrase here used cf. 1, 12: longinguitas temporum.

3. innumerabilibus: cf. 2, 147; Diod. 1, 81, 4: ἐπιμελοῦς γάρ, el καὶ παρὰ τισιν ἄλλοις, καὶ παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις παρατηρήσεως τυγχάνουσιν αὶ τῶν ἄστρων τάξεις τε καὶ κινήσεις: καὶ τὰς μὲν περὶ ἐκάστων ἐναγραφὰς ἐξ ἐτῶν ἀπίστων τῷ πλήθει ψυλάττουσιν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ἐξηλωμένης παρὰ αὐτοῦς τῷς περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῆς, κτλ.

4. Cilicum: cf. 1, 25; 1, 92; 1, 94: et Cilices... cantus avium et volatus notaverunt; eademque et Pisidiae causa fuit, etc.; 2, 80; Leg. 2, 33. For the augurkings Amphilochus and Mopsus as founders of Cilician towns see 1, 88; Plut. de Def. Orac. 44-45; and for Cilician haruspicine Tac. Hist. 2, 3.

4. Pisidarum: from 1, 105 it would appear that the Pisidians were proverbial for their credulity in matters of augury; cf. 1, 25; 1, 92; 2, 80.

4. Pamphylia: in 1, 25 augury is spoken of as still practiced there.

5. praefumus: Cicero's proconsular province included Cilicia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cyprus, Isauria, Lycaonia, and three dioceses north of the Taurus (cf. Tyrrell and Purser, Correspondence of Cicero, 3, 2 ed. (1914), ix). He reached Laodicea 31 July, 51 B.C. (ad Att. 5, 15, 1; 5, 16, 2), and his year's service expired 30 July, 50 (ad Att. 6, 2, 6). His activities during this term are described by Tyrrell and Purser, op. cit. ix-xxxvi, and his travels in the province by Schmidt, Der Briefwechsel des M. T. Cicero (1893), 77-91; Schiche, Zu Ciceros Briefwechsel während seiner Statthalterschaft von Cilicien

certissimis signis, declarari res futuras putant. 3. Quam vero Graecia coloniam misit in Aeoliam, Ioniam, Asiam, Siciliam, Italiam sine Pythio aut Dodonaeo aut Hammonis oraculo? aut quod bellum susceptum ab ea

2. Acoliam Turnebus, Actoliam C.

(1897); Girard, Les Assises de Cictron en Cilicie (in Mélanges Boissier (1903), 217 ff.). Cf. Hunter, Cicero's Journey to his Province of Cilicia in 51 B. C. (Journ. of Rom. Stud. 3 (1913), 73-97, with map). For a Greek inscription perhaps mentioning Cicero during his proconsulship see Wiegand, Milet, 1 (1906), 101-102, esp. line 39. Tyrrell and Purser note (p. xi) the almost complete lack of references in Cicero's letters from Cilicia to observations of local customs. In our work there are a few allusions, however, perhaps prompted by his travels in Asia Minor: 1, 79; 1, 88; 1, 91; 1, 94.

- 1. quam vero: cf. Rep. 2, 9: coloniarum vero quae est deducta a Graiis in Asiam, Thracam, Italiam, Siciliam, Africam, praeter unam Magnesiam, quam unda non adluat?
- 2. coloniam misit: the views of numerous scholars upon the relations between the oracles (especially the Delphic oracle) and Greek colonization I have discussed in Class. Phil. 12 (1917), 1-20, with a collection of many oracular utterances directing the planting of colonies. Cf. also Dempsey, The Delphic Oracle (1918), 96-104. It appears probable that Delphi, Dodona, and perhaps other shrines may have been consulted for the confirmation of sites already chosen, the legitimization of the occupancy of new sites, and for inquiry as to religious rites to be established there, but that the oracles actually preserved to us are chiefly those concocted after the event by colonists, priests, or antiquarians for sentimental, mercenary, or historical purposes respectively.
- Aeoliam, etc.: the principal spheres of colonization in Asia Minor and Sicily and Magna Graecia here stand as types of Greek colonization as a whole.
 - 2. sine: Cicero, it will be noticed, is

- somewhat non-committal as to the exact degree of influence exerted by the oracles in this respect.
- 2. Pythio: in the great majority of cases it was Delphi which was consulted; I have noted a few instances of the consultation of Dodona (op. cit. 4). oracle of Ammon was too inconvenient of access to be much used at the period of colonization, and is probably here added (as in 1, 95; cf. Jaeger, De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint (1910), 22, and n. 2) solely to complete a rhetorical group of three. The fondness for such groups of three may be seen in Plin. Ep. 2, 20, 9: scholastica lege tertiam poscis; cf. Quintil. 4, 5, 3; Merguet, Lex. s. d. phil. Schriften Ciceros, s.vv. tres (genera, modi, partes, etc.), triplex; Schoenberger, Beispiele aus der Geschichte (1911), 60-63; 1, 24, n. (an medicina); Lease in Class. Pkilol. 14 (1919), 59, and n. 4. Delphi, Dodona, and Ammon also appear together in the Lysander story; cf. 1, 96, n. (Lycurgus) and works there cited; also Plat. Leg. p. 738c. In the choice of names in similar stock lists of oracles Delphi and Dodona predominate in frequency, followed by Clarus, the oracle of Ammon, Didyma, etc. Myers (Class. Essays (1883), 21, n.) states that the number of oracular seats in Greece has been estimated at 260.
- 3. Dodonaeo: according to tradition the ancient oracle of Zeus at Dodona was founded by Deucalion (Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la Divination, 2 (1880), 280, n. 2), and is known in literature as early as Homer (Il. 16, 233; Od. 14, 327; 19, 296). It was probably originally that of a fountain deity, for the inscriptions dealing with it constantly refer to (Zebs)Ná(i)os (for the derivation of which cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 290, n.),

sine consilio deorum est? II. Nec unum genus est divinationis publice privatimque celebratum. Nam, ut omittam ceteros populos, noster quam multa genera conplexus est! Principio huius urbis parens Romulus non

who was probably later identified with the panhellenic Zeus (Kern in P.-W. s.v. Dodona (1903), 1261). Other traditions make its foundation akin to that of Ammon (see the following note), to the cult of which it presents various likenesses, and in its importance among the Greeks it is second only to Delphi. On the various forms of divination practiced there (doves, talking oak, cauldrons, Selli, etc.) cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 277-331; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 1 (1906), 354-355; Cook in Journ. of Hell. Stud. 22 (1902), 5-28. A good ancient description of the oracle is found in Philostr. Imag. 2, 33. The oracle was pillaged in 219 B.C., suffered in the time of Mithridates, had ceased in the time of Strabo (7, p. 327), was apparently revived but again destroyed by the time of Julian (Himer. Ecl. 20, 5), and its sacred oak cut down (Serv. Aen. 3, 466). The extant responses of Dodona have been collected by Carapanos, Dodone et ses Ruines, 1 (1878), 142 ff., and to him we owe most of our knowledge of the site, first recognized by Lincoln in 1832 at Dramisus in the valley of Tcharacovista, 18 km. SW. of Janina, among springs and oak trees. Though much remains to be done there (Kern, op. cit. 1258), important finds were made by Carapanos, including inscribed bronze, copper, and lead tablets (vol. 1, 39-83) connected with the consultation of the oracle, which have been studied in detail by Roberts (in Journ. of Hell. Stud. 1 (1880), 228-241; 2(1881), 102-121); Pomtow (in Fleck. Jakrb. 127 (1883), 305-360); cf. 1, 76, n. (sortes).

[45]3. Hammonis: the word usually appears in Greek without, in Latin with the aspirate (cf. 1, 95; N.D. 1, 82), which is due, according to Meyer (in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, 1, 291; cf. Cook, Zeus, 1 (1914), 354), to a confusion with the

Punic Ba'al chamman, or 'fiery Baal,' much worshipped in N. Africa (for other suggested derivations--άμμος, άμμη, or the name of an eponymous hero-cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 339, n. 3). By modern scholars the god has usually been traced to Amen-Ra of the Egyptian Thebes, who as a king of gods, was easily associated with the Greek Zeus and Roman Jupiter, and whose worship became localized at the Ammonium in the oasis of Siwah in the Libyan desert. A tradition that its foundation there was contemporaneous and connected with that of the oracle at Dodona appears as early as Herodotus (2, 55). Following the suggestion of Overbeck (Gr. Kunstmyth. (1871), 273 ff.; viewed with distrust by Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 1559, n. 4), Cook (in Class. Rev. 17 (1903), 403-404, and more fully in his Zeus, 1 (1914), 361 ff.) attempts to show that the entire oracular apparatus at Dodonagrove, sacred oak, doves, and holy wellwas to be matched in the oasis of Ammon, and to explain (p. 371) the latter cult as the relic of an early Graeco-Libyan occupation of North Africa, and therefore Greek rather than Egyptian in origin, though later confused with the worship of Amen-Rå and Ba'al chamman. The ambiguity of this oracle was notorious in antiquity (Serv. Acn. 4, 196), but its fame was enhanced by important consultants. especially Alexander the Great (Parthey, Die Orakel u. die Oase des Ammon, in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1862, 143; 163 ff.; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2 (1880), 352-353). In Roman times it was greatly neglected (Strabo 17, p. 813; Lucan 9, 515 ff.). The most comprehensive work on the history of Ammon is that of Parthev (op. cit. 131-194), who describes also les location and various visits of modern explorers. For a more recent

solum auspicato urbem condidisse, sed ipse etiam optumus augur fuisse traditur. Deinde auguribus et reliqui reges usi, et exactis regibus nihil

account of the remains see Steindorff, Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonoase (1904), with a good map and photographs and (pp. 156-157) a bibliography of other modern visits. Cook (op. cit. 1, 376-390) also has an excellent summary of the archaeological remains at Siwah. For the cult see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 338-360; Meyer, op. cit. 283-291; Kern, op. cit. 1259-1264; Gruppe, op. cit. 1557-1559 (in 1557, n. 4 he gives reasons for thinking it originally a dream-oracle).

[46]1. nec unum: cf. de Inv. 2, 4: non unum aliquod exemplum . . . sed; Nägelsbach, Lat. Stilistik, 8 ed. (1888), 721. [46]2, ut omittam, etc.: cf. Rep. 3, 24: ut iam omittam alios, noster hic populus, etc. [46]3. principio: cf. Dion. Hal. 2, 6: τότε δ' ούν δ 'Ρωμύλος έπειδή τά παρά τοῦ δαιμονίου βέβαια προσέλαβε, συγκαλέσας τόν δήμον els έκκλησίαν και τά μαντεία δηλώσας βασιλεύς άποδείκνυται πρός αύτων και κατεστήσατο 🖢 🔀 ει τοῖς μετ' αυτόν Επασι μήτε βασιλείας μήτε άρχάς λαμβάνειν, έάν μή καί το δαιμόνιον αυτοίς επιθεσπίση, διέμεινε τε μέχρι πολλού φυλαττόμενον ύπο 'Ρωμαίων το περί τούς οίωνισμούς νόμιμον ού μόνον βασιλευομένης τής πόλεως, άλλά και μετά κατάλυσιν των μονάρχων έν ύπάτων καί στρατηγών καί των άλλων . . . άρχόντων αίρέσει.

[46]3. urbis parens: cf. pro Balb. 31: princeps ille creator kuius urbis, Romulus; Liv. 1, 16, 6: Romulus . . . parens urbis kuius; and for similar terms—conditor (urbis), custos patriae, genitor (urbis), pater (urbis), sator—applied by the Roman poets to Romulus see Drakenborch (1717) on Sil. Ital. 2, 654; Carter, Epitheta Deorum (1902), 90.

1. auspicato . . . condidisse: cf. 2, 70; N.D. 3, 5; Rep. 2, 5; 2, 16; 2, 51; Leg. 2, 33 (also Reitzenstein, Drei Vermutungen s. Gesch. d. röm. Litt. (1894), 29); in Vatin. 14; Justin, 8, 2, 11. In Phil. 2, 102 a colony is mentioned as auspicato deducta, and the word appears almost adverbially in other connections: 1, 26; 1, 28; 2, 76;

2, 77; N.D. 2, 11; al. And cf. inauspicato in 1, 33. See also Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Augures (1896), 2325. Valeton (in Mnemos. 21 (1893), 65 ff.) well points out that it was not the city as a whole to which these auspices applied, but only the ground occupied by its walls. The space within them was not consecrated by this act; cf. Varro ap. Solin. 1, 17; Liv. 1, 44, 4: ibi Romulus mansitavit qui auspicato murorum fundamenta iecit. The fortune of the state was sometimes connected with the performance of this rite; cf. Liv. 6, 41, 4: auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse . . . quis est qui ignorat? And Cyprian has to combat this notion (de Idol. 6): non ergo de religionibus sanctis nec de auspiciis aut auguriis Romana regna creverunt.

1. augur: cf. 1, 30; 1, 107, and nn.; 2, 80. Valeton (in Mnemos. 18 (1890), 216, n. 2) notes that Cicero uses augur in three different senses: (1) = Greek μάντις (as in 1, 5; 1, 74; 1, 87-88); (2) one who understands divination from birds (1, 12; 1, 72; 2, 13; 2, 26; 2, 72; 2, 82; 2, 109); (3) a member of the Roman college of augurs (1, 29; 1, 36; 2, 77). The derivation of the word is uncertain (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 162, n. 2; Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuck, 2 ed. (1910), 73-74). It has been connected with augeo (auctor, augustus); with avis (shortened as in auspicium for avispicium)+one of several roots: (1) that appearing in garrio; (2) that of gustus; (3) that of gero (cf. Fest. p. 2 M.: augur ab avibus gerendoque dictus, quia per eum avium gestus edicitur; sive ab avium garritu, unde et augurium; cf. Serv. Aen. 5, 523; Isid. Etym. 8, 9, 19: auguria quasi avium garria, koc est avium voces et linguae. item augurium quasi avigerium, quod aves gerunt; Hugo de S. Vict. Erudit. Didascal. 6, 15).

 auguribus: the foundation of the augural college at Rome was often ascribed to Numa, e.g., by Flor. 1, 2, 2; Jord. Rom. publice sine auspiciis nec domi nec militiae gerebatur. Cumque magna vis videretur esse et inpetriendis consulendisque rebus et monstris inter-

2. inpetriendis Manutius (cf. 1, 28; 2, 35), inpetrandis AB, impetrandis HV.

2. et monstris Davies, et in monstris CO.

1, 95. Livy, however, represents (1, 18, 6-9) Numa's own accession as being under the direction of an augur, and Cicero (Rep. 2, 16) and Dionysius (2, 22) depict Romulus as founding the institution, with at first three augurs (Cic. I.c.). From the Lex Ogulnia (300 B.C.) they numbered 9 (5 of them plebeians), and from the time of Sulla 15 (Liv. per. 89). During the monarchy they were probably appointed, during the Republic chosen by cooptation. The names of the members, as known from the literature and inscriptions, have been collected by Bardt, Die Priester d. vier grossen Collegien (1871), 17-27; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 363-372; Spinazzola in Ruggiero, Dis. epigrafico, 1 (1895), 790-810; Howe, Fasti Sacerdolum . . . Aetalis imperal. (1904), 27-32. For their organization see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4, 262-272; Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, 3, 2 ed. (1885), 398-400; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 523-534. [47]2. reliqui reges: cf. Pkil. 3, 9: servabant auspicia reges; Dion. Hal. 4, 80, 2. For Nums see the preceding note, also Liv. 1, 20, 7; for Hostilius N.D. 2, 9 (though 1, 31 infra and Liv. 1, 36, 3-6 put the incident in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus); for Tarquinius Superbus Liv. 1, 55, 3-4; Flor. 1, 1, 7, 8; Aug. C.D. 4, 23; 4, 29. Favorable auspices preceded the accession of Numa (Dion. Hal. 2, 60), Tullus (id. 2, 1), Ancus (id. 2, 36), and Tarquinius Priscus (id. 3, 46), though it is to be noted that there is but a single source for these statements, and one very likely influenced in this regard by priestly tradition.

[47]2. exactis regibus: cf. Ac. 2, 13; Leg. 3, 15.

[47]2f. nihil publice: cf. 1, 95; Leg. 2, 31; Liv. 1, 36, 6; 6, 41; Val. Max. 2, 1, 1: apud antiquos non solum publice sed etiam privatim nihil gerebatur nisi auspicio prius sumpto. Important for comparison is N.D. 2, 9, where the Stoic Balbus contrasts the attention paid to auspices during early Roman history with their neglected condition in his own time. Cf. also Dion. Hal. 2, 6. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 377, well emphasizes the closer connection between divination and political institutions prevailing at Rome as contrasted with conditions in Greece.

1. auspiciis: ancient writers at times discriminate between auguria and auspicia; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4 (1882), 161-164. Thus the idea of Servius (according to Valeton in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 419 ff.) seems to be that auspicia are oblativa, i.e., presented to the observer without action on his part, while auguria are impetrativa, or deliberately sought; cf. Serv. Aen. 4, 341 for auspicia in this sense; id. Asn. 2, 703; 3, 89 for auguria; and id. Aen. 1, 398 for the contrast between the two. But in most instances in Latin the two words are used indiscriminately, and are often combined, as in 1, 28; 1, 107 (from Ennius). Valeton (op. cit. 423), though not discriminating between auspicia and auguria, would do so between augurari (the explanation of oblative signs) and auspicari (the search for impetrative ones); cf. 1, 27, n. (augurari). The definition which would restrict auspicium to use in connection with magistrates and augurium to use in connection with augurs (Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 530, n. 1; Blumenthal in Hermes 49 (1914), 251, n. 4, who compares Valeton in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 442-443) will not always hold, according to Valeton, op. cit. 422, n. 5.

1. militiae: on augury in military operations cf. Valeton in Mnemos. 19 (1891), 409-410; Varro L.L. 6, 95: augur consuli adest tum cum exercitus imperatur.

pretandis ac procurandis in haruspicum disciplina, omnem hanc ex Etruria

[48] If. magna vis . . . esse . . . in: cf. Off. 2, 19; Ac. 2, 74; Tusc. 3, 36; 5, 32; 5, 50; al.

[48]2. consulendisque rebus: consulo is regularly followed by the dative of the thing (or by de+the ablative), and inpetrio by the accusative, the two being here somewhat awkwardly combined in a single gerundive phrase. The chiastically arranged groups inpetriendis... rebus and monstris... procurandis correspond roughly to impetrative and oblative distinctions.

[48]2. monstris: similar terms are found in N.D. 2, 7: ostenta monstra portenta prodigia (cf. 1, 92-93 infra); N.D. 3, 5; Leg. 2, 21; Fest. pp. 138M.; 140M.; 157M. (monstra); 194M.; 201M. (ostenta); 229M. (prodigia); 244M. (portenta); Non. pp. 429-430M.; Aug. C.D. 21, 8; Luterbacher, Prodigienglaube u. Prodigienstil der Römer (1880), 5; Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung d. Prodigienwesens bei den Römern (1903), 1; Stein, Tépas (1909), 3-4. These terms usually appear in an unfavorable sense (but cf. Fest. p. 245M.), and refer to abnormal phenomena; cf. Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 2.

[48]2f. interpretandis: cf. Fest. p. 229M.: prodigiatores harispices, prodigiorum interpretes.

1. procurandis: cf. Har. Resp. 18: maiores nostros...qui... portentorum expiationes Etruscorum disciplina contineri putaverunt; Val. Max. 1, 1, 1: maiores... portentorum depulsi < one > s Etrusca disciplina explicari voluerunt. On procuratio as a technical term cf. Luterbacher, op. cit. 20; 38; Wülker, op. cit. 29 ff.; and especially Thulin, Disetrusk. Disciplin, 3 (1909), 117-130.

1. haruspicum disciplina: cf. 1, 33; 1, 91; N.D. 2, 10. It is also (Thulin in P.-W. s.v. Etrusca disciplina (1907), 725) called by Cicero Etruscorum disciplina, Etruriae disciplina, haruspicina (2, 28; 2, 37; al.), and haruspicinae disciplina (2, 50).

On the haruspices see especially Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1-3 (1906-1909); id. in P.-W. s.v. Haruspices (1912). The spelling karu- is far more frequent than aru-, kari-, ari-, etc. (for the spelling cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 62, n. 1; Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 2 (1906), 3, n. 1; id. in Ruggiero. Dis. epigrafico, s.v. Haruspex (1911), 648), and the word appears cognate with Gk. xopôh, Skt. kirā, 'vein' (for the inspection of veins by the haruspices see Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 2, 37), Lat. hira, 'guts'; cf. Müller-Deecke, Die Etrusker, 2, 2 ed. (1877), 12, n. 39; Walde, Lat. elym. Wörterbuck, 2 ed. (1910), 360. In Faliscan we find harish (Deecke, Die Falisker (1888), 190), and perhaps haracna (id. 191), while in Etruscan the word is apparently nettris, appearing in a bilingual from Pesaro (C.I.L. XI, 6363 = Dessau 4958), and in an Etruscan inscription from near Chiusi (Fabretti 560 ter k; cf. Thulin, op. cit. 1 (1906), 55). Thulin (op. cit. 2, 4, n.) suggests that the word is a foreign one (probably not Etruscan) which has by popular etymology been modified on the analogy of such words as extispex. For popular etymologies cf. Ivo Carnot. Panormia, 8, 66 (Migne, Patr. Lat. 161, 1318); Hugo de S. Vict. Erudit. Didascal. 6, 15; Bouché-Leclercq, l.c.

The use of haruspices at Rome is traced by Livy (1, 56, 4-5; cf. Serv. Aen. 8, 345) back to the time of Tarquinius Superbus, but their especial influence dates from the Second Punic War (Thulin in P.-W., l.c., 2433), and their consultation becomes increasingly frequent as compared with that of the Sibylline Books, which were used on similar occasions (N. D. 3, 5). Carter (in Röm. Mitt. 25 (1910), 87) would detect a similar encroachment of haruspicine upon augury; cf. 1, 28 infra; also, for the frequency of

scientiam adhibebant, ne genus esset ullum divinationis quod neglectum ab iis videretur. 4. Et cum duobus modis animi sine ratione et scientia motu ipsi suo soluto et libero incitarentur, uno furente, altero somniante, furoris divinationem Sibyllinis maxime versibus contineri arbitrati, eorum

the use of these methods in Cicero's time, cf. 1, 16. M. Tarquitius Priscus, probably a contemporary of Varro, seems to have translated the Etruscan books on haruspicine (1, 72) into Latin (Plin. N. H. ind. auct. lib. 2, 11; Macrob. Sat. 3, 7, 2; 3, 20, 3; Amm. Marc. 25, 2, 7; C. I. L. XI, 3370). For the organization of the haruspices, which was apparently still alive in the fifth century (Müller-Deecke, op. cit. 2, 15-18), see Thulin Die drusk. Disciplin, 3(1909), 131-149; id. in P.-W., I.c., 2437 ff.; Marquardt, Rom. Staatsverwaltung, 3, 2 ed. (1885), 410-415; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 543-549. Our oldest inscription mentioning an ordo haruspicum LX is of the late Republic (C. I. L. VI, 32439; cf. Wissowa, op. cit. 548, n. 8). In the earlier period the haruspices were when needed regularly imported from Etruria (2, 11; Wissowa, op. cit. 544, n. 4), but how they were selected is not clear. Their foreign character (N. D. 2, 11: Tusci ac barbari) wore off as the Etruscans became Latinized and other more foreign cults were introduced at Rome, but though in Cicero's time they were apparitores to higher state officials (Wissowa, op. cit. 548), the college was not a part of the established state religion till the time of Claudius (Thulin in P.-W., l.c., 2740).

The art of the haruspices will be treated later (esp. 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis); 1, 92, n. (X ex)); cf. also the works of Thulin already cited. Fasti of the haruspices will be found in Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 376-377; Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 3(1909), 154-156; id. in Ruggiero, op. cit. s.v. Haruspex (1911).

[49]1. ex Etruria: the home of haruspicine in Italy was Etruria and especially

Tarquinii (Strabo 5, p. 220). The name of the 'science' and various traditions (2, 50; Isid. Etym. 14, 4, 22; al.) associated it with that district, and other races in Italy seem to have had no analogous native customs (Carter, op. cit. 86). On account, however, of certain similarities in nomenclature and interpretation between the hepatoscopy of Etruria and that of Babylonia a connection between the two is probable; cf. 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis).

- 1. scientiam: a word frequently applied to forms of divination; 1, 2; 1, 32; 1, 87; 1, 91; 2, 70; cf. 2, 147.
- 2. videretur: such awkward repetitions are rather common in Cicero's rapidly composed and inadequately revised works; cf. principio in 1, 2-3; quod ita contigit in 1, 46-47 (perhaps there intentional); paulo ante in 1, 73; 1, 74; 1, 75; subito in 1, 72 (bis); 1, 73; 1, 74; 1, 75; 1, 99, n. (disputavisset . . . disputat . . . disputat); 1, 129, n. (sentiunt . . . sentiat).
- 2. ratione et scientia: coupled as in Tusc. 5, 72; de Or. 1, 201; Brut. 258.
 - 3. motu ipsi suo: cf. 1, 129.
- 3. soluto et libero: cf. 1, 34; 2, 100; Ac. 2, 8; 2, 105 (and Reid's n.); Tusc. 1, 66; Rep. 4, 4; Lact. Inst. 7, 3, 4.
- 3. furente . . . somniante: cf. 1, 118; Ac. 2, 90; Nägelsbach, Lat. Stilistik, 8 ed. (1888), 471. For the thought cf. Rohde, Psyche, 2, 3 ed. (1903), 64, n.; 66, n.
- 4. furoris . . . arbitrati: quoted by Serv. Aen. 3, 443 (in Cod. Dresd. D 136).
- 4. Sibyllinis . . . versibus: for the various derivations offered for Sibylla see Buchholz in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Sibylla (1910), 790-791. The Sibyl is first mentioned by Heraclitus (ap. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 6), and in early

decem interpretes delectos e civitate esse voluerunt. Ex quo genere saepe

allusions Sibylla appears like a proper name. This personage, whose form is perhaps influenced by the figures of Cassandra and Manto (cf. 1, 67, n. (adest) infra), seems to have been localized at various places, particularly Marpessus and Erythrae, and legends of her wanderings then arose, but till the time of Heraclides Ponticus she was not pluralized (Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 136-137). Later the Sibyls of these different towns were treated as distinct, as two (Mart. Cap. 2, 159), three (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 137 n. 4), four (Paus. 10, 12, 9; Ael. V. H. 12, 35), five, six (ibid.), ten (according to various writers who follow a canon established by Varro), or twelve (Ckron. Pasck. p. 108c-d) in number; Bouché-Leclercq, ep. cit. 2, 137; 2, 166-167, and notes; Buchhols, I.c.; also Maass, De Sibyllarum Indicibus (1879). The term Sibylla then became generic, and individual names were given to the differentiated Sibyls. For the Cumaean Sibyl see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 184-190; Buchhols. ep. cit. 800; for that at Erythrae 1, 34, n. (Sibylla Erythraea); for the Delphic Sibyl 1, 79, n. (Sibyllam). The famous story of the sale of the Sibylline Books reduced by burning from nine to three, to one of the Tarquins (Dion. Hal. 4, 62, 2-4; Zonar. 7, 11; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 187-189) may not place the use of these prophecies at Rome at too early a date, since consultations of them are known / from as early as the sixth century (Buchholz, op. cit. 804). The original collection was destroyed by the burning of the Capitol in 83 B.C. Later a search was made at Erythrae and other Sibylline centres for originals and copies, and many were brought to Rome (Dion. Hal. I.c.; Tac. Ann. 6, 12; Suet. Aug. 31), at which time many spurious verses were inserted, so that testing and rejections had to be made, under the direction of the XVviri, and many false books were burned. These later books are last known to have been consulted in 363 A.D. (Amm. Marc. 23, 1, 7), and they were burned by Stilicho (Rutil. 2, 51 ff.). Much late material, notably from Jewish and Christian sources, became associated with the name of the Sibyl, for which see Buchhols. op. cit. 807 ff., and of this 14 books, amounting to 4238 verses, are extant and have been edited by Alexandre (2 ed. 1869), Geffcken (1902), and others. Ancient writers on the Sibyl are named by Lact. de Ira, 22; later works by Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 133, n. On the iconography of the Sibyl see Buchholz, op. cit. 812-813; Rossi in L'Arte, 18 (1915), The importance attached by **207-221**. Posidonius to the Sibyl (as shown in Cicero, Plutarch, and Apuleius) is noted by Geffcken in *Hermes*, 49(1914), 338, and n. 3; cf. 1, 79; 1, 97 infra.

1. decem interpretes: cf. Leg. 2, 30: sunt ad placandos deos alii constituti, qui sacris praesint sollemnibus, ad interpretanda alii praedicta vatium neque multorum. ne esset infinitum, neque ut es ipsa quae suscepta publice essent quisquam extra conlegium nosset. This secrecy was perhaps in the earlier period to prevent the undue influence of the Greeks at Rome (Buchholz, op. cit. 805), but later for reasons of internal politics, as the Roman emperors rather generally tried to keep secret the results of divination (Maury, Hist. de la Magie (1860), ch. 4). Cf. 2, 112; Dion. Hal. 4, 62, 5; Dio Cass. 54, 17, 2; Lact. Inst. 1, 6, 13; de Ira, 23. The term interpretes appears often in connection with the Sibylline Books (2, 110; N. D. 3, 5; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 534, n. 3), and may refer, as interpretetur in Leg. 2, 20, not merely to the explanation of what was obscure but also to the fact that the books in their charge were in Greek (Cicero uses interpres in each of these senses).

For their number cf. Serv. Aen. 6, 73: sciendum sane primo duos librorum

hariolorum etiam et vatum furibundas praedictiones, ut Octaviano bello
Corneli Culleoli, audiendas putaverunt. Nec vero somnia graviora, si
quae ad rem publicam pertinere visa sunt, a summo consilio neglecta sunt.
Quin etiam memoria nostra templum Iunonis Sospitae L. Iulius, qui cum

2. Cornelii Muller: et cf. Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre d. lat. Spr. 1, 3 ed. (1902), 150.

fuisse custodes, inde decem, inde quindecim usque ad tempora Sullana. postea crevit numerus, nam et sexaginta fuerunt, sed remansit in his quindecimvirorum vocabulum. The college was traditionally established under the Tarquins (Dion. Hal. 4, 62, 4; Val. Max. 1, 1, 13; Zonar. 7, 11), with two members (Liv. 5, 13, 6). In 367 B. C. the number was increased to ten (Liv. 6, 37, 12; 6, 42, 2), half being patrician and half plebeian. The increase to fifteen, from which the college is generally known in inscriptions as that of the XV VIRI S(acris) F(aciundis), came in the time of Sulla; Caesar added a sixteenth member (Dio Cass. 42, 51, 4; 43, 51, 9), and the number in the empire was often much larger. An important description of the method of consulting the books is given by Vopiscus, Aurelian. 19,1 to 20,3. For the organization and duties of the college see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4 (1882), 306-317; Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, 3, 2 ed. (1885), 379-397; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 534-543. Lists of members of the college are given by Bardt, Die Priester der vier grossen Kollegien (1871), 28-31 (for the Republic); Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4, 373-375; Howe, Fasti Sacerdolum . . . Aetalis imperatoriae (1904), 32-39.

[51]1. delectos e civitate: on methods of cooptation see Wissowa, op. cit. 487 ff.

1. hariolorum: this word (occurring in 1, 132; 2, 9; 2, 10; N. D. 1, 55), like hariolor (1, 132), is used by Cicero and commonly by other (notably comic and patristic) writers in a bad sense, denoting a quack as opposed to the members of the recognized priestly colleges. The word is apparently cognate with haruspex (Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuck, 2 ed. (1910), 360).

- 1. furibundas: cf. 1, 114.
- 1. Octaviano bello: 87 B.C. For the events of this war see Drumann-Groebe, Gesch. Roms, 4(1908), 239-240. Such predictions are especially mentioned in connection with this war, probably because of the unusual danger to the state and the extreme superstition of the consul, Cn. Octavius (attested by Plut. Mar. 42; App. B.C. 1, 71; Val. Max. 1, 6, 10). The appearance of ominous comets at this time is noted in N. D. 2, 14, and by Plin. N. H. 2, 92.
- 2. Corneli Culleoli: otherwise unknown. To a certain L. Culleolus, proconsul of Illyricum, Cicero in 59 B.c. addressed two letters (ad Fam. 13, 41; 13, 42). The cognomen is a rare one.
- 3. summo consilio: a term applied to the senate in de Sen. 19; de Domo 73; in Vatin. 36; Phil. 7, 19.
- 4. memoria nostra: 1, 99 (q.v.) says that it was during the Marsic War.
- 4. Iunonis Sospitae: cf. Fest. p. 343 M.: Sispitem Iunonem, quam vulgo sospitem appellant, antiqui usurpabant, cum ea vox ex Graeco videatur sumpta quod est owfur. With this testimony agrees certain evidence from inscriptions (C. I. L. I, 1110=XIV, 2090: SEI-SPITEI; Notis. d. Scari, 1907, 657 = Ephem. Epigr. 9 (1910), no. 605 = Dessau 9246: SISPIT(I)), so that against the view of Roscher (in Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Iuno (1894), 595), who traces the word from the root sa- (cf. σάος) + pati ('protector'; cf. Skt. pami, 'protect'), Ehrlich (K. Z. 41 (1907), 285), followed by Walde (Lat. etym. Wörterbuck, 2 ed. (1910), 727), would derive it from *sid(s)s-potis, 'die über das (Mond-) Gestirn mächtige."

Her oldest shrine seems to have been at Lanuvium, where the two inscriptions

- P. Rutilio consul fuit, de senatus sententia refecit ex Caeciliae, Baliarici filiae, somnio.
- III. 5. Atque haec, ut ego arbitror, veteres, rerum magis eventis moniti quam ratione docti, probaverunt. Philosophorum vero exquisita

just mentioned were found (for the remains of her temple there cf. Colburn in Amer. Journ. Arch. 18 (1914), 185-198; Galieti in Bull. della Comm. arch. comun. di Roma, 44 (1916), 3, n.1; and for the cult id. 3-36), and the form of her cult statue there is doubtless described by Cicero in N. D. 1, 82 (cf. Roscher, op. cit. 595). Mayor, in his note on the last mentioned passage, however, is probably incorrect in thinking that in our account also Cicero is referring to the temple at Lanuvium, for Juno Sospita had a temple at Rome in the Forum Olitorium, vowed by the consul C. Cornelius Cethegus in the war with the Insubres in 197 B.C. (Liv. 32, 30, 10), and dedicated by him as censor in 194 (Liv. 34, 53, 3), and to this, in the absence of any qualification to the contrary, we must suppose that Cicero here refers. Another temple of Sospita, probably on the Palatine, is known only from Ov. Fast. 2, 55-56.

The present story is told more at length in Obsequens 55: Metella Caecilia somnio Iunonem Sospitam profugientem, quod immunde sua templa foedarentur, cum suis precibus aegre revocatam diceret, aedem matronarum sordidis obscenisque corporis coinquinatam ministeriis, in qua etiam sub simulacro deae cubile canis cum fetu erat, commundatam supplicationibus habitis pristino splendore restituit.

[52]4. L. Iulius: sc. Caesar. For his life see Drumann-Groebe, Gesch. Roms, 3 (1906), 116-117. As consul in 90 B.C. he fought against the Samnites in the Marsic War, with varied success, but after his victory at Acerrae the Romans seem to have felt themselves safe (Liv. per. 73; Oros. 5, 18, 14). If to the Romans of his day Sospita suggested 'Savior' (cf. the passage cited from Festus), there may have seemed an appropriateness in the

restoration of the temple at this time akin to that at its foundation.

- 1. P. Rutilio: P. Rutilius Lupus, who lost his life in 87 B.C. at the hands of Fimbria.
- 1. de senatus sententia: cf. pro Sest. 50; pro Cael. 55; ex senatus sententia is more usual in Cicero.
- 1-2. ex . . . somnio: cf. 1, 16, n. (ex somnio); 1, 54, n. (in somnis); 1, 55.
- 1. Caeciliae: Caecilia Metella, daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Baliaricus (consul in 123 B.c.). She later befriended Sextus Roscius, married Appius Claudius Pulcher (consul in 79 B.c.), and was the mother of the demagogue P. Clodius and the augur Appius Claudius Pulcher (mentioned in 1, 29; 1, 105; 2, 75); cf. Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Caecilius (1897), 1235, no. 135.
- 1. Baliarici: this cognomen ex virtute was used after his victory over the Baliaric Islands. For the spelling (later Balearici) cf. Hübner in P.-W. s.v. Baliares (1896), 2824.
- 3. ut ego arbitror: ego is emphatic, in contrast to the following views of philosophers; cf. Off. 3, 44. Ut arbitror is regular where no such emphasis is intended.
- 3. rerum . . . eventis: cf. 1, 58; more often merely eventus; 1, 36: eventus ac res. Creuzer compares the antithesis between eventis and ratione to that in Greek between $\xi\rho\gamma\psi$ and $\lambda\delta\gamma\psi$. And for this principle of empiricism, here stated rather than defended by Cicero, cf. 1, 12, n. (eventa).
- 4. philosophorum: cf. 1, 87. With this catalogue of the views of philosophers on divination compare that of their opinions on the existence and nature of the gods in N. D. 1, 25-41. Cicero has here arranged his material more naturally in putting the recital in the introductory

quaedam argumenta cur esset vera divinatio collecta sunt; e quibus, ut de antiquissimis loquar, Colophonius Xenophanes unus, qui deos esse diceret, divinationem funditus sustulit; reliqui vero omnes praeter Epicurum

section in his own words instead of in the mouth of an Epicurean disputant in the course of his argument.

The earlier Greek philosophers, in their more purely physical speculations, seem to have come less in contact with the popular views on divination (yet cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 32-33 for Thales), but with the growth of interest in psychology and the applications of philosophy to conduct a conflict between the philosophers and the diviners inevitably arose (cf. Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 5). Plutarch (Plac. Phil. 5, 1) gives a brief list of the views of philosophers upon divination, and Clement (Strom. 1, 21, p. 82 Stählin) a long list of philosophers and others who had accepted it. For modern lists see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, (1879), 29-91; Jaeger, De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint (1910); Steinhauser, op. cit. 5-10. Philosophers who wrote on the subject are noted by Wolff in his edition of Porph. de Philos. ex Orac. haur. (1856), 54-56.

On the sources of Cicero's list cf. Diels, Doxographi Graeci (1879), 224, who thinks that the beginning of our passage might suggest that Cicero took this over from a collection of Placita. Further, the opinion of Xenophanes corresponds to Aët. Plac. 5, 1, 2, and that of Dicaearchus to Aët. Plac. 5, 1, 4. But the rest, although Pythagoras, Plato, and the Stoics are mentioned in each, has little likeness, and the list of scriptores, doubtless added by Cicero from the same source as the other parts, differs from the custom of Aëtius. Last mentioned here is Posidonius, whose collected material was used by Cicero for this book (cf. Schiche, De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Div. (1875), 25), and he is usually last in the *Placita* (though missing at the end of Aët. *Plac.* 5, 1). On the interest of Posidonius in collecting the opinions of the ancients see Diels, op. cit. 225.

[53]4. exquisita: cf. Tusc. 1, 116: rationes eas quae exquisitius a philosophis conliguntur; Fin. 1, 30; 1, 31.

1. cur esset: 1, 128: argumenta cur sit divinatio.

2. Colophonius Xenophanes: cf. Aët. Plac. 5, 1, 2 (Doxogr. Gr. 415; n. on Epicurum infra); Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1 (1879), 33-34; Jaeger, op. cit. 9; Steinhauser, op. cit. 6.

2. unus qui, etc.: Hartfelder (Neue Jahrb. 119 (1879), 270) holds this statement to be at variance with the facts, Xenophanes not being the only ancient philosopher to admit the existence of deity, even according to Cicero (cf. N. D. 1, 25-41). Codex H reads not deos but deum, and comparing Ac. 2, 118: Xenophanes . . . unum esse omnia (dixit), . . . et id esse deum, he would emend unum qui deum esse diceret, explaining that unum is put first for emphasis. difficulty with this view, which has been followed by Spanoghe, Emendationes Tullianae (1890), 22 (who reads Xen. unus, unum qui deum esse diceret), is that it fails to explain why the monotheism of Xenophanes should here be so emphasized. On the contrary, the words are correct as they stand, the clause qui . . . diceret being concessive (cf. Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 2 (1914), 294-295). Atheists like Diagoras or agnostics like Protagoras would naturally deny the existence of divination; Xenophanes is, among the antiquissimi, the only believer in the gods to deny divination. It may still be said that the word deos is inexact as applied to the beliefs of Xenophanes, and the reading deum is doubtless the attempt of someone balbutientem de natura deorum divinationem probaverunt, sed non uno modo. Nam cum Socrates omnesque Socratici Zenoque et ii qui ab eo

to avoid this difficulty. But in a hastily written work, in a passage where the number of the gods is not significant, deos need cause no more concern than deos or deus in a similar passage dealing with the beliefs of a polytheist. Indeed, there is reason for doubting whether Xenophanes was really a monotheist after all (cf. Gomperz, Gr. Denker 1, 2 ed. (1903), 131-132; 437). For his views on divination cf. the note on Epicurum infra; also 1, 86.

[54]3. funditus sustulit: these two words are combined by Cicero in the philosophical writings no less than 13 times (cf. 1, 8). [54]3. Epicurum: the sources for his views on divination are collected by Usener, Epicurea (1887), 261-262; cf. also Zeller-Wellmann, Die Philos. d. Griechen, 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 444, and nn. 2-3; Jaeger, op. 'cit. 41-43; Steinhauser, op. cit. 6, and nn. 5-8; Diog. L. 10, 135: μαντικήν δ' άπασαν & άλλοις άναιρεί, ώς καί ἐντῆ μικρά ἐπιτομή; Philodemus, περί θεών, col. 25 (ed. Diels in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1915, 7 (1916), 44; 95); Aët. Plac. 5, 1, 2 (Doxogr. Gr. 415): Ξενοφάνης και Έπίκουρος άναιροῦσι την particly; Cic. N. D. 2, 162: nihil tam inridet Epicurus quam praedictionem rerum futurarum; also infra 1, 87; 1, 109; 2, 39-40; 2, 51. The disbelief of Epicurus in divination is naturally derived from his rejection of divine influence upon men and of predestination (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1 (1879), 64-65), and from his desire to free men from anxiety as to the future; cf. 2, 40 infra. See also Schol. Aesch. Prom. V. 624: 'Exikolpeide έστι δόγμα άναιρούν την μαντικήν, είμαρμένης γάρ, φησί, πάντα κρατούσης πρό καιροῦ λελύπηκας < είπων την συμφοράν >, η χρηστόν τι είπων την ηδονήν εξέλυσας. Similar statements are found in Lucretius (e.g., 4, 33-34; 5, 1159 ff.; 6, 49 ff.; 6, 379 ff.).

1. balbutientem: so of the remarks of opposing philosophers in Ac. 2, 137;

Tusc. 5, 75. ψελλίζομαι is used by Aristotle (Metaph. 1, 4, p. 985 a 5; 1, 10, p. 993 a 15-16) of the faltering utterances of early Greek philosophers; but the Latin balbutio has rather the notion of stammering (βατταρίζω, βαττολογέω).

The dislike of Cicero for the doctrines of Epicurus is perhaps to be here seen. With a not dissimilar slur he is dismissed by Q. Cicero in 1, 87, and in 2, 39 Marcus Cicero aligns himself with the Stoics against him. This prejudice may also be seen at various places in the De Natura Deorum, especially in the Stoic utterances in 2, 74, but it may be in considerable measure due to Posidonius, his source, rather than to Cicero himself (cf. N. D. 1, 123).

2. Socrates: cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1 (1879), 43-45; Joel, Der echte u. der xenoph. Sokrates (1893), 70 ff. (who ascribes to the superstitious Xenophon much of the tradition of the belief of Socrates in divination); Zuccante, Socrate (1909), 363 ff.; Jaeger, op. cit. (1910), 16-20. According to Plato (Apol. p. 33c; Crit. p. 44a; Phaed. p. 60e) Socrates recognized partelas, dreams, and other forms of divination. He advised his friends to consult the Delphic oracle in cases of uncertainty (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 44, and n. 1; Jaeger, op. cit. 19-20), and perhaps considered the existence of divination as a sort of corollary of belief in the goodness of the gods to men; cf. Xen. Mem. 4, 3, 12: 3 downτοθμεν τὰ συμφέροντα προνοείσθαι ὑπέρ τῶν μελλόντων, ταύτη αύτους (SC. τους θεούς) ήμιν συνεργείν, διά μαντικής τοίς πυνθανομένοις φράζοντας τὰ ἀποβησόμενα καὶ διδάσκοντας 🛔 Δν Δριστα γίγνοιτο. He inclined especially to those mantic forms which depended on the inspiration or illumination of the individual by the divine power (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 45), as the passages dealing with his daupórior (1, 122, n. (divinum quiddam) infra) make clear. essent profecti manerent in antiquorum philosophorum sententia vetere Academia et Peripateticis consentientibus, cumque huic rei magnam auc-

That he appreciated the dangers of divination is perhaps to be concluded from Xen. Mem. 1, 1, 6, where he advises that it be resorted to only in matters of uncertainty, and from the precautions advised by his pupils Xenophon and Plato against its abuse in political affairs (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 44-45).

[55]2. omnesque Socratici: properly speaking this would include the Academics and Peripatetics mentioned below, but to emphasize the continuity of the tradition they are here inserted.

Little attempt is here made by Cicero to trace the opinions on divination of Plato himself, although much material might be derived from his writings (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 47-54; Jaeger, op. cit. 22-26) defending and explaining it (cf. 1, 60-62; 2, 119 infra). For his reputed trip to Egypt to study astrology and other mantic arts cf. Apul. de Plat. 1, 3; Schol. Luc. 10, 180; Diog. L. 3, 29.

For the rejection of divination by the earlier Cynics we have slight but trustworthy evidence (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 46; Jaeger, op. cit. 21-22); the later Cynic Oenomaus of Gadara (of the second century after Christ) wrote works against oracles (Julian, Or. 7, p. 209b; cf. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 5, 19 ff.). The Cyrenaics and Megarians might, on general principles, be supposed to have been hostile to the art, but we lack evidence. For the Peripatetics see below.

[55]2. Zeno: cf. Diog. L. 7, 149: και μήν και μαντικήν υφεστάναι πᾶσάν φασιν, εί και πρόνοιαν είναι και αυτήν και τέχνην άποφαίνουσι διά τινας ἐκβάσεις, ῶς φησι Ζήνων. Little other material exists by which to distinguish his views on this subject from those of other Stoics, but cf. 1, 6, n. (Zeno).

[55]2f. qui . . . profecti: cf. Tusc. 2, 8: Platonem reliquosque Socraticos et deinceps

eos qui ab his profecti sunt; 5, 119; N. D. 1, 11; Leg. 3, 14.

The opinions of the Stoics are discussed by Wachsmuth, Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Daemonen (1860); Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1 (1879), 57-64; Bardt, Die Stoa (1903), 54-57; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2(1906), 1471-1475; Zeller-Wellmann, Die Philos. d. Griechen, 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 345-355; Jaeger, op. cit. (1910), 31-41; Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 8; Arnold, Roman Stoicism (1911), 227-228. Though their belief was derived from Zeno it was especially systematized by Chrysippus (Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 345, and n. 3), and represented a compromise between rationalistic and popular views (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 64; Steinhauser, op. cit. 8). Justified as part of the care of Providence for mankind (Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 347; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 58; 2, 101-102 infra), its physical explanation lay in the doctrine of συμπάθεια (cf. 2, 34; 2, 124; 2, 142; Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 349-350; Arnold, op. ·cit. 225-227). What the theory lacked in logic was in part supplied by an abundant array of examples, of which the Stoics were the chief collectors (1, 6; cf. 1, 37-38; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 62; Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 348). This substitution of fact for logic ✓ is, in a way, the forerunner of Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic revelation (Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 355), but in spite of it later Stoics seem to have discarded divination (Arnold, op. cit. 228, quoting Epict. 2, 7, 3-4).

If. vetere Academia: the evidence is slight. Speusippus, Definitiones, 91; 92 (Fr. Phil. Gr. 3, 79 Mullach), defines μαντική and μαντικά; the belief of Xenocrates in demonic influences (Jaeger, op. cit. 25) suggests an acceptance of the

toritatem Pythagoras iam ante tribuisset, qui etiam ipse augur vellet esse,

oracular (ibid., where Jaeger follows the view of Buresch, Klaros (1889), 58), but his six books των περί ἀστρολογίαν (Diog. L. 4, 13) probably related to astronomy, in which he was interested (id. 4, 10); Eudoxus, though prominent in astrologia, denied the possibility of casting horoscopes (2, 87). Crantor in his Consolatio tells of the consultation of a ψυχομαντείον (Cic. Tusc. 1, 115), but as to his own belief we are ignorant. Heraclides Ponticus, cited in 1, 46 as authority for the story of a dream and in 1, 130 for weather predictions, wrote περί χρηστηρίων, and perhaps περί χρησμών (Jaeger, op. cit. 31, and nn. 1-4). Davies (in his 2nd ed., 1730) objected to the apparent distinction between the Socratici and the vetere Academia, and emended to read veteri Academiae Peripateticis consentientibus, but, as pointed out by Hottinger (in his ed., 1793), Socratici includes both Academics and Peripatetics (as is clearly shown by Ac. 1, 17; cf. Reid's n.), and the two are mentioned here (with the Stoics, as in 1. 87) to indicate essential agreement between different sects; cf. also N. D. 1, 16. As to the real agreement, however, between the two schools in the matter of divination see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 57.

[56]2. Peripateticis: For Aristotle see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 53-57; Zeller, op. cit. 2, 2, 3 ed. (1879), 551, n. 4; Jaeger, op. cit. 26-30. He occasionally mentions oracles (Jaeger, op. cit. 26, n. 3), but usually without comment or with hostile attitude (id. 27). His scientific spirit discarded external (or sign) divination (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 53-54), and regarded its dispensers as charlatans (id. 1, 56). The subject of dreams he investigates, and in connection with it that of dream-divination, in his work De Divinatione per Somnum, at the beginning of which he says (p. 462 b 12) that it is not easy either to disregard or to believe such divination. Whether the view

attributed to him in 1, 81 infra, that, as Bouché-Leclercq (op. cit. 1, 54) remarks. divination really exists but as the product of a natural faculty, is genuinely his may be questioned. Zeller (l.c.) holds that any apparent support given by him to divination represents, not his own belief, but his description of the belief of others, or that it is at most a trace of the powerful influence still exerted over him by certain Platonic doctrines from which he could not quite escape. Perhaps, however, the passage in 1, 81 is a mingling of two distinct elements: (1) the effect of psychological (especially pathological) causes upon dreams, one of the two important types of internal divination, and (2) the theory, not of Aristotle himself, but of Dicaearchus and Cratippus (1, 133; 2, 100; for their views see special notes below) of the tamquam oraculum aliquod (2, 100) in human minds ex quo futura praesentiant. This opinion in its entirety Bouché-Leclercq is perhaps hardly justified in ascribing to the more strictly scientific master of the school.

Theophrastus seems to have believed in oracles (Jaeger, op. cit. 28-29). Athen. 14, p. 624a says that he wrote a work περί ἐνθουσιασμοῦ, but Bouché-Leclercq considers this strictly a scientific treatise. In any event, his attitude towards the grosser forms of divination, such as the interpretation of dreams and observation of birds, can be clearly gathered from his description of the superstitious man (Charact. 16).

Testimony as to the hostile attitude of Peripatetics in general towards divination is given in 1, 72; Euseb. Pr. Ev. 4, 2, 13 (in which they are coupled with the Cynics); Orig. c. Cels. 7, 3. During the Empire the Peripatetic Diogenianus attacked the teaching of Chrysippus on divination (Euseb. Pr. Ev. 4, 3).

1. Pythagoras: Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 31-32; Zeller, op. cit. 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 322, n. 3; Jaeger, op. cit. 7-8;

plurumisque locis gravis auctor Democritus praesensionem rerum futurarum conprobaret, Dicaearchus Peripateticus cetera divinationis genera sustulit, somniorum et furoris reliquit, Cratippusque, familiaris noster,

Steinhauser, op. cit. 7; and cf. 1, 102 infra. Purely religious rather than philosophical considerations seem to have led Pythagoras to accept almost all kinds of divination (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 32; Steinhauser, op. cit. 7). For many accounts of the importance ascribed by him to it cf. Zeller, op. cit. 1, 1, 5 ed., 300-304; 311. But to discover the exact truth is wellnigh impossible, in view of the fictions of later Pythagoreans. Thus many of his teachings were represented by legend as obtained by him from Themistoclea, a priestess of Delphic Apollo (Diog. L. 8, 8; 8, 21) of whom he thus became the mouthpiece—IIvo-ayopas (cf. Zeller, op. cit. 1, 1, 5 ed., 313; Jaeger, op. cit. 8, n. 1)—, and he was said to have visited in his travels the Egyptians, Chaldaeans, Magi (especially Zoroaster), and Druids (Zeller, op. cit. 1, 1, 5 ed., 300-304), but the evidence for such travels is late and unsatisfactory. In the fourth century B.C. Andron of Ephesus seems to have collected his alleged prophecies in a work called the Tolwovs (Euseb. Pr. Es. 10, 3, 4). To the later Pythagoreans he became a type of diviner and thaumaturgist (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 31), and Artemidorus (Onirocr. 2, 69) mentions various groups of diviners known as Πυθαγορισταί.

For the views of the Neopythagoreans on divination see Jaeger, op. cit. 59-61.

[57]1. augur: cf. Diog. L. 8, 20: μαντική τε έχρήτο τή διά τῶν κληδόνων τε και οἰωνῶν; also the story (Porphyr. Vit. Pyth. 25; Iambl. Vit. Pyth. 62) of the eagle which swooped down to him at Olympia as he was conversing περί τε οἰωνῶν και συμβόλων και διοσημῶν—a tale reflected in Amm. Marc. 22, 16, 20. For the meaning of augur in this passage cf. 1, 3, n. (augur); and for the use of vellet cf. 1, 65, n. (volunt).

1. gravis auctor: cf. Tusc. 4, 3: gravissimus auctor... Cato. For the praise of Democritus cf. 1, 53, n. (singulari).

1. Democritus: Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 39-42; Zeller, op. cit. 1, 2, 5 ed. (1892), 940-941; Jaeget, op. cit. 10-11; Steinhauser, op. cit. 7. The atomistic theory, with its denial of Providence, might seem to leave little place for divination. But Democritus made no violent opposition to the popular faith, and seems to have accepted most forms of the mantic art, explaining them by the theory of είδωλα (cf. 2, 120). Thus dreams (Plut. Quaest. Cons. 8, 10, 2) and prophecy are treated, while external types of divination he justified, as in 1, 131 infra, on purely scientific grounds (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 41). One of the titles ascribed to him is περί εἰδώλων η περί προνοίας (see below). Popular tradition later made of him, as of Pythagoras, a diviner and pupil of the Chaldaeans (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 42; cf. Ael. V. H. 4, 20; Diod. 1, 98, 3; Hippolyt. Refut. 1, 13), and to the canon of his works, as arranged by Thrasyllus, in the time of Tiberius, some added & rar υπομνημάτων a work called Χαλδαϊκός λόγος (Diog. L. 9, 49). The titles of the works in the canon (cf. Diog. L. 9, 45) are listed by Nietzsche, Beiträge zur Quellenkunde . . . des Diog. Laert. (1870), 22-27; cf. Wellmann in P.-W. s.v. Demokritos (1903), 136-139; 1, 80, n. (negat enim); 1, 131, n. (Democritus). For the confusion by which Democritus stands in Lucian (Alex. 17; 50) as the type of a rationalist in regard to divination cf. Jaeger, op. cit. 11, and n. 2.

2. Dicaearchus: Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 56; Zeller, op. cit. 2, 2, 3 ed. (1879), 891; Martini in P.-W. s.v. Dikaiarckos (1903); Jaeger, op. cit. 30. Aët.

quem ego parem summis Peripateticis iudico, isdem rebus fidem tribuit, reliqua divinationis genera reiecit. 6. Sed cum Stoici omnia fere illa defenderent, quod et Zeno in suis commentariis quasi semina quaedam sparsisset et ea Cleanthes paulo uberiora fecisset, accessit acerrumo vir ingenio, Chrysippus, qui totam de divinatione duobus libris explicavit

Plac. 5, 14 (Doxogr. Gr. 416): 'Δριστοτέλης και Δικαίαρχος τό κατ' ένθουσιασμόν μόνον παρεισάγουσι και τους brelpous; cf. 1, 113 infra. Zeller (l.c.) and Rohde (Psyche, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 310, n.) think it strange that Dicaearchus could reconcile this tenet with his disbelief (Tusc. 1, 21) in a distinct animus, separable from the body. Martini (op. cit. 558) tentatively reconstructs three works of Dicaearchus dealing with divination: (1) that of 2, 105 (magnus Dicaearchi liber est nescire ea (i.e., quae eventura sunt) melius esse quam scire); (2) repl marries, from which the present passage and that cited from Aëtius are drawn; (3) + els Τροφωνίου κατάβασις, of at least three books (fragments in Fuhr, Dicaearchi Messenii quae supersunt (1851), 130-135; Müller, F. H.G. 2, 266-268). The last named has been thought by various writers, following Müller (Orchomenos u. die Minyer, 2 ed. (1844), 144-145), to have been an attack upon the priestly deceptions practiced at the oracle at Lebadea, probably reducing the hallucinations there found to natural phenomena (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 56; 3, 329-330). For a possible connection between the work and one by Plutarch on the oracle of Trophonius see Hirzel, Der Dialog, 2 (1895), 160; 193; 211; Jaeger, op. cit. 30. Dicaearchus and Cratippus are also coupled by Cicero in 1, 113; 2, 105-109; and in a passage important for this subject, 2, 100.

[58]3. reliquit: for this word in the sense of 'allow to stand' see Plasberg on Ac. 2, 104.

[58]3. Cratippus: the few facts known are collected by Mekler, Acad. Philos. Index Herculan. (1902), 111; cf. Fries in Rhein. Mus. 55 (1900), 41, n. 1. He was a native of Pergamum (Mekler,

I.c., line 10), whom Cicero first met at Mytilene when on his way to Cilicia (Cic. Tim. 2), but who was later at Athens (ad Fam. 12, 16, 2; Off. 1, 1; 2, 8; 3, 6; Plut. Cic. 24). Cicero obtained for him Roman citizenship (ibid.; Off. 1, 1; 2, 8; 3, 5-6), was on terms of intimacy with him (familiaris noster here; 1, 70: Cratippus noster; Off. 3, 5; ad Fam. 16, 21, 3: Cratippo me scito non ut discipulum sed ut filium esse coniunctissimum; cf. Brut. 250-251), and considered him Peripateticorum omnium, quos quidem audierim, meo iudicio facile princeps (Tim. 2); cf. Off. 3, 5: principe huius memoriae philosophorum; also id. 2, 8. Pompey in his flight visited Cratippus at Mytilene and discoursed with him on providence (Plut. Pomp. 75). For his beliefs on divination we have no evidence outside Cicero's statements; cf. 1, 70-71; 2, 100. From 1, 71 it appears that he treated of vaticinationes and dreams.

1. parem summis: perhaps one of the rather fulsome judgments which Cicero sometimes rendered upon his personal friends; cf. that on Balbus in N. D. 1, 15.

If. tribuit . . . reject: the perfect is perhaps used through the influence of the preceding verbs sustulit and reliquit whose subject was no longer living. Cratippus was still alive, however, as is shown by 2, 100, where, as in 1, 113, the present tense is used for the views of Dicaearchus and Cratippus combined.

2. Stoici omnia fere: cf. 1, 5, n. (qui . . . profecti); Gruppe, Gr. Myth. w. Relig. 2 (1906), 1472, n. 6; also Wachsmuth, Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Daemonen (1860). Even the Stoics, however, recognized the mistakes of divination when carried to extremes (1, 132), or in cases of error or defect due to

sententiam, uno praeterea de oraclis, uno de somniis; quem subsequens

the mantic medium (1, 24-25; 1, 127; Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 21).

In Diog. L. 7, 149-150 Zeno and Chrysippus (and his second book on divination), Posidonius (and his fifth book on divination), and Panaetius are mentioned in the same connection as here.

[59]3. Zeno in suis commentariis: Diog. L. 7, 4 mentions a work of Zeno περί σημείων, which Pearson, *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes* (1891), 21, understands to be a treatise on divination.

[59]3. commentariis: not infrequent in Cicero for philosophical writings.

[59]3. quasi semina quaedam: cf. Rep. 1, 41: *quaedam quasi semina; in Fin. 5, 18 and Tusc. 5, 69 semina is similarly qualified. May it perhaps be a Latin rendering of $\sigma\pi\ell\rho\mu\alpha$, an allusion not altogether inappropriate when applied to the work of the head of a school which so emphasized the importance of the $\sigma\pi\ell\rho\mu\alpha$ (cf. Arnold, Roman Stoicism (1911), 161-162)?

[59]4. Cleanthes: fragments of his works on providence and divination are found in von Arnim, S. V.F. 1 (1905), 124-125, but they furnish little information. In N. D. 2, 13 and 3, 16, however, the existence of divination and the effects of portents are made by Cleanthes two of his four arguments for the existence in human minds of the conceptions of the gods.

[59]4f. accerrumo vir ingenio: cf. N. D. 2, 16: Chrysippus quidem, quamquam est accerrumo ingenio; 3, 25: Chrysippus . . . homo sine dubio versutus et callidus; and in 1, 39 even the Epicurean says Chrysippus qui Stoicorum somniorum vaferrumus habetur interpres. Cf. also Ac. 2, 75: Chrysippus qui fulcire putatur porticum Stoicorum; Off. 3, 42.

[59]5. Chrysippus: his opinions on divination will be found collected by von Arnim, op. cit. 2 (1903), 270-272; 342-348; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 57-64; Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 345-355; Jaeger, op. cit. 32-34.

Individual matters will be noted below; indeed this book is, to a considerable extent, an elucidation of views systematized by Chrysippus and transmited by Posidonius (von Arnim, op. cit. 1 (1905), xxx). For the work of Chrysippus on divination see also Wachsmuth, Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Daemonen (1860), 13.

[59]5. duobus libris: cf. Diog. L. 7, 149: Χρύσιππος έν τῷ δευτέρφ περί μαντικής; Philod. περί θεών διαγωγής (Volum. Herculan. 6, 49, col. 7, 33 = S. V.F. 2, no. 1183): Χρύσιππος έν τοῖς περί μαντικής, κτλ.; Varro ap. Lact. Inst. 1, 6, 9: Chrysippus . . . in eo libro quem de divinatione conposuit. The fragments are in von Arnim, S.V.F. 2, nos. 1183; 1191; 1214. In addition Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 345, n. 3, would detect traces in our work: 1, 82; 2, 35; 2, 41; 2, 101; 2, 130; and perhaps in Fat. 13-14. The relation of the work here mentioned to the two following is not clear. Chrysippus treated the same subject in different places (Diog. L. 7, 180; cf. Jaeger, op. cit. 33), and the two one-volume works may have been partly repetitions of the twovolume treatise, or the larger one may have been mainly theoretical and argumentative and the others chiefly devoted to collections of illustrative instances. To the zeal of Chrysippus in the collection of details Cicero bears witness in Tusc. 1, 108: permulta alia colligit Chrysippus, ut est in omni historia curiosus.

1. de oraclis: cf. Phot. s.v. νεοττός (and elsewhere excerpted; see S.V.F. 2, nos. 1202-1203): Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ περὶ χρησμῶν. For the fragments see S.V.F. 2, nos. 1202-1203; 1205-1206. 2, 134 infra (=S.V.F. 2, no. 1201) has the same source as S.V.F. 2, no. 1202, but is not assigned to the book on oracles (est hoc in Chrysippi libro somnium); for this question see Jaeger, op. cit. 32-33. Criticisms of the work are found in 1, 37; 2, 115. Whether Cicero knew the book at first

unum librum Babylonius Diogenes edidit, eius auditor, duo Antipater, quinque noster Posidonius. Sed a Stoicis vel princeps eius disciplinae,

2. princeps cod. Pithoconus, principe ${}^{\bullet}A$, principes B^1HV^1 , principibus B^2V^2 . Nominum a capite derivatorum casum rectum singularis veteres in -cipes extulisse auctores sunt Charisius (1, $\frac{1}{2}$). 47; 28; 120 Keil) et Priscianus (7, $\frac{1}{2}$. 325 Keil).

hand is not clear; cf. Jaeger, op. cit. 39,

Other ancient collections of oracles are listed by Wolff in his ed. of Porphyr. de Phil. ex Orac. haur. (1856), 43-56; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2 (1880), 226, n.; Hiller von Gaertringen in P.-W. s.v. Delphoi (1901), 2521; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 1472, n. 2. A modern collection is that of Hendess, Oracula Graeca, in Diss. philol. Halenses, 4, 1 (1877), 1-107. For a projected Corpus Oraculorum by Schwartz and Pomtow see Hiller von Gaertringen, l.c.

[60]1. uno de somniis: περί εννπνίων (though the Greek title seems not to be attested); cf. 1, 39. The fragments are collected in S.V.F. 2, 343-346 (to which Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 345, n. 3 would add from our work 2, 126; 2, 130). For the ancient collectors of dreams see the lists of Wolff, op. cit. 56-65; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 277, n. The most noteworthy extant work of the sort is the Onirocritica of Artemidorus, on which much later Moslem dream literature is based (Margoliouth in Hastings, Encyclop. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 818; cf. Thomas in Encyclop. Brit. 8, 11 ed. (1910), s.v. Dream, 562). Babylonian works on the interpretation of dreams are found as far back as the fifteenth century B.C. (L[angdon] in Mus. Journ. of the Univ. of Penn. 8 (1917), 116-122).

[60]1. quem subsequens: cf. N. D. 1, 41: quem (sc. Chrysippum) Diogenes Babylonius consequens; Ps.-Galen. Hist. Phil. 3 (in S. V. F. 3, 210, no. 1): τοῦ δὲ (sc. Χρυσίσπου) Διογένης ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἀκροατής γεγονώς 'Αντιπάτρου καθηγητής γέγονε. Diogenes did not, however, as one might judge from the word subsequens in N. D. 1, 32, immediately follow Chrysippus in the headship of the Stoic school, Zeno of

Tarsus coming between the two (Ind. Stoic. Herculan. col. 48 = S.V.F. 3, 210, no. 3), so that subsequens in our passage probably refers, as van Lynden (Disputal. historico-crit. de Panaetio Rhodio (1802), 16) suggested, not to headship of the school, but to the writing of works on divination.

- 1. unum librum: doubtless περί μαντικής. For the fragments see S.V.F. 3, 217-218; cf. infra 1, 82-84; 2, 41; 2, 90-91; 2, 101.
- 1. Babylonius: so called from his country rather than from his city, for he was a native of Seleucia (S. V.F. 3, 210, nos. 2-4). The term 'Babylonian' was, however, frequently applied to him (id. nos. 1; 2; 10; 16; 17; 19; 29; al.).
- 1. duo Antipater: probably meel μαντικής. For the fragments see S.V.F. 3, 249-250, nos. 37-42; cf. 1, 39; 1, 84; 1, 123-124; 2, 35; 2, 41; 2, 101; 2, 144. In 2, 144 (talium plenus est Chrysippi liber, plenus Antipatri) we are not to suppose a one-volume work, but rather that the second plenus is singular by attraction to the number of the first, or else through Antipater (to be mere carelessness. distinguished from the Antipater of Artemid. Onirocr. 4, 65, according to Wachsmuth, op. cit. 15) was the pupil and successor of Diogenes (Ps.-Galen. Hist. Phil. 3 (S.V.F. 3, 244, no. 2); Off. 3, 51) and the teacher of Panaetius (see infra), who, on account of the difference of his views, is not here included in his natural place in the succession but placed after instead of before Posidonius. For Antipater's attitude toward divination see Cohn, Antipater von Tarsos (1905), 50-51.
- 2. Posidonius: the interest of Posidonius (called by Strabo 16, p. 753 άνηρ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλοσόφων πολυμαθέστατος) in collecting material of all sorts (cf. 1,

Posidoni doctor, discipulus Antipatri, degeneravit, Panaetius, nec tamen ausus est negare vim esse divinandi, sed dubitare se dixit. Quod illi in

130. n. (Posidonius) infra) is discussed by Diels, Dozogr. Gr. (1879), 225, and in his Sibyllin. Blätter (1890), 21-22 he suggests that the ample space of five books was filled, as we may judge from the use of them by Cicero and Plutarch, with examples rather than argument. Reverting to views abandoned by Panaetius under the influence of Carneades (Schmekel, Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa (1892), 321-322), he was greatly interested in fate (id. 244 ff.) and, through the theory of συμπάθεια and his belief in daemones, in divination (id. 245-248; Jaeger, op. cit. 46), which he attempted to support by the collection of material here noted (cf. Wendland, Die hellenist.-rom. Kultur, 2 ed. (1912), 219). A five-volume work on the subject is attested also by Diog. L. 7, 149; Cicero gives fragments in 1, 64; 1, 125; 1, 130; 2, 35; 2, 47; cf. Boeth. de Diis et Praesens. fin: (in Orelli's ed. of Cicero, 5, 1, 395); Bake, Posidonii Rhodii Reliquiae (1810), 45-47. Either in this work or in a separate one he treated the form of divination known as παλμικόν (Suid. s.v. οἰώνισμα; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 68; Dobson in Class. Quart. 12 (1918), 187). His interest in astrology is explicitly mentioned by Cicero (de Fato?) ap. Aug. C. D. 5, 2, and is discussed by Cumont, Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans (1912), 83 ff., and Bevan, Stoics and Sceptics (1913), 116, who both, in differing measure, make him a syncretist of East and West. For his possible influence on Manilius cf. Schanz, Gesch. d. rom. Litt. 2, 2, 3 ed. (1913), 37. His importance as a source of our work is discussed in the introduction.

[61]2. noster: he first became acquainted with Cicero when the latter, during his Greek tour in 77 B.C. (Plut. Cic. 4), visited Rhodes. Cicero mentions him as his philosophical teacher (N. D. 1, 6; Fat. 5) and as an intimate (2, 47; N. D. 1, 6;

1, 123; Fin. 1, 6; Tusc. 2, 61; cf. Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 594, n. 4; Goedeckemeyer, Gesch. d. gr. Skeptisismus (1905), 133, n. 2).

[61]2. princeps . . . disciplinae: cf. N. D. 1, 16: trium disciplinarum principes; Ac. 2, 129. Disciplina is frequently used for the school itself as well as for the whole or a part of its body of dogma. Panaetius is called the princeps of the Stoics in 2, 97; Ac. 2, 107.

1. doctor: the relation of teacher and pupil existing between Panaetius and Posidonius is also attested by Off. 3, 8; Suid. s.v. Ποσειδώνιος 'Απαμείν . . . διάδοχος γεγονώς και μαθητής Παναιτίου(= Eudocia, p. 365). The philosophical training of Posidonius is discussed by Schmekel, op. cit. 9-12. From the fact that he did not succeed Panaetius as head of the school at Athens we may surmise that he was one of the younger pupils (id. 10, n. 1).

1. discipulus Antipatri: for their relations and the education of Panaetius cf. van Lynden, op. cit. 18-38 (esp. 33-38); Schmekel, op. cit. 3.

1. degeneravit: in its rarer literal meaning of 'change from the class, or type,' rather than in the sense which it and degener more often present of a change to the worse, which is clearly not Cicero's meaning here.

2. negare: the work in which Panaetius treated divination van Lynden (op. cit. 117) took to be one περί μαντικής. But shortly before the composition of our work Cicero wrote to Atticus (ad Att. 13, 8; dated vi Id. Iun. in the year 45): epitomen Bruti Caclianorum velim mikimittas, et a Philoxeno Παναιτίου περί προνοίας. That the work referred to had a great influence on the second book of the De Natura Deorum is generally admitted (cf. the summaries of opinions in Schmekel, op. cit. 8, n. 4; Schanz, op. cit. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 362), and that the closely

aliqua re invitissumis Stoicis Stoico facere licuit, id nos ut in reliquis rebus faciamus a Stoicis non concedetur? praesertim cum id, de quo Panaetio non liquet, reliquis eiusdem disciplinae solis luce videatur clarius. 7. Sed haec quidem laus Academiae praestantissumi philosophi iudicio et testimonio conprobata est. IV. Etenim nobismet ipsis quaerentibus quid sit de divinatione iudicandum, quod a Carneade multa acute et

related question of belief in divination (in 2, 3 infra Cicero unites our work and the De Fato as parts of a single investigation) should have been treated in the same book, which was still fresh in Cicero's mind, is the very plausible view of many modern scholars (cf. Fowler, Panaetii et Hecatonis Librorum Fragmenta (1885), 35-40; Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 579, n. 3).

For the views of Panaetius on divination cf. van Lynden, op. cit. 70-71; Wachsmuth, op. cit. 15; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 67; Fowler, l.c. (with the fragments); Schmekel, op. cit. 190-194; Zeller-Wellmann, l.c., esp. 588, n. 1; Jaeger, op. cit. 45-46. Accounts differ as to whether he was merely agnostic in the matter of divination or actively hostile to belief in it (Schmekel, op. cit. 191, n. 1; Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 588, n. 1). As agnostic he appears here and in Ac. 2, 107: cum Panaetius, princeps prope meo quidem iudicio Stoicorum, ea de re dubitare se dicat, quam omnes praeter eum Stoici certissimam pulant, vera esse harus picum responsa, auspicia, oracula, somnia, vaticinationes, seque ab adsensu sustineat, quod is potest facere vel de eis rebus, quas illi a quibus ipse didicit certas habuerint, cur id sapiens de reliquis rebus facere non possit? But in both these places Cicero is trying to make the most of the Academic principle of doubt. On the other hand, according to Diog. L. 7, 149(δ μέν γάρ Παναίτιος άνυπόστατον αύτήν (SC. τήν μαντικήν) φησιν) and Epiphanius (adv. Haeres. 2, 3, 9, p. 1090d (= Doxogr. Gr. 593, 6 f.): της μαντείας κατ' οδδέν έπεστρέφετο), as well as the Stoic view of Q. Cicero, expressed in 1, 12, he seems to have rejected divination altogether. He apparently did not deny the phenomena adduced by the defenders of the art, but rather the need of resorting for their explanation to divine interposition (Schmekel, op. cit. 193), and he could not accept a Stoic συμπάθεια in the vast extent of the cosmos analogous to that asserted in the individual (id. 191-192). Though he was much interested in scientific astronomy (Rep. 1, 15), yet his abandonment of astrology is clear from 2, 88-97 infra. That his attitude of doubt towards divination, like that towards the Stoic doctrine of cyclic conflagration, may have been influenced by Carneades, is indicated by 1, 12; cf. Hirzel, Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philos. Schriften, 1(1877), 240. For the return of Posidonius to the orthodox Stoic views. a reversion in which the influence of oriental superstitions may be suspected, cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 68; Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 597; Stoerling, Quaest. Ciceronianae ad Relig. spectantes (1894), 23.

[62]2. dubitare: perhaps a sort of $4\pi o \chi \phi$, like that of Ac. 2, 59; 2, 148.

[62]2f. quod . . . concedetur: cf. Ac. 2, 117 cited in the note on negare supra; and for similar complaints against Stoic intolerance of dissent see Reid on Ac. 2, 126.

1. Stoicis Stoico: the figure of πολύπτωτον, noted in Orat. 135: cum aut duplicantur iteranturque verba, aut breviter commutata ponuntur . . . aut continenter unum verbum non eadem sententia ponitur, etc.; Quintil. 9, 3, 36-37; Ps.-Longin. 23, 1; cf. Wölfflin, Die Geminatio im Lat. (Sitzungsb. d. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss., 1882, 422-491); Volkmann-Hammer, Die Rhet. d. Gr. u. Römer, 3 ed. (1901), 44. Other examples are: 2, 8: Stoice Stoicorum; 2, 51: haruspex haruspicem; 2, 92: omnis

copiose contra Stoicos disputata sint, verentibusque ne temere vel falsae rei vel non satis cognitae adsentiamur, faciendum videtur ut diligenter etiam atque etiam argumenta cum argumentis comparemus, ut fecimus in iis tribus libris quos de natura deorum scripsimus. Nam cum omnibus in rebus temeritas in adsentiendo errorque turpis est, tum in eo loco maxime in quo iudicandum est quantum auspiciis rebusque divinis religionique tribuamus; est enim periculum ne aut neglectis iis impia fraude aut susceptis anili superstitione obligemur.

omnium; N. D. 1, 121; et al. On repetitions in Cicero cf. 1, 14, n. (vocibus instat). A large collection of instances is found in Landgraf, Kommentar zu Cic. pro Sex. Rosc. Amer. 2 ed. (1914), 240-241.

[63]1. nos: the Academics, as appears in 1, 7.

[63]3. non liquet: cf. N. D. 1, 29; 2, 3; Ac. 2, 94.

[63]3. solis luce: Friedrich (Neue Jahrb. 127 (1883), 425) interprets solis as the masc. dat. of solus, referring to the reliquis eiusdem disciplinae, and thinks that the doctrine here mentioned rests only on popular belief, with the single exception of the Stoics, who defend divination. But this view runs counter to the statements of Cicero in sections 5-6 above as to the belief of philosophers, and good parallels are found to justify taking solis as the gen. of sol, e.g., Fin. 1, 71: sole ipso illustriora et clariora; and the expression luce clarius is frequent in Cicero; cf. Merguet's Lexica, and Otto, Sprichworter der Römer (1890), 203.

[63]5. quaerentibus: cf. 2, 1.

[63]6. Carneade: For his attitude towards divination cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 66-67; Goedeckemeyer, op. cit. 67, n. 4; 77 ff.; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2(1906), 1471, and n. 8; Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 7; Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 529-530; Jaeger, op. cit. 44-45. A sceptical feeling towards divination was the logical consequence of his inquiries about the nature of the gods. Further, as we may judge from the second book of our

work, of which large parts are ultimately derived from him, he denied both the possibility and the utility of the prediction of events depending upon chance. His attacks were directed against the Stoics, especially, no doubt, Chrysippus, who represented both the chief philosophical apologists for divination and the firmest champions of philosophical dogmatism (N. D. 1, 4; 2, 162; Rep. 3, 9), and to his arguments may be traced much later polemic against divination and especially against astrology (Riess in P.-W. s.v. Astrologie (1896), 1813).

[63]6f. acute et copiose: testimony as to the skill of Carneades in argument is found in de Or. 2, 161; 3, 68.

1. verentibusque: Ac. 2, 138: miki verenti ne labar ad opinionem et aliquid asciscam et comprobem incognitum, etc.

If. ne... adsentiamur: this Academic ἐποχή pervades all the second book of the Academica and appears not infrequently elsewhere in Cicero. In at least three cases (Ac. 1, 45; 2, 59; 2, 68; cf. N. D. 1, 1) we find the same grouping of falsa and incognita as the things from which assent should be withheld. For Cicero's views on assent see Goedeckemeyer, op. cit. 146-147.

2. faciendum videtur ut: cf. Off. 1, 110; Leg. 2, 14; 3, 48; ad Fam. 3, 8, 1. The cumbrous and repetitious phrases (diligenter, etiam atque etiam, argumenta cum argumentis) well express the difficulty and delay of such a search for the truth.

3. argumenta cum argumentis: cf. 2, 150: conferre causas.

V. 8. Quibus de rebus et alias saepe et paulo accuratius nuper, cum essem cum Q. fratre in Tusculano, disputatum est. Nam cum ambulandi

[64]3f. in iis tribus libris quos de: cf. Tusc. 4, 1: in iis sex libris quos de re publica scripsimus.

[64]4. de natura deorum: this title is also attested in 1, 8; 2, 3; 2, 148; Fat. 1; cf. infra 1, 110; 1, 117. For the view that this, rather than de deorum natura, is the proper name for the work see Vahlen in Zeitschr. f. österr. Gymn. 24 (1873), 241, n. (=Gesamm. philol. Schr. 1 (1911), 566, n.). Birt, however, in his Kritik u. Hermeneutik (1913), 154, and in Berl. philol. Woch. 38(1918), 545-546, though admitting the order de natura deorum in passages like ours, where rhetorical considerations of euphony are of weight (although in Tim. 8 even this principle is violated), yet points out (1) that for the title of the work the MS. evidence favors de Deorum Natura, euphonic considerations not applying to titles, and (2) that de Deorum Natura is in its order analogous to similar titles such as de Rerum Natura, de Agri Cultura, etc. But in reply to this it must be insisted that the deliberate citation by Cicero himself of his own work, and that not in a solitary instance, must far counterbalance in value the testimony of MS. titles and the analogy of the designations of works by others.

From the present passage it appears that the method of our work is to be similar to that of the *De Natura Deorum*, in which the expositions of the Epicurean Velleius and the Stoic Balbus are subjected to the criticism of the Academic Cotta, the final decision, as in 2, 150 infra, being left to the reader.

[64]5. turpis: often applied to hasty and unjustified assent; e.g., N. D. 1, 1: quid est enim temeritate turpius? (and see similar instances collected by Mayor ad loc.; also Plasberg ad loc., who cites Schömann, Opuscula, 3(1858), 296; 356, for the exact meaning of turpis).

[64]5. loco: $= \tau \delta \pi \varphi$, as in 1, 117; 2, 2; 2, 3; 2, 4; 2, 70; al.

[64]7. est: emphatic, "for there really is danger."

[64]7. fraude: 'guilt'; cf. Tusc. 1, 72.

[64]8. anili superstitione: cf. 2, 19; 2, . 36; 2, 125; 2, 141; N. D. 3, 92; the use of aniculae in typical descriptions of superstition and credulity is discussed by Mayor on N. D. 1, 55. It is doubtless due to the traditionally gossiping and inquisitive character of old women (1, 65: ex que sagae anus, quia multa scire volunt; Mayor, l.c.; Plat. Theaet. p. 176b: δ λεγόμενος γραών ίθλος; 1 Tim. 4, 7: γραώδεις μίθους). Our passage was probably in the mind of Minucius. Felix, Oct. 13, 5: mea quoque opinione quae sunt dubia ut sunt relinquenda sunt, nec tot ac tantis viris deliberantibus temere et audaciter in alteram partem ferenda sententia est, ne aut anilis inducatur superstitio aut omnis religio destructur; cf. id. 11, 2.

[64]8. superstitione: the difficulty of steering a proper course between neglect of religion and acceptance of superstition appears in many places, notably in 2, 148-149. On the meaning of the word cf. 2, 148, n. (superstitione).

1. et alias saepe: a frequent introductory phrase; cf. Ac. 2, 9: quibus de rebus et alias saepe nobis multa quaesita et disputata sunt, et quondam in Hortensi villa; Tusc. 4, 7: quod cum saepe alias tum nuper in Tusculano egimus; 5, 11: fecimus et alias saepe et nuper in Tusculano; N. D. 1, 15: quod cum saepe alias tum maxime animadverti cum apud C. Cottam . . . disputatum est; Fat. 2.

2. Q. fratre: his part in the dialogue is discussed in the introduction.

2. Tusculano: the villa of Cicero at Tusculum was formerly the property of the dictator Sulla (Plin. N. H. 22, 12), later of Catulus and one Vettius (ad Att. 4, 5, 2), and then was bought by Cicero in 68 B.C. (Schmidt, Ciceros Villen in News Jahrb. f. d. kl. Altert. 3(1899), 470). In 58 it was devastated by Clodius, but was

causa in Lyceum venissemus (id enim superiori gymnasio nomen est), Perlegi, [ille] inquit, tuum paulo ante tertium de natura deorum, in quo disputatio Cottae, quamquam labefactavit sententiam meam, non funditus tamen sustulit. Optime vero, inquam; etenim ipse Cotta sic disputat ut Stoicorum magis argumenta confutet quam hominum deleat religionem. Tum Quintus: Dicitur quidem istuc, inquit, a Cotta, et vero saepius, credo, ne communia iura migrare videatur; sed studio contra Stoicos disserendi deos mihi videtur funditus tollere. 9. Eius orationi non sane desidero quid respondeam; satis enim defensa religio est in secundo libro a Lucilio, cuius disputatio tibi ipsi, ut in extremo tertio scribis, ad veritatem

2. inquit H, ille inquit ABV, inquit ille Lambinus: ille in archetype super lineam videtur fuisse.

8. orationi codd. et edd., rationi Müller (perperem).

restored at great expense (id. 471). Cicero lived there almost uninterruptedly in the years 46-45, about sixty letters being dated from there. For the books written there cf. id. 471, n. 2; Lanciani, Wanderings in the Roman Campagna (1909), 259. Silius Italicus later possessed a villa that had belonged to Cicero (Mart. 11, 48; 11, 49), and there are reasons for identifying it with this Tusculan estate (Lanciani, op. cii. 265-266).

The sites proposed for the villa vary a good deal, from the hill above Frascati to the region of the abbey of Grottaferrata; cf. Schmidt, op. cit. 467, n. 1; Lanciani, op. cit. 254, n. 4 (the latter giving on p. 263 a view of a site excavated by Zuzzeri in 1741-1746 and (p. 264) a tile found with the inscription M. TVLI). On the subject cf. also Grossi-Gondi, La Villegiatura Tusculana di Cic. (1905).

The villa was at a distance from main roads (ad Att. 7, 5, 3), and contained an upper gymnasium called the Lyceum, with a library (2, 8), and a lower gymnasium named the Academia (Tusc. 2, 9; 3, 7; 4, 7), the latter probably below the house. Schmidt (ap. cit. 470, n. 3) would also detect in the account of the Tusculan villa of Crassus (de Or. 2, 20) a description based upon Cicero's own villa. Mayor (on N. D. 1, 15) cites the description of Vitruvius (5, 11, 2) of palaestrae in Roman villas with cloisters containing exhedrae spatiosae, habentes sedes in quibus

philosophi rhetores reliquique qui studiis delectantur sedentes disputare possint; and Spartianus, Hadr. 26, 5, says that Hadrian's villa near Tivoli had, among other parts, a Lycium and an Academia.

Hirzel, Der Dialog, 1(1895), 430-431, discusses the custom, first appearing among the Romans with M. Iunius Brutus, of placing the scene of dialogues in country houses, as opposed to the city setting of Greek dialogues, which was unfavorably regarded by Cicero (ds Or. 2, 18).

[65]2. ambulandi: cf. de Or. 1, 28; Brut. 10. The walking continues through Book I; in Book II they are seated (2, 8; 2, 150). A similar arrangement is found in the De Finibus and the Tusculan Disputations, and it later became the rule in the dialogues of Plutarch (Hirzel, Der Dialog, 1(1895), 528, n. 1; 537), and is employed by Minucius Felix (Oct. 4, 5) and Sulpicius Severus (Dial. 1, 1, 2). The mention of walking and of the Lyceum would naturally suggest the methods of the Peripatetics, with whose school Quintus, in spite of the Stoic views here attributed to him, had a considerable affinity (Hirzel, op. cit. 1, 537, n. 2), just as the scene of the Tusculan Disputations, in the lower gymnasium or Academia is appropriate to the Academic method there used (id. 1, 526, n. 2).

2. perlegi: for similar references in Cicero to works already published cf.

est visa propensior. Sed, quod praetermissum est in illis libris (credo quia commodius arbitratus es separatim id quaeri deque eo disseri), id est de divinatione, quae est earum rerum quae fortuitae putantur praedictio atque praesensio, id, si placet, videamus quam habeat vim et quale sit.

Tusc. 5, 32: quia legi tuum nuper quartum de legibus; Fat. 4; and the cases noted by Hirzel, op. cit. 1, 539, in which the De Legibus recalls the De Republica. For the expression cf. Brut. 11. Our passage, though evidence for the practical completion of the De Natura Deorum, is perhaps not a proof that it was already published, for Quintus may be thought of as having read it before its publication. Mayor (ed. of N. D., 3(1885), xxvi) distinguishes between the terms in which the De Natura Decrum and other works are mentioned in 2, 3 infra and in Fat. 1, and suggests that, like the Epistles and probably some other works, the De Natura Deorum was published posthumously, and that it was at this time and up to Cicero's death undergoing a revision which has left it in its present unfinished and often inconsistent state.

[66]2. inquit: cf. Reid on Ac. 1, 18.

[66]2. tertium: for the omission of librum cf. Tusc. 5, 32 (quoted above).

[66]3. Cottae: C. Aurelius Cotta, consul in 75 B.C., the Academic disputant in the De Natura Deorum.

[66] 3f. funditus . . . sustulit: cf. 1, 5. [66] 4f. ut Stoicorum: this assertion is also emphatically made in N.D. 3, 1; 3, 4; 3, 5-6; 3, 9-10; 3, 15; 3, 93. In 3, 93 Cotta says have fere dicere habui de natura deorum non ut eam tollerem, sed ut intellegeretis quam esset obscura et quam difficilis explicatus haberet.

[66]7. ne... videatur: various passages illustrating Cicero's civil conformity to the state religion as a useful social and political instrument, in spite of his philosophic dissent from some of its tenets, are collected by Mayor on N.D. 3, 5; 3, 14. Cf. 1 Verr. 13: neque nostra senatus consulta neque communia iura tenuerunt. For migrare in the sense of 'transgress' cf. Leg. 3, 11; Off. 1, 31; Fin. 3, 67.

[66]9. defensa, etc.: cf. 1, 117.

[66]10. Lucilio: Lucilius Balbus, the Stoic disputant in the De Natura Deorum. [66] 10. scribis: N.D. 3, 95: ita discessimus ut Velleio Cottae disputatio verior. miki (sc. Ciceroni) Balbi ad veritatis similitudinem videretur esse propensior. The distinction between verior and ad veritatis similitudinem propensior (in our work less carefully phrased as ad veritatem propensior) is, as Mayor (ad loc.) remarks, an attempt to fit the expression to the philosophic habits of the respective judges, the Epicurean Velleius and the Academic Cicero. But the important question remains, why does Cicero, who in the first part of Book I of the De Natura Deorum declares himself an Academic, and who at his appearance upon the scene of the dialogue is recognized (N.D. 1, 17) as the fellow-schoolman and natural supporter of Cotta, now cast his vote, not with Cotta and the Academy, but with the Stoic speaker and those views which Cotta has been brilliantly refuting? That there is deliberate purpose in this is also made yet more clear by the quotation in the present work. The explanation of the difficulty I have attempted to find (Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc. 44 (1913), 25-37) by interpreting the De Natura Deorum as a work not primarily polemic but rather descriptive in purpose, and also as an illustration of Academic method rather than the exposition of any positive or negative Academic dogma.

1. praetermissum est: this subject received scanty notice in N.D. 2, 6-14; 2, 162-163, and that there was no opportunity for fuller discussion Balbus complains in 3, 19: itaque maximae res tacitas praeterierunt, de divinatione, de fato, quibus de quaestionibus tu quidem strictim, nostri autem multa solent dicere, sed ab hac ea quaestione quae nunc in manibus est

Ego enim sic existimo, si sint ea genera divinandi vera, de quibus accepimus quaeque colimus, esse deos, vicissimque, si di sint, esse qui divinent. VI. 10. Arcem tu quidem Stoicorum, inquam, Quinte, defendis, siquidem ista sic reciprocantur, ut et, si divinatio sit, di sint, et, si di sint, sit

separantur. That such a separation was customary is shown by the various Stoic monographs on divination and fate (cf. Diog. L. 7, 149), and by Cicero's own works on those subjects. But in addition to precedent Cicero perhaps had as a reason for treating divination separately the desire to attack this superstition in the manner least involving any direct assault upon legitimate religion (cf. 2, 148-149), and with as little confusion of issues as possible.

[67]2f. de divinatione: for the definition cf. 1, 1. Schmekel (Philos. d. mittl. Stoa (1892), 322, n. 2) refers to 2, 19 (si negas esse fortunam et omnia quae fiunt quaeque futura sunt ex omni aeternitate definita dicis esse fataliter, muta definitionem divinationis, quam dicebas praesensionem esse rerum fortuitarum. si enim nihil sieri polest . . . nisi quod ab omni aelernitale certum fuerit esse futurum rato tempore, quae potest esse fortunal qua sublata qui locus est divinationi?), and notes that this dilemma, doubtless pointed out by Carneades, Posidonius or whoever was the source of our passage has tried to avoid by the use of the phrase quae fortuitae putantur (with emphasis on putantur), his real belief being shown by 1, 125: fieri igitur omnia fato ratio cogit fateri. That is, Posidonius(?) kad changed the definition to meet hostile criticism. But in 2, 13 Marcus Cicero does not hesitate to misquote the definition as set forth by his brother: animadverti . . . te . . . ita definire: divinationem esse earum rerum praedictionem et praesensionem quae essent fortuitae, and, in 2, 19, as above noted, he still attacks the uncorrected Stoic view. This inconsistency is probably due to the use of different and unrelated sources for the two books, the definition in 2, 19 being that of Antipater, according to Schiche, De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Dis. (1875), 8-9; 29-30. On definitions of divination cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 7 ff.; Thiaucourt, Essai sur les Traités philos. de Cic. (1885), 261; Sander, Quaest. de Cic. Libris quos scripsit de Dis. (1908), 22-24.

[67]4. si placet: cf. 1, 10; Fin. 2, 9. Other such apologetic phrases found near the beginning of the remarks of the first or the principal speaker in a dialogue are si videtur (Ac. 1, 14; N.D. 1, 17); nisi molestum est (Ac. 1, 14; Fin. 1, 28; 2, 5; Tusc. 1, 26; N.D. 1, 17; Rep. 1, 46; de Sen. 6); ne . . . vobis molestus sim (Fin. 5, 8); nisi quid . . . videtur secus (Leg. 1, 17); si tibi est commodum (Brut. 20); cf. Part. Orat. 2. These apologies are probably intended to describe the natural feeling of delicacy on the part of one speaker in intruding what is essentially a monologue into the midst of general conversation. So in Plat. Phaed. p. 96a, before a long monologue. Socrates remarks tyw our ou blam . . . tar Boldy. For apologies also on the ground of the time consumed cf. 1, 10, n. (si vacas animo); Hor. Ep. 1, 2, 5.

1. de quibus accepimus: accipio de, except in clauses introduced by ita, sic, and ut, is rare in Cicero; cf. de Amic. 38 (in Cod. Paris., adopted by many editors).

3. arcom: cf. ad Fam. 1, 9, 8: in arcem illius causae invadere; Div. in Caecil. 18, where the lex repetundarum is called the arx of the socii; Liv. 3, 45, 8; 6, 37, 10; cf. 28, 42, 16; Aug. c. Acad. 1, 9, 24: ubi enim arcem locaverunt Academici; de Ordine, 1, 11, 32: summam philosophiae arcem. So axphrolus or πύργος in Greek; e.g., Theogn. 233; Demades ap. Stob. Flor. 74, 56. In 2, 37 Cicero uses a similar figure: urbem philosophiae . . . perditis dum castella defenditis.

divinatio. Quorum neutrum tam facile quam tu arbitraris conceditur. Nam et natura significari futura sine deo possunt, et, ut sint di, potest fieri ut nulla ab iis divinatio generi humano tributa sit. Atque ille: Mihi vero, inquit, satis est argumenti et esse deos et eos consulere rebus humanis quod esse clara et perspicua divinationis genera iudico. De quibus quid ipse sentiam, si placet, exponam, ita tamen si vacas animo neque habes aliquid quod huic sermoni praevertendum putes. 11. Ego vero, inquam, philosophiae, Quinte, semper vaco; hoc autem tempore, cum sit nihil aliud quod lubenter agere possim, multo magis aveo audire de divinatione quid sentias.

9. avec Gruter, edd. recc., habeo C, sed abeo A1.

[68]4. reciprocantur: appropriate for such argument; cf. 'battledore and shuttle-

[68]4. ut et si divinatio sit: cf. 1, 82-83; 1, 104; 1, 117; 2, 41. The argument appears in different forms. In one (Aristot. fr. 10 Rose; Diog. L. 7, 149; N.D. 2, 12, cf. Mayor's note) the existence of divination proves that of the gods: quorum enim interpretes sunt eos ipsos esse certe necesse est; deorum autem interpretes sunt; deos igitur esse fateamur (N.D. 2, 12; ridiculed by Luc. Iup. Trag. 51: εί γὰρ είσι βωμοί, είσι και θεοί· άλλά μήν elsi βωμοί, elsir apa και θεοί), in the other, as here, the belief in divination is an inference following from the existence of gods and from the probability of their care for mankind; as in 1, 82-83; Sext. Emp. 9, 132: el μή είσι θεοί, ούδε μαντική ύπάρχει, επιστήμη οδσα θεωρητική και έξηγητική των ύπο θεών **ἀν**θρώποις διδομένων σημείων, ούδὲ μὴν θεοληπτική και άστρομαντική, ού λογική, ούχ ή δι' δνείρων πρόρρησις. άτοπον δέ γε τοσούτο πλήθος πραγμάτων άναιρείν πεπιστευμένων ήδη παρά πασιν άνθρώποις. είσιν αρα θεοί; Iambl. Vit. Pyth. 138: διὸ καὶ περὶ τὴν μαντική» σπουδάζουσι: μόνη γάρ αύτη έρμηνεία της παρά των θεών διανοίας έστι. και δμως δέ την αυτών πραγματείαν άξιαν τω δόξειον είναι τῷ οἰομένῳ θεούς είναι, τοῖς δ' εὐήθειαν θάτερον τούτων και άμφότερα. Cf. Leg. 2, 32: si enim deos esse concedimus eorumque mente mundum regi et eosdem hominum consulere generi et posse nobis signa rerum futurarum ostendere, non video cur esse

divinationem negem; sunt autem ea quae posui; ex quibus id quod volumus efficitur et cogitur. The dangers of the argument are indicated in 2, 41 infra. So, according to Nestle (Class. Philol. 5 (1910), 149-150), Sophocles urges that divination and religion in general stand and fall together (O.T. 898-910), and Tertullian, de Anim. 47, observes the close connection between visiones and men's ideas of the existence of gods; cf. id. A pol. 20, and Mayor's note. The close relation of divination to fate is shown by Diog. Oenoand. fr. 33 William: <ούκ άνηρημέ>νης οὖν μαντικής σημείον είμαρμένης έστιν άλλ<0>; cf. Val. Max. 1, 5, 1: ominum etiam observatio aliquo contactu religioni innexa est, quoniam non fortuito motu sed divina providentia constore creduntur. An important passage in Augustine (C.D. 5, 9) deals with the whole question. He thinks that Cicero's attacks on divination are due to a desire to demolish the dogma of fate (putat enim concessa scientia futurorum ita esse consequens fatum ut negari omnino non possit), and that Cicero chose the alternative of freedom of the will rather than what seemed to him the mutually involved ideas of divination and deter-Augustine's reconciliation of minism. these opposing concepts emphasizes rather the divine prescience than the revelation of it to men in a way that might modify their actions. For analogies with other Christian arguments cf. Mayor on N.D. 2, 12.

Nihil, inquit, equidem novi, nec quod praeter ceteros ipse sentiam; nam cum antiquissimam sententiam, tum omnium populorum et gentium consensu conprobatam sequor. Duo sunt enim divinandi genera, quorum

[69]1. neutrum tam facile . . . conceditur: cf. 2, 106.

[69]4. et esse deos et eos consulere: two points from the four elaborated in the De Natura Deorum (cf. N. D. 2 3: primum docent (sc. Stoici) esse deos, deinde quales sint, tum mundum ab iis administrari, postremo consulere eos rebus humanis). Cf. Leg. 2, 32 (quoted in the note on ut et si divinatio sit above), and Reitzenstein, Drei Vermulungen sur Gesch. d. röm. Litt. (1894), 28-29.

[69]5. esse: emphatic in position.

[69]5. clara et perspicua: probably not synonymous, the second being stronger than the first as in Fin. 5, 55: etiam clariora vel plane perspicua minimeque dubitanda.

[69]6. ita . . . si: cf. Allen on this passage and Holden on Off. 3, 13.

[69]6. si vacas animo: cf. Brut. 20: si es animo vacuo; Plat. Phaedo, p. 58d: el μή τls σοι άσχολία τυγχάνει οδσα; Cebes, 3: el μή τls σοι μεγάλη άσχολία τυγχάνει οδσα, διήγησαι ήμῖν; 1, 9, n. (si placet).

[69]7. praevertendum: cf. N. D. 2, 3: iis de rebus agimus quae sunt etiam negotiis anteponendae. The word praeverto in this sense is infrequent; cf. Plaut. Amph. 528, cited by Non. p. 362 M.; Liv. 2, 24, 5; Gell. 4, 3, 2.

[69]8. philosophiae . . . vaco: cf. N. D. 2, 3: et oliosi sumus et his de rebus agimus quae sunt etiam negotiis anteponenda; Rep. 1, 14: mihi vero omne tempus est ad meos libros vacuum; numquam enim sunt illi occupati; Sen. de Brev. Vit. 14, 1: soli omnium otiosi sunt qui sapientiae vacant, soli vivunt; Hier. adv. Iovin. 2, 9: vacare philosophiae; vacare . . . sapientiae.

[69]8. hoc autem tempore: excuses for philosophical study on the ground of enforced retirement are: Ac. 1, 11: nunc vero et fortunae gravissimo percussus volnere et administratione rei publicae libera-

tus, doloris medicinam a philosophia peto et oti oblectationem hanc honestissimam iudico; 2, 6: quis reprendet nostrum otium qui in eo non modo nosmet ipsos hebescere et languere nolumus, sed etiam ut plurimis prosimus enitimur? Tusc. 1, 1: cum defensionum laboribus senatoriisque muneribus aut omnino aut magna ex parte essem aliquando liberatus rettuli me . . . ad ea studia; 5, 121: me etiam conscripturum arbitror (ubi enim melius uti possumus hoc cuicuimodi est otio?); N.D. 1, 7: cum otio langueremus et is esset rei publicae status ut eam unius consilio atque cura gubernari necesse esset; cf. 2, 1 infra; Durand in Mélanges Boissier (1903), 179.

[69]9. aveo: in Cicero's philosophical works used chiefly with verbs of learning, etc.

1. nihil . . . novi: cf. Fin. 1, 28: nunc dicam de voluptate, nihil scilicet novi, ea tamen quae, etc.; Rep. 1, 21: nihil novi vobis adferam, neque quod a me sit cogitatum aut inventum.

1. nec quod praeter ceteros: his purpose is twofold: to represent the views to be discussed as not peculiar (1) to himself as an individual nor (2) to the Stoics as a school, but based upon the consensus centium.

3. duo sunt enim: the division into two classes, external or artificial and internal or natural, of which the second group is very primitive (Plut. Sept. Sap. Conv. 15 calls dreams to moss brator ήμιν μαντείον) and the former the result of ages of experience, interpretation, and systematization (Toy, Introd. to the Hist. of Religions (1913), 409), was one apparently early made among the Greeks (cf. Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 8 ff.), being perhaps known to Homer (Od. 20, 100-101: φήμην τις μοι φάσθω έγειρομένων άνθρώπων / Ένδοθεν, Εκτοσθεν δὲ Διὸς τέρας άλλο φανήτω), of whom Plut. de Gen. Socr.

alterum artis est, alterum naturae. 12. Quae est autem gens aut quae civitas quae non aut extispicum aut monstra aut fulgora interpretantium aut augurum aut astrologorum aut sortium (ea enim fere artis sunt) aut

2. extispicum Mercerus (ad Non. s.v.; cf. 2, 26; 2, 42 infra), extis pecudum (pecodum V1)C.

p. 593c says: φαίνεται δὲ γιγνώσκων καὶ "Ομηρος ήν λέγομεν διαφοράν ήμεις των γάρ μάντεων ολωνοπόλους τινάς καλεί και λερείς, έτέρους δέ των θεών αυτών διαλεγομένων συνέντας και συμφρονοθντας άποσημαίνων οίεται τὸ μέλλον . . . ; p. 593d: οδτω τὸ θεῖον όλίγοις έντυγχάνει δι' αύτοθ και σπανίως, - τοις δέ πολλοις σημεία δίδωσιν, έξ ων ή λεγομένη μαντική συνέστηκε; Ps.-Plut. de Vit. Hom. 212: rabtys (BC. maptikis) μέντοι το μέν τεχνικόν φασιν είναι οι Στωϊκοί, ολον λεροσκοπίαν και οίωνούς και τό περί φήμας και κληδόνας και σύμβολα, άπερ συλλήβδην ότταν καλοθμεν, τό δ' άτεχνον και άδίδακτον, τουτέστιν ένθηνια και ένθουσιασμούς, ούδὲ ταῦτα οὖν "Ομηρος ήγνόησεν. άλλ' οἶδε μέν μάντεις και Ιερείς και όνειροπόλους, έτι δὲ και ολονιστάς, κτλ., quoting various examples. There may perhaps be intention in the fact that among the children of Priam there are representatives of these two classes of divination; cf. 1, 89 infra; Heinze, Xenocrates (1892), 105. The two kinds are further recognized by Plato, Phaedr. p. 244d: δσω δή οδυ τελεώτερου και **Εντιμότερον** μαντική ολωνιστικής, τό τε δνομα τοῦ όνόματος έργον τ' έργου, τόσω κάλλιον μαρτυρούσιν οι παλαιοί μανίαν σωφροσύνης την έκ θεού της παρ' άνθρωπων γιγνομένης; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 50-51. The passages adduced by Steinhauser (l.c.) from Aristotle (fr. 10-12 Rose) are not convincing. By the Stoics, however, the two-fold division was adopted with the rexpusór offset to the arexpor sal abl-Sakrov; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 62 ff.; Steinhauser, op. cit. 9-10 (on p. 10, n. 1 he compares the similar division by the rhetoricians of the mlores terrexpos and arexpos).

The two kinds are further discussed in 1, 34 ff.; 1, 72; 1, 109 ff.; 2, 26-27; and Cicero apparently dealt with them else-

where, for Serv. Aen. 3, 359 says: nam ut ait Cicero omnis divinandi peritia in duas partes dividitur. nam aut furor est, ut in vaticinantibus, aut ars, ut in haruspicibus, fulguritis sive fulguratoribus, auguribus. et omnia ista. ex se pendent, licet propriis finibus contineantur (cf. Isid. Etym. 8, 9, 14). This passage is not taken by Servius from any extant part of our work, and Regell (De Augurum publicorum Libris (1878), 3, n. 1) with some plausibility suspects it to be from Cicero's lost work de Auguriis. For modern objections to the two-fold division cf. Lawson, Modern Greek Folk-Lore and ancient Greek Religion (1910), 298-299; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 54-58; and on the whole subject Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 108-109, who also observes (4 (1882), 119) that the term 'natural' was hardly as applicable to divination in Italy as in Greece. Servius (l.c.) and several patristic writers (e.g., Isid. Etym. 8, 9, 13) also mention a fourfold classification by Varro, which is, however, a somewhat artificial one based on the physical fields of divination (geomantia, hydromantia, aëromantia, and pyromantia), with which may be compared the twofold division according to place σημεία in the sky and τέρατα on the earth-which Lydus, de Ostent. procem., attributes to the Hebrews. In Schol. A Il. 1, 62 a threefold classification appears.

1. quae est autem gens: cf. 1, 1, n. (consensu); 1, 87.

2. quae non aut: 1, 72, n. (karu-spices, etc.).

2. extispicum aut monstra, etc.: this list differs from many Greek ones in the omission of specific mention of oracles, but they are probably embraced under the heads of sortium and vaticinationum,

^{3.} artis V3, artes C.

somniorum aut vaticinationum (haec enim duo naturalia putantur)

on account of the difficulty of classifying them exclusively in either one of the two main groups, as is well shown in 1, 34. This being the case, this sentence includes the chief sorts of divination known to Cicero. The art of the haruspices is divided into its three essential parts, as consistently throughout the work (e.g., 1, 35; 1, 72; 1, 93; 2, 26; 2, 28; 2, 42; 2, 49; 2, 109).

[71]2. fulgora: cf. 1, 16, n. (Summanus). [71]3. sortium: probably cognate with sero 'string.' For the appropriateness of the term to the early form of Italic lots cf. Mommsen in C.I.L. I, p. 267; also Skutsch in Berl. philol. Wochenschr. 15 (1895), 342, n. 2; Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), s.v. sors. Divination by lots, or cleromancy, is a method of consultation of the divine will of long duration, wide geographical extent, and many forms. Traditionally the invention of Athena or the Nymphs (Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 363; Wolff in his ed. of Porphyr. de Philos. ex Orac. haur. (1856), 48), but usually placed under the patronage of Hermes as god of chance (Hom. Hymn. Herm. 552 ff., with Sikes and Allen's n.; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 191, n. 1; 192-193; Glotz in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Sortitio, 1402, n. 14; Bergk in Bull. dell' Instit. 1859, 229, n. 1 treats the sors Mercurii as the most favorable of lots), or elsewhere (Paul. ex Fest. p. 368 M.) of special goddesses named Tenitae, it appears as early as the Iliad (7, 175 ff.) and is not yet extinct. It has been found all over the world (Frazer on Paus. 7, 25, p. 174; Toy, Introd. to the Hist. of Relig. (1913), 417), among nations of as varied cultures as the Greeks and Romans (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 189-197; Bolling in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 830; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 205-234), Hindus (Weber in Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss. (1859), 158-180), Hebrews (Gaster in Hastings,

op. cit. 4, 812; Toy, op. cit. 417-418; Clark in Hastings, Dict. of the Apost. Church, 1 (1915), 711), Mohammedans (Fleischer in Bericht. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss. 13 (1861), 24 fl.), the ancient Germans (Caes. B.G. 1, 53, 7; Tac. Germ. 10), Persians (Sykes in Folk-Lore, 12 (1901), 263-264), Chinese (Moore, Hist. of Relig. 1 (1913), 72), and Japanese (Revon in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4, 804).

Its earliest Greek form was doubtless by λιθοβολία (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 191), which may easily have antedated the invention of writing, and in a primitive culture, where the doctrine of chances was as yet unsuspected (Halliday, op. cit. 205), men might easily think of "spiritual beings standing over the diviner or the gambler, shuffling the lots or turning up the dice to make them give their answers" (Tylor, Primitive Culture, 1, 2 ed. (1874), 79). Of the different kinds of cleromancy (for which see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 191; id. in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Divinatio, 301) a number are independent of writing, and that by dice has so continued, but with the knowledge of writing varieties dependent on letters, words, or sentences came into use, the relation of which to what may be called 'cledonistic' divination is analogous to that ✓ between the written and the spoken word in language (id. 302). Such divination has the advantage of requiring no unusual equipment, and, as Glotz (op. cit. 1402) points out, it respectfully but firmly obliges the gods to show their will, rather than leaving it to their mere caprice or to vague ambiguities, as in the case of oracles. It is not surprising that such a successful rival method should have been appropriated by the priests of the oracles, and we find, in fact, many traces of cleromancy at oracular sites (Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1, 192-196; id. in Daremb. et Saglio, op. cit. s.v. Oraculum, 222; Frazer on Paus. 7, 25, p. 173; Robbins in Class. Philol. 11 (1916), 278-292; on Apollo

praedictione moveatur? Quarum quidem rerum eventa magis arbitror quam causas quaeri oportere. Est enim vis et natura quaedam, quae tum

Clarius as cognate with κλήρος cf. Paus. 8, 53, 9; Robbins, op. cit. 286). Especially is this so in Italy, where, in the absence of real oracles, the centres of sortilege such as Caere, Falerii, Praeneste (cf. 2, 85, and nn.), Antium, Patavium, Clitumnus, the temple of Jupiter Appenninus, etc. (Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 146-158; Wissowa in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 822), usually under the protection of Fortuna (Bouché-Leclercq in Daremb. et Saglio, op. cit. s.v. Divinatio, 302), furnished for those craving knowledge of the future important outlets, freed, to be sure, from the competition of legitimate oracles, but suffering, on account of their ease, from a certain triviality (id. Hist. de la Div. 4, 159) and from the disparaging attitude of the state religion towards them (cf. 2, 87; Wissowa, l.c.).

Material remains of divination by lots, in addition to astragals and dice, will be found in Heinevetter, Würfelund Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland u. Kleinasien (1912), with citation of earlier literature; C.I.L. I, 1438-1454 (seventeen small bronze plates inscribed with oracular answers and probably coming, as Mommsen in his note on them (p. 267) shows, from a shrine of Geryon near Padua); XI, 1129 (from Forum Novum, now at Parma). Cf. cognate literary material in the work of Astrampsychus (ed. by Hercher, 1863) and the Sortes Sangallenses (ed. by Winnefeld, 1887). On representations in ancient art of the drawing of lots see Bouché-Leclercq in Daremb. et Saglio, op. cit. s.v. Divinatio, fig. 2479; p. 301, n. 129; id. s.v. Sortitio, 1402, n. 1, and fig. 6520; 1416, fig. 6521; Wissowa, op. cit. 4, 821-822; Robbins, op. cit. 278-292; and the references cited by these authors.

The ritual of sortilege is described in 2, 86; for the status of the sortilegi cf. 1, 132, n. (sortilegos). The use of the lot for the choice of magistrates, dicasts

priests, etc. (doubtless originally on the principle laid down by Plat. Leg. 6, p. 757b, e) is discussed at length by Glotz and Lécrivain in Daremb. et Saglio, op. cit. s.v. Sortitio, and by Heisterbergk in Berl. Stud. 16(1896), part 5; cf. also its use in the Apostolic Church (Acts, 1, 26; Clark in Hastings, Dict. of the Apost. Church, 1(1915), 712-713). Its use in athletic contests is attested by Luc. Hermotim. 40, and its employment by the Romans in land allotments by Hygin. Constit. (in Thulin, Corp. Agrim. Rom. 1, 1, pp. 162-163; 167).

A similar form of divination, originating after the invention of writing and continuing long after the silence of the oracles themselves, is rhapsodomancy, that is, the random consultation, for mantic purposes, of a poet or other revered author (cf. Aug. Conf. 4, 5: de paginis poetae cuiuspiam longe aliud canentis atque intendentis; Du Resnel in Mém. de Litt. . . . de l'Acad. des Inscr. 19(1753), 287-310; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1(1879), 195-196; Toy, op. cit. 418). Among Greek authors Homer (cf. Wessely in Denkschr. d. Wiener Akad. 42, 2 (1893), 7, who also discusses (8-24) a London papyrus containing verses of Homer arranged for this purpose) and Hesiod (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 195, but he cites no example); among the Romans, in addition to the Sibylline Books, Virgil (Du Resnel, l.c.; Comparetti, Virgilio nel medio Evo, 1, 2 ed. (1896), 64; Teuffel-Kroll-Skutsch, Gesch. d. rom. Litt. 2, 6 ed. (1910), 46, n. 4; Schanz, Gesch. d. röm. Litt. 2, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 120), the consultation of whose works was practised as early as Hadrian's time (Spart. Hadr. 2, 8), and is frequently mentioned by the authors of the Historia (For its employment by Augusta. Charles I of England see Wilkin's ed. of Browne, Pseudodoxia epidemica, 2 (1852), 97, n. 4). Similar use of the Old Testaobservatis longo tempore significationibus, tum aliquo instinctu inflatuque divino futura praenuntiat. VII. Quare omittat urguere Carneades, quod faciebat etiam Panaetius, requirens Iuppiterne cornicem a laeva, corvum

ment by the Jews is noted by Gaster (in Hastings, Encyl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 813), and of the entire Bible or parts of it, especially the Psalter and the Gospels, by the Christians (Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5(1696), 364 ff.; Du Resnel, I.c.; Scudamore in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Christ. Antiq. 2, Am. ed. (1880), 1920; Mayor on Juv. 1, 82; Barns in Hastings, op. cit. 4, 790-791). Analogous use of the Koran by Moslems is mentioned by Toy, op. cit. 418. It is to be noted that the works thus employed are those most frequently quoted for purposes of magic (Heim in Jahrb. f. kl. Philol. Supplementb. 19 (1893), 514-522, esp. 518-519). On the transition from the older to the modern ideas about the use of lots cf. Tylor, Prim. Culture, 1, 2 ed. (1874), 79. Much material on lots in general will be found in van Dale, De Oroculis (1700), 280-324.

[73]1. eventa: for similar appeals to empiricism in matters of divination Schmekel (Philos. d. mittl. Stoa (1892), 322, n. 3) compares 1, 23; 1, 35; 1, 36; 1, 109; which he believes are samples of the argument employed by Posidonius to meet the sceptical demand for reasons. The argument also appears in 1, 5; 1, 16; 1, 72; 1, 84; 1, 128; and is attacked by Cicero, doubtless following Carneades and Panaetius, in 2, 27; 2, 79-80; 2, 99; 2, 146, on the ground of its unphilosophic character and its divergence from observed facts, with the same distrust that Aristotle (de Div. per Somn. p. 462 b 14 ff.) shows towards dreams. The claims of empiricism also appear in Diog. L. 7, 149: καί αύτην (80. μαντικήν) και τέχνην άποφαίνουσι διά τινας έκβάσεις, ώς φησι Ζήνων; Artemid. Onirocr. 4, 20: πειρώ δὲ πάντα μέν αίτιολογείν και προσάπτειν έκάστω λόγον καὶ πιθανάς τινας ἀποδείξεις, ώς εἰ καὶ πάνυ άληθη λέγοις, ψιλά και περιλελεπισμένα άποτε-

λέσματα λέγων ήττον είναι δόξεις ξμπειρος αύτδς δὲ μή ἐξαπατηθής ὡς τῆς αἰτιολογίας κυρίας τῶν άποτελεσμάτων οδοης πολλά γάρ άποβαίνα συνεχώς ένίοις, και ότι μέν κατά λόγον άποβαίνα ίσμεν έκ τοῦ πάντοτε όμοίως ἀποβαίνειν, τὰς de airlas, di' as obrus aropaires, espeir ob δυνάμεθα. δθεν ήγούμεθα τὰς μέν ἐποβάσεις άπὸ τῆς πείρας εὐρῆσθαι, τὰς δὲ αἰτιολογίας άπο ήμων αυτών κατά την έκάστου δύναμι»; cf. id. 2, 70 (p. 167 Hercher); Manil. 1, 61-65: per varios usus artem experientia fecit / exemplo monstrante viam, speculataque longe / deprendit tacitis dominantia legibus astra / et totum aeterna mundum ratione moveri / fatorumque vices certis discernere signis. Even Posidonius recognized, of course, that signs were but indications, not causes, of future events (Schmekel, op. cit. 254, n. 1).

The long digression here begun continues through 1, 33; cf. 1, 34, n. (iis igitur).

[73]2. vis et natura: hendiadys as in 1, 3; 1, 15. In 1, 109 artificial prediction passes insensibly into scientific calculation of effects, quae potest esse etiam sine motu atque impulsu deorum.

1. longo tempore: cf. 1, 2.

1f. instinctu inflatuque: cf. 1, 34: instinctu divino adflatuque; 1, 38: divino adflatu; 1, 66: divino instinctu; Tusc. 1, 64: caelesti aliquo mentis instinctu; N.D. 2, 167: aliquo adflatu divino.

2. Carneades: 1, 7, n. (Carneade). In N.D. 3, 14-15, of which Carneades is probably to be regarded as the source, we find some of the points here appearing, e.g., quis cornicis cantum notavit? quis invenit fissum iecoris? (cf. 1, 16 infra); quis sortis (sc. notavit)? (cf. 1, 23 infra?); at medici quoque . . . saepe falluntur (cf. 1, 24 infra); Atti Navi . . . lituum (cf. 1, 30 infra). In other words, the source which Quintus is here represented as following has tried to answer the arguments

ab dextera canere iussisset. Observata sunt haec tempore inmenso et in

raised by Carneades and recounted by Clitomachus in a work which Cotta follows in N.D. 3, 14-15.

[74]3. Panaetius: cf. 1, 6, n. (negare).

[74]3. Impriterne: that Carneades took too mechanical a view of the Stoic theory of divine revelation by augury is indicated in 1, 118; cf. 1, 119, n. (eademque); Sen. N. Q. 2, 32, 3-4: aves non in hoc motae ut nobis occurrerent dextrum ouspicium sinistrumque fecerunt. 'et illas,' inquit, 'deus movit.' nimis illum otiosum et pusillae rei ministrum facis, si aliis somnia, aliis exta disponit; ista nikilominus divina ope geruntur, si non a deo pennae avium reguntur nec pecudum viscera sub ipsa securi formantur; alia ratione fatorum series explicatur indicia venturi ubique praemittens; Apul. de Deo Socr. 7: neque enim pro maiestate deum caelestium fuerit ut eorum quisquam vel Hannibali somnium pingat vel Flaminio hostiam conroboret vel Atto Navio avem velificet vel Sibyllae fatiloquia versificet vel Tarquinio velit apicem rapere sed reddere, Servio vero inflammare verticem nec exurere, non est operae diis superis ad hace descendere, mediorum divorum ista sortitio est, etc.; cf. Max. Tyr. 13, 3 Hobein; Iambl. de Myster. 3, 16, pp. 138-139 Parthey; Wachsmuth, Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Daemonen (1860), 21. The question of Carneades was not satisfied; it is echoed in Livy 6, 41, 8: eludant nunc licet religiones; quid enim esse . . . si occecinerit avis? and as late as Isidore (Etym. 12, 7, 44; repeated by Hugo de S. Vict. de Bestiis, 3, 35) it had still to be raised: magnum nefas haec credere ut Deus consilia sua cornicibus mandet, although others took the opposite view and argued, as did Plutarch (de Sollert. Animal. 22, p. 975 a-b), that the animals, especially the birds, offer to the deity especial advantages for the revelation of his will.

Jupiter is doubtless here mentioned as the supreme god rather than as the one with whom these birds were especially associated. In fact, the corvus was particularly the sacred messenger of Apollo(cf. Ael. Hist. Anim. 1, 48; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 133; Thompson, Glossary of Greek Birds (1895), 92).

[74]3. cornicem . . . corvum: on the identification of these birds cf. Thompson, op. cit. 91-95; 97-100; Martin, The Birds of the Latin Poets (1914), 69-75. The cornix (κορώνη) Thompson takes as the Crow, Corous corone L., perhaps including also the Hooded Crow, Corous cornix L., and the Rook, Corous frugilegus L. It was noted as a weather prophet (Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere (1885), 115; Thompson, op. cit. 98; Martin, op. cit. 69-70; 1, 14, n. (fuscaque, etc.) infra) and for its longevity (Thompson, l.c.). Its use in augury is rare among the Greeks (Hopf, l.c.; Thompson, l.c.), but frequent among the Romans (Hopf, l.c.). By Festus p. 197 M. both it and the corvus are classed under the oscines (cf. 1, 120, n. (oscines)), and its omens, though occasionally good, are usually unfavorable (Hopf, op. cit. 116; Martin, op. cit. 70; Plin. N. H. 10, 30 calls it a bird inauspicatae garrulitatis). For parallels from other nations cf. Hopf, op. cit. 116 ff.; see also Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 133-134.

The corous (xópaξ) is, according to Thompson (op. cit. 91-95), the Raven. Corous corax L., though Fowler (A Year with the Birds, 2 ed. (1886), 149-153), on the ground of its pugnacity (Virg. Georg. 1, 410 ff.), thinks it the Rook, and Thompson accepts this possibility for one or two passages. It was also important for its weather signs (Thompson, op. cit. 94; Martin, op. cit. 74-75), but especially as an augural bird (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 133; Hopf, op. cit. 110-111; Thompson, op. cit. 93; Martin, op. cit. 75), being either favorable or unfavorable according to circumstances; Ael. Hist. Anim. 1, 48: ταθτά μοι και μαντικοίς συμβόλοις άγαθον δμολογούσι τον αύτον και όττεθονταί γε πρός την εκείνου βοην οι συνιέντες δρνίθων και έδρας και

significatione eventus animadversa et notata. Nihil est autem quod non longinquitas temporum excipiente memoria prodendisque monumentis refficere atque adsequi possit. 13. Mirari licet quae sint animadversa a medicis herbarum genera, quae radicum ad morsus bestiarum, ad oculorum

in significatione eventus C, in significationem eventus Orelli, Christ, significatio eventu Hottinger, significatione eventus Madvig, Thorsen, significatione eventus Klois, cum significatione eventus Regell, significationum eventis Koch, Polster, eventis (om. in significatione) Maller, Hoeringe, exin significationes eventis animadversae et notatae Devies, exin significatio est eventis animadversa et notata Allen, significatio est eventis Rath, cruce notevil Balter; forlasse recte in significatione eventis, cf. 1, 72: eventis animadversa ac notata sunt.

κλαγγάς και πτήσεις αυτών ή κατά λαιάν χείρα 4 κατά δεξιάν; cf. Psellus fr. περί ώμοπλατοσκοπίας και οιωνοσκοπίας (in Philologus, 8 (1853), 167): ἀπάρξομαι . . . τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν κοράκων και κορωνών σημειώσεως, ής ή διαφορά έν τετράσι τούτοις έν πτήσει, φωνή, καθέδρα, και ἐνεργεία, κτλ.; Fulgent. Myth. 1, 12: sive quod in orneoscopicis libris secundum Anaximandrum sive etiam secundum Pindarum solus (8c. corvus) inter omnes aves LX quattuor significationes habeat vocum (Christ on Pind. fr. 285 thinks this derived from the commentary on Pyth. 3, 28). When seen in numbers corvi were usually unlucky (Hopf, op. cit. 111). Appian (B.C. 4, 19), Plutarch (Cic. 47), and Valerius Maximus (1, 4, 6) tell us that ravens appeared as an omen to Cicero himself just before his death (as before the deaths of Tiberius Gracchus and Sejanus) Keller, Die antike Tierwelt, 2 (1913), 97). For similar later and modern beliefs cf. Hopf, op. cit. 112-115; Latham in Folk-Lore Record, 1 (1878), 52; Craigie in Folk-Lore, 4 (1893), 230; Schwartz, Menschen u. Tiere im Aberglaube (1888), 34; and the remarkable series of cases connected with recent deaths in the House of Hapsburg (Chicago Daily Tribune, 29 Feb., 1916).

On the different things observed in divination from ravens see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 133. There were special κορακομάντεις among the Greeks (cf. Schol. Hom. Od. 14, 327), and among the Romans we hear of the cornicularius qui in cornicibus augurium captat (Schol. Prudent. Psychom. 636 ed. Burnam).

[74]3. a laeva: questions affecting right and left will be further discussed in 2,

82, n. (laevum); cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 21, n. 1; also Frothingham in Amer. Journ. of Arch. 21 (1917), 55-76; 187-201; 313-336; 420-448; on p. 60 he gives a catalogue of countries which employed southern 'orientation' and considered the left as lucky and those using a northern 'orientation' and considering the lucky side as the right; 1, 31, n. (ad meridiem).

With our passage should be compared 1, 85; ad Fam. 6, 6, 7: nec e cantu sinistro oscinis, ut in nostra disciplina est, auguror. To the Greeks birds on the right were, in general, favorable, and those on the left unfavorable (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 136), while as Valeton (in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 321) shows, "signa caelestia semper aestimaverunt Romani ex regione qua apparerent, aves in aere volitantes oblativas semper ex regione in quam concederent; verum reliqua signa et auguria, cum aves tum alia (paucis exceptis, ut pico et cornice, quae a laeva manu habebantur prospera) a laeva manu vim funestam, a dextra vim faustam accipere censebant." That is, there was a contradiction between the definite augural observation of these signs and that of the layman. Further that there was for certain birds divergence of usage is shown by this passage and by 1, 85; 2, 80—a divergence clearly belonging to the systematized observation of the augurs. Cf. also Plaut. Asin. 260-261: picus et cornix ab laeva, corvos, parra ab dextera / consuadent (and Gulick in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol. 7 (1896). 240-241 for other Plautine references); Serv. Ecl. 9, 15; Wagener, Popular Associations of Right and Left in Rom. Lit.



morbos, ad vulnera, quorum vim atque naturam ratio numquam explicavit, utilitate et ars est et inventor probatus. Age ea quae, quamquam ex alio genere sunt, tamen divinationi sunt similiora, videamus:

Atque etiam ventos praemonstrat saepe futuros

(1912), 55; Hopf, op. cit. 111; Thompson, op. cit. 93; 98; Martin, op. cit. 75. The differences in the omens from birds according to the side on which they were seen is also noted by Psellus, op. cit. 167: παρεξίουσι δε ήμιν την αύλιον κόραξ [όπισθεν] καί κορώνη έμπροσθεν βοήσαντες, άθυμίαν τινά και δυσχέρειαν έν πράγμασι προσημαίνουσι, περί δε τά λαιά κορώνη διϊπταμένη και άνακράζουσα και κόραξ όμοιως έκ θατέρου μέρους παραφθεγξάμενος θαρρείν σοι παρακελεύεται. εδχομένοις δέ κορώνη δπισθεν κράζουσα τυχείν της ευχής μαντεύεται, εύωνυμος δε διελθούσα φόβον εμβάλλει και ταραχήν τῆ ψυχῆ; cf. Joann. Saresb. Policr. 1, 13 (of the crow): refert etenim plurimum a dextris sit an a sinistris. A possible, though very uncertain, explanation for the difference in this respect between the birds mentioned is suggested by Valeton, op. cit. 321, n. 1. For the possibility that some of the omengiving birds may originally have been totems cf. Toy, Introd. to the Hist. of Relig. (1913), sections 515; 517; 572.

[75] If. in significatione eventus: the reading of the MSS, and perhaps making tolerable sense: "and comprehended and noted in regard to the significance of their outcome." But see the end of the critical note above.

[76]1. animadversa et notata: cf. 1, 25; 1, 72; 1, 131.

[76]1. non: for the long separation of this word from its verb cf. 1, 12: non... movestur; 1, 125; Wopkens, Lect. Tull. (1829), 237.

[76]2. longinquitas temporum: cf. 1, 2. [76]2. excipiente memoria: cf. 1, 87; 1, 127.

[76]2. monumentis: including perhaps such books as those mentioned in 1, 72. [76]4. herbarum genera: cf. 1, 16; N. D.

2, 161: multaque ex earum (sc. bestiarum) corporibus remedia morbis et vulneribus

eligamus, sicul ex quibusdam stirpibus et herbis, quarum utilitates longinqui temporis usu et periclitatione percepimus. For special accounts of such drugs see, in addition to Pliny's Natural History, the works of Nicander and Dioscurides. In our passage herbarum seems to be used of those plants whose stems, leaves, fruits, or other portions growing above ground are employed as cures, as contrasted with radicum.

[76]4. radicum: many such were and are used as remedies, especially in the case of snake-bite; cf. 1, 16, n. (ad morsus serpentium); Encycl. Brit. 25, 11 ed. (1911), 285, s.v. Snake-Root; also the index of Sillig's ed. of Plin. N. H. vol. 8 (1858), 302-303. In Greek there are not a few references to the μιζοτόμοι (cf. Reinach in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Medicus, 1679), in whose practices magic sometimes played an important part (cf. Tavenner, Stud. in Magic from Lat. Lit. (1916), 95; 97).

[76]4. ad morsus: cf. 1, 16: ad morsus; Off. 3, 92: medicamentum . . . ad aquam intercutem. This use of ad (=πρότ) is common on the stamps of oculists (Espérandieu, Recueil des Cachets d'Oculistes rom. (1893), 141-147); cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. ad, 543-544.

[76]4. oculorum: diseases of the eyes, due to such causes as lack of precautions at birth, lack of corrective glasses, smoke in houses, and the out-of-door glare of southern lands, were common among the Romans, and the oculist was one of the most early developed of medical specialists (cf. Reinach, l.c.). For the commoner types of eye-medicines (collyria) of which we have traces in the works of the medical writers and on certain stamps found chiefly in Gaul, see Espérandieu, op. cit. Cicero is here, however, thinking of the

Inflatum mare, cum subito penitusque tumescit,

components of the various remedies rather than of their finished form.

[77]1. ratio numquam explicavit: yet Plin. N. H. 8, 97, in speaking of remedies used by animals, says nec haec sola multis animalibus reperta sunt usui futura et homini. On empiricism and experimentation as a factor in the development of ancient medicine cf. Reinach, op. cit. 1669-1671.

[77]2. utilitato: cf. Fin. 1, 42: ut enim medicorum scientiam non ipsius artis sed bonae valetudinis causa probamus, et gubernatoris ars, quia bene navigandi rationem habet, utilitate, non arte laudatur.

[77]2. ago: cf. 1, 46: age . . . redeamus.

[77]3. divinationi . . . aimiliora: cf.

[77[3. divinationi . . . similiora: cf. Vitruv. 9, 6, 3 (quoted in n. on quis sigitur infra).

[77]4. atque, etc.: for the life and works of Aratus see Susemihl, Gesch. d. gr. Litt. in d. Alexandrinerseit, 1 (1891), 284-299; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Gesch d. gr. Litt. 2, 1, 6 ed. (1920), 163-167. He was born at Soli, probably about 315 B.C., and in philosophical studies at Athens attached himself to the Stoics. His most famous work, the Pawópera, was composed apparently between 276 and 274, at the instigation of Antigonus Gonatas, and was based on a prose work of the same title by Eudoxus. This work was often divided into three parts, the first the Φαινόμενα proper; the second περί συνανατολής και συγκαταδύσεως των άστρων; and the third προγνώσεις δια σημείων (cf. Maass, Aratea, in Philol. Untersuchungen, 12 (1892), 155). On his other works see Maass, op. cit. 211-248. The Pairopera, in spite of its amateurish and unscientific character (cf. Rep. 1, 22; de Or. 1, 69), became extremely popular, and was honored with much comment, imitation, and translation (Maass, op. cit. 121-164). Among the Latin translators were Cicero, Germanicus, Gordianus I(Capitol. Gord. 3, 2), and Avienus: the portion on weather signs was also employed by Varro in his Ephemeris and by Virgil in the Georgics. For his popularity among the Stoics cf. Maass, op. cit. 158.

Important in its bearing on Cicero's translation of Aratus is N.D. 2, 104: utar, inquit (sc. Balbus), carminibus Aratiis, quae a te admodum adulescentulo conversa ita me delectant, quia Latina sunt, ut multa ex iis in memoria teneam. Mayor on this passage thinks the work was probably written in Cicero's seventeenth year, but cites no evidence. Leo (in Hermes, 49 (1914), 191, n. 3) suggests a date about 86 B.C. From a letter of June, 60 (ad Att. 2, 1, 11: Prognostica mea cum oratiunculis propediem exspecta) it might appear that the portion on weather signs was only then completed, and this is the view of Jordan (Krit. Beitr. zur Gesch. d. lat. Spr. (1879), 299), but it is unlikely that so long a time elapsed between the translation of the two parts (cf. Sieg, De Cicerone Germanico Avieno Arati Interpretibus (1886), 6-7), and practically certain is the opinion of Leo (l.c.) that there was a new edition of the Prognostica in 60. For a summary of opinions see Grollmus, De M. Tullio Cic. Poeta (1887), 11-18. Important additional evidence for this view I have presented in Class. Philol. 12 (1917), 302-304; cf. 1, 14, n. (saepe, etc.). The second edition seems to have been made without fresh comparison with the original and differed mainly in its greater turgidity of style.

That Cicero treated the Phaenomena proper and the Prognostica as two distinct works may be seen (1) from his use of a separate title (as below; also 2, 47; ad Att. 2, 1, 11; 15, 16a); (2) from the use of the plural carminibus Aratiis (N.D. 2, 104 (yet see Plasberg's critical note for variant readings); cf. Sieg, op. cit. 6); and (3) from the two editions of the Prognostica as contrasted with one of the first part (see above). The title Prognostica does not correspond so much to the Greek διοσημία, appearing in some MSS.

Saxaque cana salis niveo spumata liquore Tristificas certant Neptuno reddere voces, Aut densus stridor cum celso e vertice montis

of Aratus (see Maass, ed. (1893), 40, app. crit.), as to προγτώσεις, the title used by Boethus, from whom it is probably taken (Maass, Aratea, 157). For the Latin title of the first part there is little evidence (Sieg, op. cit. 5).

Of Cicero's translation of the first part about 552 verses remain, and of the Prognostica 27 (of which 23 are found in the present passage), making a total of 579, as compared with 1154 in the Greek as edited by Maass. The translation (or at least all save the Prognostica) is on about the same scale of fulness as the original, Sieg (op. cit. 11) noting that in long and continuous passages 480 verses of Cicero correspond to 472 of Aratus. Of Cicero's qualities as a translator varying opinions are held. Sieg (op. cit. 8; 13) and Ribbeck (Gesch. d. rom. Dichtung, 1(1887), 301), while conceding variations in the closeness of the translation, are disposed to think that he handled rather well a difficult and unattractive task; Maybaum (De Cic. et German. Arati Interpretibus (1889), 8 ff., esp. 15-16), Moll (Ciceros Aratea (1891), 12 ff.), and Guendel (De Ciceronis Poetae Arte (1907), 40-42) are more severe, and emphasize his lack of comprehension both of the subject matter and of the meaning of particular passages in the Greek. For a comparison of various parts of the translation with the corresponding originals cf. Atzert, De Cicerone Interprete Graecorum (1908), 3-11 (p. 6 for the Prognostica). The external features of Cicero's poetry, such as the technique of the hexameter, are discussed by Peck in Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc. 28 (1897), 60-74; Guendel, op. cit. 7-39. That the style of this translation was by the Romans of the Empire considered as archaic and antiquated is indicated by Capitol. Gord. 3, 2. In this archaism the imitation of his favorite Ennius (Guendel, op. cit. 51-81; Wreschniok, De Cicerone Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus (1907)) played an important part. Judgments ancient and modern on Cicero's poetical ability will be found in Mayor's n. on N.D. 2, 104; Sieg, op. cit. 15; Schans, Gesch. d. röm. Litt. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 396; cf. 1, 17, n. (de consulatu).

The fragments of Cicero's Aratea are edited by Müller in his edition 4, 3 (1879), 360-394 (with the supplementary lines of Grotius), and by Baehrens in Poet. Lat. Min. 1(1879), 1-28.

[77]4. atque etiam ventos: Arat. Phaen. 909-912: σήμα δέ τοι άνέμοιο και οίδαίνουσα θάλασσα / γινέσθω και μακρόν έπ' αίγιαλοί βοόωντες, / άκται τ' είνάλιαι ὁπότ' εύδιοι ήχήεσσαι / γίνωνται, κορυφαί τε βοώμεναι ούρεος άκραι.. The translation in the text will give a good idea of the extent to which Cicero at times expanded the original without adding to the thoughts therein contained.

The phraseology of the original suggests Il. 17, 264-265: ἀμφὶ δὲ τ' ἄκραι / φιόνες βοόωσιν έρευγομένης άλλος έξω, and much more Theophr. de Sign. Tempest. 29: θάλασσα οίδουσα και άκται βοώσαι και αίγιαλός ήχων άνεμώδης. Cf. Geopon. 1, 11, 7: άνεμον δέ προμηνύει θάλασσα κυμαίνουσα καί έπι τοῖς αιγιαλοῖς μεγάλα ήχοῦσα; Psellus, ο p. cit. 167: άνεμον δέ σοι σημαίνουσων ήχουντες έπι πλείστον αίγιαλοι και άθρδον άνοιδαίνουσα θάλασσα καί οΐον βομβούσαι αί κορυφαί των όρων; Virg. Georg. 1, 356-359: continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti / incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis / montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe / litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur; Aen. 10, 98-99; Sen. Agam. 466-469: tum murmur grave / maiora minitans, collibus summis cadit / tractuque longo litus ac petrae gemunt; / agitata ventis unda venturis tumet; Plin. Ortus adaugescit scopulorum saepe repulsus.

VIII. Atque his rerum praesensionibus Prognostica tua referta sunt. Quis

N. H. 18, 359: est et aquarum significatio mare si tranquillo portu cursitabit murmurabitve intra se, ventum praedicit, si idem hieme, et imbrem; litora ripaeque si resonabunt tranquillo, as peram tempestatem, item maris ipsius tranquillo sonitus spumaeve dispersae aut aquae bullantes; 18, 360; et montium sonitus nemorumque mueitus praedisunt. The version of Avienus is as follows (2, 1671-1675): nam cum traxere tumorem / aequora prolixum, cum litora curva resultant / sponte procul neque caeruleus colliditur aestus, / aut cum proceris vertex in montibus ultro / perstrepit aërium, ventos instare docebunt.

[77]4. praemonstrat: cf. de Har. Resp. 20: praemonstrare et praecinere.

[78]1. subito: Cicero here follows, not the original, but, as Atzert, op. cit. 6, points out, a scholiast; cf. Maass, Comment. in Arati Reliq. (1898), 509, line 3: δταν έξαιφτης . . . ἀνοιδαίνη ἡ θάλασσα.

[78]1. tumescit: cf. Virg. Georg. 1, 357; 2, 479; Ov. Met. 1, 36; Luc. 10, 224.

[79]1. spumsta: a rare word, in the participle perhaps only here. With the line cf. Claud. Carm. Min. 26 (49), 58: despumat niveum fistula cana salem.

[79]2. tristificas: cf. 1, 20: soces tristificas. It is a trace of Cicero's imitation of the freedom of the earlier Roman poets in the use of compound adjectives. Other examples in the quotations from his poems in our work are 1, 15: mollipedes, umiferum; 1, 19: altitonans; 1, 21; 2, 63: umbrifera; 1, 22: anxiferas; 1, 106: altisoni; 2, 63: aurigeris. For such words used by Cicero in his verse but not in his prose see Laurand, Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic. (1907), 43-57; on p. 57, n. 1 he discusses the question of Cicero's having invented these words.

[79]2. certant: cf. Patin, Etudes sur la Poésie latine, 2, 2 ed. (1875), 476.

[79]2. Neptuno: such metonymy (N. D. 3, 41) is, of course, common in Latin poetry; cf. Prud. c. Symm. 1, 299-302:

haec sibi per varias formata elementa figuras / constituere patres hominumque vocabula mutis / scripserunt statuis vel Neptunum vocitantes / Oceanum; Min. Fel. Oct. 19, 10; also Lucr. 2, 652-657.

[79]2. voces: cf. Virg. Aen. 3, 355-356: et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa / audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces. For the verse ending reddere voces cf. Wreschniok, De Cicerone Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus (1907), 54 (who cites similar parallels to Ennius from several other poets); Guendel, De Ciceronis Poetae Arte (1907), 80.

[79]3. densus: of a thick sound in Quintil. 11, 3, 63, but probably here in the sense of continual (cf. www.65 in Aristotle, e.g., de Audibilibus, p. 804 a 21). The continuously heavy rhythm of the line is perhaps intended to give the effect of the sound. Virgil in the corresponding passage (Georg. 1, 357-358) speaks of an aridus . . . fragor, a harsh (according to Nettleship) or crackling (according to Ladewig-Deuticke) sound.

Virgil has also noted (Ass. 10, 97-99) the importance for sailors of observing these first traces of rising winds.

[79]3. montis: a difficult passage. The MSS. read repulsus, and with this reading saepe must be interpreted as a noun in the ablative (the reading sede of the Cod. a of Victorius is an unnecessary change), upon which depends scopulorum. Many editors, however, from Manutius on, have preferred to read repulsu, taking saepe as an adverb and explaining its use as emphasizing the repeated dashing of the waves. Stylistic objection to saepe in this sense, on the ground of its use in line 1 of this fragment is unnecessary. The word has no equivalent in Aratus (as in 1, 14, and like subito penitusque above) and may have been added by Cicero as a bit of padding. But this emendation, however plausible, should not be adopted if the reading of the MSS. is intelligible. The

igitur elicere causas praesensionum potest? etsi video Boëthum Stoicum esse conatum, qui hactenus aliquid egit ut earum rationem rerum explicaret quae in mari caelove fierent. 14. Illa vero cur eveniant quis probabiliter dixerit?

Cana fulix itidem fugiens e gurgite ponti Nuntiat horribilis clamans instare procellas Haud modicos tremulo fundens e gutture cantus.

video Boethum Gruter, edd. recc., uide beothum A, uidebo cotum V, uidebo cuthum B, uidebo cothii H (teste Boitero sed uidebebo cothum teste Deitero).

5. fulix itidem Camerarius, fluxit idem C, sed idem fluxit B.

difficulties raised against the latter are mainly two: (1) the use of saepe in this sense; (2) the meaning of the whole passage. As to the first cf. the verse quoted in N.D. 1, 119: silvestribus saepibus densa; Ov. Tr. 4, 1, 81: portarum saepe; and, better, Apul. de Plat. 1, 15: superciliorum saepes praemuniunt oculis, and from such cases to the picture of a 'hedge of cliffs' (cf. the 'Palisades' of the Hudson) the transition is not difficult. The second difficulty applies almost equally to the reading of the MSS. and to that of the emendation. Neither Cicero nor Virgil (Georg. 1, 356-359) are following the Greek closely enough to cast much light upon one another or receive much from it. One important feature, the adjective ethios, they both neglect, and in their descriptions of mountains and cliffs they are very vague. Yet in the Ciceronian passage montis perhaps refers to the upper part of the cliffs as distinguished from the lower scopulorum (cf. capita montis by which Virgil, Ass. 6, 360, renders the πέτρη of Od. 5, 428), and to these two may correspond the κορυφαί τε . . . οδρεος ἄκραι and arral r' drahiai of the original and the altis montibus and litors of Virgil, who, like two Greek scholia on the passage (Mass, Comment. in Arati Reliq. (1898), 508, 14; 509, 6), pluralized the mountains. And is there in Aratus an intentional distinction between the alguadol βοδωντες and arral . . . Axherrae on the one hand and the κορυφαί τε βοώμεναι οδρεος άκραι on the other, the first actively sounding, the second passively vocal or echoing?

The original seems to offer no other ground for such an idea of reflected sound. In this question of the echo trouble arises unless we interpret montis and scopulorum as I have done. For a sound originating on or from high hills back from the coastline, in addition to the difficulties caused by distance, would hardly be echoed back by the (landward side of) a scopulorum saepes. This difficulty was felt by Giese (ad h. loc.) who thought that Aratus had in mind such a partly landlocked bay as those described by Homer (Od. 13, 96-101) and Virgil (Aen. 1, 159-168; 1, 310-312). But the Greek says nothing of this, and apparently applies to any rocky shore line. so that I think we shall best take the montes of the sea-cliffs or bluffs, rising, perhaps, rather sheer (cf. Virg. G. 4, 419), and the scopulorum of the wave-beaten line of reefs and ledges that hedge in the actual shore.

Either this passage or the Virgilian parallel was perhaps in the mind of Bacon in a passage quoted by Inwards, Weather Lore, 3 ed. (1898), 127, who cites other modern beliefs as to such prognostications.

[80]1. adaugescit: cf. Lucr. 2, 296.

[80]2f. quis igitur: cf. Vitruv. 9, 6, 3: quorum (i.e., the earlier Greek philosophers) inventa secuti siderum < ortus > et occasus tempestatium que significatus Eudoxus Euctemon Callippus Meto Philippus Hipparchus Aratus ceterique ex astrologia parapegmatorum disciplinis invenerunt et eas posteris explicatas reliquerunt. quorum scientiae sunt hominibus

Saepe etiam pertriste canit de pectore carmen

suspiciendae quod tanta cura fuerunt ut etiam videantur divina mente tempestatium significatus post futuros ante pronuntiare. Did the προγνωστικά βιβλία ascribed by Tzetz. Chil. 2, 888-891 to Pythagoras perhaps also deal with this question?

[81]1. Boethum: cf. 2, 47. Boethus of Sidon was a pupil of Diogenes of Babylon (Stoic. Ind. Herculan. col. 51) and himself a philosopher of distinction (Philo, de Incorrupt. Mundi, p. 25, 2 Cumont (=S.V.F. 3, 265, fr. 7): Βόηθος γοῦν δ Σιδώνιος και Παναίτιος άνδρες & τοίς Στωϊκοίς δόγμασιν Ισχυκότες, άτε θεόληπτοι). In his beliefs he diverged from orthodox Stoicism (von Arnim in P.-W. s.v. Boethos (1897), 601-602; Zeller-Wellmann, Die Philos. d. Griechen, 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 573-576) towards a philosophical eclecticism. His exact views on divination we do not know (Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 576; Hirzel, Untersuchungen zu Ciceros phil. Schriften, 2 (1882), 227, n.), but from this passage and 2, 47 we learn that he attempted, perhaps stimulated by the attacks of Carneades (Schmekel, Philos. d. mittl. Stoa (1892), 320), to find a scientific justification for at least some forms of prediction; cf. Geminus Rhodius p. 61a (cited by Mass, Aralea, 153): 80er kal Βόηθος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ τετάρτψ βιβλίψ τῆς 'Αράτου έξηγήσεως φυσικάς τάς altias άποδέδωκε των τε πνευμάτων και δμβρων έκ των προειρημένων είδων τάς προγνώσεις άποφαινόμενος, and cf. Maass, ibid. n. 62. know that he wrote works real bear (Diog. L. 7, 148) and περί είμαρμένης (id. 7, 149); whether it is to them or to his four-volume commentary on Aratus mentioned above that Cicero here refers is uncertain (von Arnim, 1.c.), but that Cicero used the latter is argued by Maass, Aratea, 157-158 (for his use of extant scholia cf. Atzert, De Cicerone Interprete Graecorum (1908), 6). The interest of Boethus in comets, etc. is reported by Aëtius (Doxogr. Gr. 367, 5). His fragments are collected by von Arnim, S.V.F. 3, 265-267.

[81]3. illa: pointing forward; cf. 1, 40, n. (illa); 1, 42; 1, 67; 1, 80; 1, 114; 1, 131; etc.

[81]3f. quis . . . dixerit: the scholiast on Aratus (Maass, Comment. in Arati Reliq. 509, 23-30) attempts a scientific explanation of the prognostic power of animals here mentioned. Cf. the opinion of Epicurus (Diog. L. 10, 115): al δλ ἐπισημασίαι al γινόμεναι ἐπί τισι ζώοις κατά συγκύρημα γίνονται τοῦ καιροῦ οὐ γὰρ τὰ ζῷα ἀνάγκην τινὰ προσφέρεται τοῦ ἀποτελεσθήναι χειμῶνα, οὐδὲ κάθηταί τις θεία φύσις παρατηροῦσα τὰς τῶν ζώων τούτων ἐξόδους, κάπειτα τὰς ἐπισημασίας ταύτας ἀποτελεῖ.

[81]5. cana, etc.: cf. Arat. Phaenom. 913-915: και δ' άν, ἐπὶ ξηρήν ὅτ' ἐρωδιὸς οὐ κατά κόσμον / έξ άλὸς ξρχηται φωνή περιπολλά λεληκώς, / κινυμένου κε θάλασσαν δπερ φορέοιτ' άνέμοιο; id. 948-953: 4 τρύζει δρθρινόν έρημαίη όλολυγών, / ή που και λακέρυζα παρ' ήιδου προυχούση / χείματος έρχομένου χερσαί* δπέτυψε κορώνη, / ή που και ποταμοίο **δ**βάψ**ατο** μέχρι παρ' ἄκρους / ὥμους ἐκ κεφαλής, ‡ καί μάλα πᾶσα κολυμβᾶ, / 🛊 πολλή στρέφεται παρ' δδωρ παχέα κρώζουσα. No indication appears in the Latin that the two passages are not continuous in the original, although in Aratus the first follows immediately upon that quoted in 1, 13, and the lines about the frogs in 1, 15 immediately precede the second. Avienus 2, 1676-1678 renders: et cum parva fulix trepido petit arva volatu, / stagna sinens, longasque iterat clangore querelas, / indicat insanis freta mox canescere ventis.

Popular observation has derived many weather prognostications from the movements or sounds of birds, partly, perhaps, on account of the interest of sailors in the collection of such lore (as in the case of the Stormy Petrel), and partly, as Halliday (Greek Divination (1913), 258-259) notes, because the phenomena of bird migration, affording certain exact indications of seasonal changes (cf. Ar. Av. 709-716), led to the feeling that minor weather changes might also be foretold

Et matutinis acredula vocibus instat,

1. acredula of. Isid. Biym. 12, 7, 37, acredulis AVH, accredulis B.

1. instat wilg., instant C.

by the same animals. That the belief is derived from Roman augury, as Inwards (Weather Lore, 3 ed. (1898), 158) supposes, is hardly correct, but augural principles may often have helped to strengthen and justify it, by a method exactly opposite to that of Boethus as described in 1, 13. Ancient attempts to explain these premonitions were given by Suet. Prata (pp. 234-235 Reiffersch.) for sea animals, and in the Brev. Expos. in Virg. Georg. 1, 388 for birds, with which cf. Quintil. 5, 9, 16; Ambr. Hexaem. 5, 40-43; also, for all animals, cf. Virg. Georg. 1, 415-423; 4, 219-222. Further, birds were sometimes regarded, not merely as the precursors, but also as the causes of weather changes, by a sort of error frequent in divination (cf. 1, 16, n. (arandi maturitatem); 1, 29), and we find divinities of the weather conceived in the form of birds (cf. Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 841-845).

On this subject see also Veg. Epit. Rei Mil. 4, 41; M. Casaubon, Treatise concerning Enthusiasme (1655), 42; Inwards, op. cit. 158-170.

[81]5. fulix: this form occurs only in Cicero, the usual word being fulica. It is perhaps cognate with the Greek dalaple Or palypls (Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuck, 2 ed. (1910), 324), and is somewhat doubtfully identified (Thompson, op. cit. 176; Martin, op. cit. 97; Royds, The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil (1914), 38-39; cf. Lindsay and Thompson in Class. Philol. 13(1918), 5; 17-18) with √ the coot, Fulica atra L., a bird well distributed throughout Italy (Giglioli, Inchiesta ornitologica in Italia, 1(1889), 552-554). Aratus here mentions, however, not the φαλαρίς, but the έρωδιός (Latin ✓ ardea), or heron, which often appears as a weather prophet (Thompson, op. cit. 58; Gruppe, op. cit. 2, 844, n. 9; Martin, op. cit. 41); cf. Theophr. de Sign. Tempest.

28: ἐρωδιὸς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πετόμενος καὶ βοῶν πνεύματος σημείδο ἐστι; Plin. N. H. 18, 362: tempestatis signa sunt . . . grues in mediterranea festinantes, mergi, gaviae maria aut stagna fugientes; Callim. fr. 167: δύπται τ' ἐξ ἀλὸς ἐρχόμενοι / εδδιοι καθηκες.

The similar use of the fulica in foretelling storms appears in the Latin authors; cf. Virg. Georg. 1, 362-364: cumque marinae / in sicco ludunt fulicae notasque paludes / deserit atque altam supra volat ardea nubem (cf. Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed. (1906), 772, 39-40); Plin. N. H. 18, 361 (of signs of storm): fulicae matutino clangore; Ambr. Hexaem. 5, 43; fulicae quae maritimo delectamini profundo refugientes quam praesenseritis commotionem maris in vade luditis; Isid. Etym. 12, 7, 53: est (sc. fulica) autem avis stagnensis, habens nidos in medio aquae, vel in petris quas aquae circumdant, maritimoque semper delectatur profundo. quae dum tempestatem praesenserit fugiens in vado ludit; repeated in Hugo de S. Vict. de Bestiis, 1, 58. Cf. also Afran. 264 Ribb., 3 ed., and Ribbeck's n. The same seeking of the shore is ascribed by various writers to mergi (Virg. Georg. 1, 361-362, who has apparently confused them with the eposition of Aratus (cf. Martin, op. cit. 97; 144); Luc. 5, 553; Plin. N.H. 18. 362; Isid. Etym. 12, 7, 54).

[81]5. fugiens: influenced by the scholiast (in Maass, Comment. in Arati Reliq. 509, 30): φείγει τοίνυν ὁ ἐρωδιὸς τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν προαισθανόμενος; cf. Atzert, De Cic. Interprete Graecorum (1908), 6), and perhaps also by Ennius, according to Guendel, De Ciceronis Poetae Arte (1907), 75, who notes the same verse tag in Lucr. 5, 387.

[81]5ff. fugiens . . . clamans . . . fundens: similar cases in the Aratea of participles juxtaposed without conjunctions are collected by Munro in his note on Lucr. 5, 692-693.

Vocibus instat et adsiduas iacit ore querellas,

[81]5. e gurgite ponti: cf. Prognost. fr. 3 Müller (quoted by Priscian, VI, p. 196, 9). Pontus is in Cicero a poetic word; cf. Laurand, Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic. (1907), 53.

[81]6. horribilis: cf. Cicero's verses in 1, 20; Tusc. 2, 20.

[81]7. tremule: of the song of a bird also in 2, 63.

[82]1. saese: Cicero has here expanded into four lines one line of Aratus, and even so has omitted one of its significant ideas (tonpaln). A comparison with a one-line translation of the same passage ascribed by Isid. Etym. 12, 7, 37 to Cicero: eadem (sc. luscinia) et acredula de qua Cicero in Prognosticis Et matutinos exercet acredula cantus, leads to the conclusion, which I have set forth in Class. Philol. 12(1917), 302-304, that we have preserved to us two of Cicero's versions of the same line, an older, one-line version which Isidore quotes, and a later four-line reworking of it, done largely as a rhetorical exercise, about the year 60, and quoted in our text as being the later and so the more approved; cf. 1, 13, n. (atque, etc.).

[82]1. pertriste: on the use by Cicero of compounds of per-, which become less frequent in his later works, see Laurand, op. cit. 263-276; Parsinger, Beiträge sur Kenntnis der Entwicklung des ciceronischen Stils (1910), 121-122.

[82]1. de pectore carmen: cf. note on acredula infra. Wreschniok, De Cicerone Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus (1907), 54, compares Lucr. 5, 1: pectore carmen, and suspects both passages to be imitations of Ennius.

[83]1. matutinis: cf. Theophr. de Sign. Tempest. 42: ὁλολυγών ξέδουσα μόνη ἀκρωρίας χειμέριον; Geopon. 1, 3, 11: ὁλολυγών τρύζουσα ἐωθινόν χειμώνα δηλοῦ; Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed., no. 762, 15-16 (= Poet. Lat. Min. 5, 363, 15-16): vere calente novos componit acredula cantus / matutinali tempore rurirulans.

[83]1. acredula: Aratus: δλολυγών. The

identity of this creature has been recently discussed by Oliphant (in Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc. 47(1916), 85-106), who, after noting various conflicting views. concludes that the word expressed (1) as an onomatopoetic term the call of the male frog at the mating season; (2) a name given to the male frog itself; (3) frogs in general, without limitation of season or age (usually, however, treefrogs); (4) by metaphorical application, persons of an erotic or foolisk character, etc., a meaning not here concerning us. That the word has been explained, however, as a bird and in various other ways is admitted by Oliphant, who gives too little chance for the possibility that the name. like those of other animals, may have been at times transferred from its proper class to another, as in the case of axions. γλαθέ, Ιππος, κόκκυξ, λαγώς, locusta, lupus, mileus, etc.; cf. Robert, Les Noms des Oiseaux en Grec ancien, 1(1911), esp. 61: 98-100. This would be a particularly easy change in the case of animals of similar sound whose names describe their cries.

In view of the variation as to the meaning of δλολυγών it seems best to ask here, not what did Aratus mean but what did Cicero intend to express by acredula? The derivation is often held to be uncertain; Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuck, 2 ed. (1910), 9, says "wohl 'eine Froschart' (Thes.), nicht 'luscinia,' obgleich in der Bildung an ficedula, querquedula, monedula erinnernd: unerklärt." It belongs, however, in a small class of words with the suffix -edula, including those above noted and nitedula. with which may be grouped the masc. coredulus. Niedermann, who discusses this group in full (Indog. Forsch. 10 (1899), 234-238), suggests formations by analogy from ficedula (ficus+edo, the e lengthened by analogy from monedula, the derivation of which is not certain (Walde, op. cit. s.v.)), but he can Cum primum gelidos rores aurora remittit. Fuscaque non numquam cursans per litora cornix

offer no explanation for acredula. That offered by Wackernagel (Voces variae Animalium (1869), 75, n. 176), by which the suffix is connected with άείδω, άηδών, may be discarded with that of Goerenz: "haud dubie ex acri gula." But Döderlein (Reden u. Aufsätze (1843), 371-374) and Thoresen (in Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi, N.S., 9 (1890), 313-319-apparently not knowing Döderlein's article) collect much of the evidence here noted, and advance the very probable theory that the acredula (and perhaps sometimes the δλολυγών) was some kind of an insect, and that the word is cognate with asols. Döderlein goes one step further than Thoresen and conjectures that κερκίς (είδος δρνιθος, according to Hesych. s.v.); querquedula = axpls: acredula. With the latter word he further would connect the Lat. gryllus, or more correctly grillus (Ger. Grille) and the verb grillo.

As noted by Oliphant (op. cit. 87), the translation of this passage by Germanicus is lost, and Avienus renders όλολυγών by ululae. In Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed., no. 762, 15-16 (quoted in the n. on matutinis above), the acredula appears in a list chiefly of birds but including the cicada, the apis, the strix, and the vespertilio. Isid. Etym. 12, 7, 37 identifies it with the luscinia. Du Cange (s.v. Accredula) cites the Miracula S. Opportunae, 14: vidit aviculam nomine Accredulam quam vulgus vocavit Alaudam; also a gloss from Cod. Reg. 4778 (evidently based on Isidore, l.c.): acredula luscinia, avis modica de qua Cicero in Prognosticis: Et matutinos exercet acredula cantus. ipsa est bascinia. To these passages, cited by Oliphant (op. cit. 88), may be added Steinmeyer and Sievers, Allhochdeutschen Glossen, 3 (1895), 459, under the title de avibus: luscinia nahtegel. vel filomena, acredula distilvinch, vel carduelis (cf. id. 463: carduelus distilvincho.) On the strength of these passages Heraeus (in Jahrb. f. kl. Philol. 155 (1897), 355-356) would read the word, by emendation, in the Edict of Diocletian.

But another form also occurs. A curious passage in Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 1, 2 ed., 82 reads: et post artitum Nasonem quasi agredula quibusdam lacunis baburrum stridorem averruncandus obblatero; and Isid. Etym. 12, 6, 59 (followed by Hugo de S. Vict. de Bestiis, 3, 55) and Placidus (C. G. L. 5, 46; cf. 5, 7) agree in the definition: agredulae ranae parvae multum in sicco vel agris morantes unde et nuncupatae. Isidore thus, as Martin (Birds of the Latin Poets (1914), 13, n. 2) observes, distinguishes between acredula (bird) and agredula (frog). This distinction in spelling is perhaps only the attempt of the grammarian to differentiate two diverse creatures which would otherwise have the same name, but it is not unlikely that not only the acredula but also the δλολυγών may have been used for two zoölogically distinct groups, and that as the latter was perhaps extended from 'frog' through 'tree-toad' to 'bird,' so acredula may have passed from an etymological equivalence with axpls to the meanings of 'tree-toad' and 'bird.' That the differences in the sounds of these animals do not constitute a serious difficulty may be judged from the grouping in Arist. de Audibilibus, p. 804 a 21 ff.: λιγυραί δ' είσι των φωνών αί λεπταί και πυκναί, καθάπερ και έπι τών τεττίγων και των άκριδων και των άηδόνων, and cf. Sharp in Camb. Natur. Hist. 6 (1899), 572-573 on the likeness in sound between cicadas and frogs.

What Cicero, our earliest writer to use acredula, intended by it we can but infer. The phrase canit de pectore carmen and the emphasis upon the dew in line 4 of the verse suggest something akin to the cicada, of which Plin. N. H. 11, 93-94 says: pectus ipsum fistulosum; hoc canunt

Demersit caput et fluctum cervice recepit.

IX. 15. Videmus haec signa numquam fere mentientia nec tamen cur ita fiat videmus.

2. mentientia Hottinger, ementientia C.

achetae, ut diximus. de cetero in ventre nihil est; excitatae cum subvolant umorem redunt, quod solum argumentum est rore eas ali. Cf. Virg. Ecl. 5, 77; Ael. N.A. 1, 20; Greg. Naz. Ep. 26; Thoresen, op. cit. Swainson (Handbook of Weather 318. Folk-Lore (1873), 254), Bergen (in Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc. 7 (1899), 45; 138), and Gadow (in Camb. Natur. Hist. 8 (1901), 193) speak of the sound of crickets as a sign of rain. Further compare the scholiast on Theocr. 10, 18 for the term marris as applied to the axols, and, though weather prediction is not given for the name, the definition of Hesvehius (udpres à le rois sérous βάτραχος. και elδος άκριδος), in which the same name is applied to the tree-toad and the axpls. Moreover Thoresen (op. cit. 315-317) observes that the solitary character ascribed by Aratus to the δλολυγών well agrees with a passage in Anthol. Pal. 7, 196, 1-2 (an epigram on a cicada): 'Axheis rétrix δροσεραίς σταγόνεσσι μεθυσθείς / άγρονόμον μέλπεις μουσαν έρημολάλον. Cicero's pertriste carmen Thoresen would match with the όλολυγόνος οίτον ξχουσα of Nicaenetus (ap. Parthen. περί έρωτ. παθ. 11).

Altogether, then, may we not agree with Döderlein and Thoresen that probability favors the identification of acredula, in this passage at least, with the cicada or some similar insect?

[84]1. vocibus instat: cf. 1, 6, n.) Stoicis Stoico). Repetitions in verse, to increase the effect of a passage (Demetrius, de Elocut. 61-62; 66), are common from the time of Homer; cf. Poteat, Repetition in Lat. Poetry (1912); id. in Class. Weekly, 12 (1919), 139-142. This particular form, in which the end of an hexameter is repeated at the beginning of the following hexameter or pentameter, also appears in Homer (e.g., Il. 22, 127-128), and is frequent in the Alexandrian poets and their Roman imitators (Helm in Fest-

schrift für Vahlen (1900), 359-362). It is found not only here in Cicero but also in Lucretius (e.g., 5, 950-951; cf. Munro on 2, 955), and hence was perhaps used by Ennius (cf. Norden on Virg. Aen. 6, 164). It is apparently one of the forms of verse referred to by Sidonius (Ep. 8, 11, 5: elegos vero nunc echoicos nunc recurrentes. nunc per anadiplosin fine principiis conexos), and has been employed by Ausonius in an entire poem (12, 3, p. 157 Peip.). In the present passage, where Cicero has inserted the repetition as padding, it imitates the repetitious insistence of the sound of the acredula. Thoresen (ad h. loc.) regards vocibus as dative. It is probably better taken as ablative.

[84]1. ore: probably poetic liberty rather than ignorance on Cicero's part (cf. Thoresen, op. cit. 317-318). The ancients, though realizing, as the passage quoted from Pliny shows, that cicadas do not sing with mouth and lungs, still used abb, by, or vox of their sound, and Cicero might freely dash off such a verbose expression as this with little thought of the real facts. On the sound of the cicada and its production see Packard, Text Book of Entomology, (1898), 296; Sharp in Camb. Natur. Hist. 6 (1899), 572-574.

[84]1. querellas: cf. Porphyrio ad Hor. Epod. 2, 26 (queruntur in silvis aves): queruntur, inquit, quoniam veteres omnium animalium voces praeterquam hominum querellas dicebant. denique et Vergilius: Et cantu querulae rumpunt arbusta cicadae, inquit, et de ranis: Et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querellam, et de bubus: Atque omne querellis impleri nemus.

[85]1. rores aurora remittit: for Cicero's use of alliteration cf. 1, 17, n. (aetheris aeterni).

Vos quoque signa videtis, aquai dulcis alumnae, Cum clamore paratis inanis fundere voces Absurdoque sono fontis et stagna cietis.

Quis est qui ranunculos hoc videre suspicari possit? sed inest in ranunculis

4. în ranunculis vis et natura Val·len (Zeitschr. f. Oester. Gymnas. 19 (1868), 104), in re uis et ranunculis H¹V¹, în riuis et ranunculis B, în ranis et ranunculis A sed ranis în ras., mire uis et ranunculis H²V², în gyrinis et ranunculis Victorius, in bestiis et ranunculis Klots, mira vis în ranunculis et ex Riegeri com. O, în rubetis et ranunculis Baiter, cruce netat Christ.

[85]2, fuscaque, etc.: The source of Aratus is Theophr. de Sign. Tempest. 16: κορώνη έπι πέτρας κορυσσομένη ήν κθμα κατακλύζει δδωρ σημαίνει και κολυμβώσα πολλάκις και περιπετομένη δόωρ σημαίνει; cf. id. 15; 28; Geopon. 1, 2, 6; 1, 3, 4; Virg. Georg. 1, 388-389: tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce / et sola in sicca secum spatiatur arena (but the ducking of the bird he (Georg. 1, 385-387) and his model Varro (cf. Serv. ad loc.) apply to a different bird); Avienus, 2, 1704-1706, thus translates these lines: improba si cornix caput altis inserit undis, / Aumine terga rigans, si sacvit gutture rauco, / plurimus abruptis fundetur nubibus imber. Further compare Plin. N. H. 18, 363: cum terrestres volucres contra aquam clangores dabunt perfundentesque sese, sed maxime cornix; Luc. 5, 555-556: auodaue caput spargens undis, velut occupet imbrem, / instabili gressu metitur littora cornix. Similar points are noted by Nicander, Ther. 406: κόραξ τ' όμβρήρεα κρώζων, on which the scholiast says: δτι χειμώνα δηλούσιν οι κόρακες και "Αρατος μαρτυρεί και Ευφορίων, όμοιως δετόμαντις δτε κρώξειε κορώνη; Geopon. 1, 3, 7; also Lucr. 5, 1083-1086: et partim mutant cum tempestatibus una / raucisonos cantus, cornicum ut saecla vetusta / corvorumque greges ubi aquam dicuntur et imbris / poscere et interdum ventos aurasque vocare; Hor. Carm. 3, 17, 11-13: demissa tempestas ab Euro / sternet, aquae nisi fallit augur / annosa cornix; 3, 27, 9-10: antequam stantes repetat paludes / imbrium divina avis imminentum; Claud. Bell. Gild. 492-493; Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed., no. 772, 48; Isid. Etym. 12, 7, 44; Thompson, op. cit. 98; Keller, Die antike Tierwelt,

2(1913), 98-99; and cf. Hugo de S. Vict. de Bestiis, 3, 35. For similar modern beliefs see Inwards, op. cit. 163-164; Bergen, op. cit. 49-50; Levézier, Rec. de Pronostics normands et français (1907), 84; Martin, op. cit. 70. Washing or preening by other birds or quadrupeds is frequently thought to be a sign of storm (cf. Bergen, op. cit. 47-48, for cats). On the crow see further 1, 12, n. (cornicem . . . corvum).

[86]1. demersit: Cicero has probably quoted only a part of his translation, for the additional words of Aratus († καὶ μάλα πᾶσα κολυμβᾳ, / † πολλή στρέφεται παρ' δδωρ παχέα κρώζουσα) are not here rendered. The gnomic perfects, demersit and recepit, correspond, as Thoresen (ad h. loc.) notes, to the aorist εβάψατο; cf. duxere in 1, 15.

[86]1. cervice recepit: for similar verse endings in Ennius, Lucretius, and Cicero cf. Wreschniok, op. cit. 17.

[86]2. signa: cf. Quintil. 5, 9, 15-16: ea quoque quae, quia plerumque observata sunt, vulgo signa creduntur, ut prognostica 'vento rubet aurea Phoebe' et 'cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce,' si causas ex qualitate caeli trahunt sane ita appellentur. nam si vento rubet luna, signum venti est rubor; et si, ut idem poeta colligit, densatus et laxatus aër facit ut sit inde ille 'avium concentus' idem sentiemus. sunt autem signa etiam parva magnorum, ut vel haec ipsa cornix, nam maiora minorum esse nemo miratur.

[86]2. numquam fere: cf. 2, 14; in 1, 128 a still less sweeping claim for the universal fulfilment of predictions is made.

1. vos quoque: Arat. 946-947: η μάλλον (δειλαί γενεαί, δδροισω δνειαρ) /

vis et natura quaedam significans aliquid per se ipsa satis certa, cognitioni autem hominum obscurior.

Mollipedesque boves spectantes lumina caeli Naribus umiferum duxere ex aëre sucum.

abribles it boards πατέρες βοδωσω γυρίνως, doubtless following, as in many of these prognostics, Theophrastus (de Sign. Tempest. 15: βάτραχοι μᾶλλον ξόσιτες σημαίνουσω δόωρ). Here, as in the passage about the acredula, the translation is very free. The curious expression πατέρες γυρίνων (cf. γυρίνων τοκῆες in Nicand. Ther. 620; Alexiph. 562), is disregarded; βοδωσω is expanded into two whole lines; and one may be permitted the suspicion that Cicero has misunderstood the parenthesis of Aratus and rendered it by aquai dulcis alumnae. Avienus, 2, 1696, translates: si repetant veterem ranae per stagna querelam.

For frogs as signs of rain cf. ad Au. 16a: pluvias metuo si Prognostica nostra vera sunt; ranae enim byropebovour; Virg. Georg. 1, 378: et veterem in limo range cecinere querellam; Plin. N. H. 18, 361: ranae quoque ultra solitum vocales; Plut. de Sollert. Animal. p. 982e: αλλως δέλαμπρύνουσι την φωνήν, ύετον προσδεχόμενοι και τούτο σημείον έν τοίς βεβαιστάτοις έστιν; Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed., no. 772, 51. In Anthol. Pal. 6, 43 the frog is called φιλόμβριον, and the scholiast to the passage in Aratus says (p. Maass): σημείον χειμώνος βατράχων φωναί. προαισθάνονται μέν γάρ άπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δδατος μεταλλασσομένου els ψυχρότητα. χαίροντες δέ πάνυ βοώσιν είσι γάρ και φίλυδροι, και μάλιστα, ότε το δμβριον δόωρ γλυκύτερον όν τοῦ πηγαίου εθφραίνει αύτοὺς καὶ πλέον ζωογονείν ποιεί, ώς και τὰ φυτὰ μάλλον ὑπό όμβρινοῦ θάλλουσιν; cf. Keller, Die antike Tierwell, 2 (1913), 313; Inwards, op. cit. 177-178; Bergen, op. cit. 138. Even the sight or the killing of a frog may foretell rain; Arist. Probl. 1, 22; Bergen, op. cit. 53; cf. The Nation (N.Y.), 1912, 542. For much additional material on the relation of frogs to rain see Frazer, Golden Bough, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 292-295.

The frog here described is probably Rana esculenta L.

[87]1. quoque . . . aquai: onomatopoetic, like Virg. Georg. 1, 378 (already quoted), and cf. Keller in Kulturgeschichtliches aus der Tierwelt (n.d.: 1904?), 31; id., Die antike Tierwelt, 2, 311, who discusses the various terms (βρεκεκεκὲξ κοάξ κοάξ, quaxare, coaxare, Skt. makamakāja, Eng. croak) for the sound of the frog, and quotes also the clearly onomatopoetic line of Ovid, Met. 6, 376: quamvis sint sub aqua, sub aqua maledicere templant, further remarking that the vowel a and the consonants q, k, and r appear most frequently in such words, and that even the nouns βάτραχος and rana are very likely onomatopoetic. For the sound of our line see also Guendel, De Ciceronis Poetae Arte (1907), 13.

[87]1. aquai: for this genitive, frequent in Cicero and Lucretius, and probably in both a result of the influence of Ennius, see Wreschniok, op. cit. 13-15.

[87]1. alumnae: the gender is inconsistent both with that of the πατέρες γυρίσων of Aratus and that of the ranuculos below, but probably ranae was the word in Cicero's mind. For the difference in gender between rana and ranunculus see Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausführ. Gram. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 984.

[87]2. inanis . . . voces: cf. Fin. 2, 48: voce inani; Tusc. 3, 42: voces inanis fundere; Isid. Elym. 12, 6, 58: ranae a garrulitate vocatae, eo quod circa genitales strepunt paludes, et sonos vocis inportunis clamoribus reddunt (= Hugo de S. Vict. de Bestiis, 3, 55).

[87]4. quis est: in N.D. 2, 163 the statement is made that divination is bestowed by the gods upon man alone.

1. vis et natura: cf. 1, 12, n. (vis et natura).

Non quaero cur, quoniam quid eveniat intellego.

Iam vero semper viridis semperque gravata

Lentiscus triplici solita grandescere fetu

Ter fruges fundens tria tempora monstrat arandi.

[88]3. mollipedesque: Arat. 954-955: καὶ βόες ήδη τοι πάρος ὕδατος Ενδίοιο / οὐρανόν είσανιδόντες άπ' αίθέρος δο φρήσαντο; Theophr. de Sign. Tempest. 15: tar 8t els ror obparor άνακύπτων δσφραίνηται δδωρ σημαίνει; Ael. N.A. 8, 8: Boûs tày Boâ kal bo palveral, beir άνάγκη; Geopon. 1, 3, 10: καὶ βόες πρὸς μεσημβρίαν δρώσαι, ή τάς χηλάς περιλειχόμεναι, καί μετά μυκηθμών έπι την βουστασίαν έρχόμεναι δμβρους δηλοῦσιν; Virg. Georg. 1, 375-376: aut bucula caelum / suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras (on which Servius remarks: hic locus de Varrone est; ille enim sic: . . . et bos suspiciens caelummirabile visu-/ naribus aërium patulis decerpsit odorem); Plin. N.H. 18, 364: boves caelum olfactantes seque lambentes contra pilum; Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed., no. 772, 49-50: bucula kinc bibit auras, / naribus ardua spectans. Avienus translates (2, 1707-1708): imber erit, latis cum bucula naribus auras / concipit. Reasons for this habit of cattle are given by the scholiasts on Aratus: πυκνουμένου γάρ του περιγείου άξρος και θερμοτέρου γινομένου τον λεπτότερον τε και ψυχρότερον ποθούσιν άναπνείν τε και έξωθεν έλκειν. Also ol βόες ήραιομένους και διαχάσκοντας έχοντες τούς μυκτήρας αίσθητικώτεροι μάλλόν είσι». καί παν μέν τετράποδον των άνθρωπων αίσθητικώτερόν έστιν, έξαιρέτως δέ δ βοῦς διά την τών μυκτήρων άραlωσιν. For modern beliefs cf. Swainson, Handbook of Weather Folk-Lore (1873), 231; Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere (1888), 76; Inwards, Weather Lore, 3 ed. (1898), 154; Levézier, Recueil de Pronostics normands et français (1907), 83.

The appropriateness of the adjective mollipedes has been challenged by Deiter (in Philologus, 47 (1889), 677), who would read volvipedes, recalling the Homeric elitables. But compounds of -pes are rather numerous in Latin (cf. Gradenwitz, Laterculi Vocum Latinarum (1904), 447-

448), and this word, appearing only here, is perhaps formed on the analogy of the μαλακαίποδες "Ωραι of Theocr. 15, 103, where the adjective has not so much the notion of softness as of slowness, according to a scholium upon the passage: μαλακαίποδας ξφη τὰς ωρας διά τὸ μὴ ξξαίφτης τὰς ποιότητας ἀμείβεσθαι ἀλλὰ σχολαιστέρως καὶ διὰ μεσστήτων. Similarly Cicero's mollipedes may well mean 'slow-footed' or 'lazy-footed,' a perfectly appropriate adjective and not unlike the compounds lentipes, segnipes, and tardipes.

[88]3. spectantes lumina caeli: an unusual attitude, according to ancient notions. Cf. Plato's famous statement (Crat. p. 399c): σημαίνει τοῦτο τὸ δνομα ό άνθρωπος, ότι τὰ μέν άλλα θηρία ών όρα ούδεν έπισκοπεί ούδε άναλογίζεται ούδε άναθρεῖ, ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἄμα ἐώρακεν-τοῦτο δ' έστι το δπωπε-και άναθρεί και λογίζεται τούτο δ δπωπεν. Εντεύθεν δὲ δὴ μόνον τῶν θηρίων δρθώς ὁ άνθρωπος άνθρωπος ώνομάσθη, άναθρών & δπωπε. And cf. N.D. 2, 140, and Mayor's note, to which add Lact. de Ira, 7, 4: illarum (i.e., the brutes) natura in humum pabulumque prostrata est, nec habet quicquam commune cum caelo quod non intuctur; id., Inst. 2, 9, 26: pecudes neque in caelum sus piciunt neque religionem sentiunt; 4, 17, 19; 7, 5, 6; 7, 9, 11; de Opific. 8, 2; 10, 26; Basil. Hexaem. 9, 2; Greg. Nyss. de Hom. Opific. 8, 1.

[88]3. lumina caeli: this verse ending also in Cic. Arat. 355; 653; Catull. 66, 59. Possibly from Ennius, just as Aratus in the words obparor eloanoborres has recalled Hom. Il. 24, 307; cf. Guendel, op. cit. 80.

[88]4. umiferum: semel dictum.

[88]4. duxere ex aere sucum: clearly not from Aratus, but, as Atzert, op. cit. 6, has observed, from the scholium: ol βόει εν τij δσφρήσει άνωθεν Ελκοντει τὸν ἀξρα χειμῶνα σημαίνουσιν: πυκνουμένου γὰρ τοῦ περιγείου

16. Ne hoc quidem quaero, cur haec arbor una ter floreat aut cur arandi maturitatem ad signum floris accommodet; hoc sum contentus, quod, etiamsi cur quidque fiat ignorem, quid fiat intellego. Pro omni igitur divinatione

1. ne hoc Davies, nec hoc CO.

1. cur (quor) coni. Christ, ser. Boiler, quo C, quo modo codd. Ozon. et O, cruce notat Christ.

άξρος και θερμοτέρου γινομένου τον λεπτότερον τε και ψυχρότερον ποθούσιν άναπνεῖν τε και Εξωθεν Ελκειν.

[89]2. iam vero, etc.: Arat. 1051-1056: τριπλόα δὲ σχίνος κυέει, τρισσαί δὲ οὶ αδξαι / γίνονται καρποίο, φέρει δέ τε σήμαθ' ἐκάστη / έξείης άρότω, και γάρ τ' άροτήσιον ώρην / τριπλόα μείρονται, μέσσην καί έπ' άμφότερ' άκρας / (πρώτος μέν πρώτην άροσω, μέσσος δέ τε μέσσην / καρπός άπαγγέλλει, πυμάτην γε μέν έσχατος άλλων), which is taken from Theophr. de Sign. Tempest. 55: ò ris σχίνου καρπός σημαίνει τούς άρότους. έχει δέ τρία μέρη και έστιν ο πρώτος του πρώτου άρότου σημείον, ὁ δεύτερος τοῦ δευτέρου, ὁ τρίτος τοῦ rplrov; cf. id., Hist. Plant. 7, 13, 6 (of the σκίλλα): ποιείται δέ τὰς άνθήσεις τρείς, ών ή μέν δοκεί σημαίνειν τον πρώτον άροτον, ή δέ δευτέρα τὸν μέσον, ή δὲ τρίτη τὸν ξσχατον. ώς γάρ αν ανται γένωνται και οι άροτοι σχεδόν obrus &βairουσιν (what the seasons are he indicates in 8, 1, 2-4); in 9, 1, 2 he speaks of the tree as producing a gum and (9, 4, 7) as resembling the frankincense tree. It is also described at length by Diosc. 1. 70 as a common tree whose fruit produces an ελαιον στυπτικόν, and its medicinal uses are set forth by him and by Pliny (see Sillig's index s.v. lentiscus), who in N.H. 18, 228 quotes our passage: est et alia manifestior ratio mirabiliore naturae providentia in qua Ciceronis ipsius verba subsignabimus: Iam vero . . . arandi (quoted as here save that Pliny reads solita est); cf. id. 18, 244: ergo haec aratio kas habebit notas: lentisci primum fructum ostendentis, etc.; cf. Geopon. 11, 12: h ox Dos χαίρει μέν καθύγροις χωρίοις, φυτεύεται δέ άπὸ καλανδών 'Ιαννουαρίων. τρεῖς δὲ καρπούς φασι φέρειν, και εί μέν ο πρώτος καρπός καλός γένηται τὸν πρώτον σπόρον καλώς καρποφορείν σημαίνει δμοίως δέ και έπι των άλλων.

The plant is to be confidently identified with Pistacia Lentiscus L., the oil

and gum of which are still much in use for external and internal medicinal purposes and in the preparation of sweetmeats. Cf. Parlatore, Flora Italiana, 5(1873), 378-380; Pickering, Chronological Hist. of Plants (1879), 275; Fiori e Paoletti, Iconographia Florae Italicae (1895/9), 289 (with figure); Engler und Prantl. Die natürlichen Pflanzenfamilien, 3, 5(1896), 157-158 (with figure); Fiori e Béguinot, Flora analitica d'Italia, 2(1900/02), 225; von Halácsy, Conspectus Florae Graecae, 1(1901), 321-322; Hehn-Engler-Pax, Kulturpflanzen u. Hausthiere, 8 ed. (1911), 427; 429-430; and the works cited by Rehder, The Bradley Bibliography, 2 (1912), 457; 3(1915), 525. The date of flowering is given by von Halácsy, l.c., as March-May; by Fiori e Béguinot, l.c., as March-June, but this triple flowering is not mentioned by them.

[89]3f. triplici . . . ter . . . tria: cf. Lucr. 5, 93-94: triplicem . . . tria . . . tris. . . . tria.

[89]3. grandescere: cf. Lucr. 1, 192, 2, 1121; 2, 1159.

[89]4. fruges: cf. 1, 16, n. (arandi maturitatem).

[89]4. monstrat: the primitive farmer's almanac, especially at a time when the calendar was as yet ill adjusted to the seasons, must have contained many such hints drawn from coincidences in the habits of plants. So Plut. Quaest. Conv. 2, 7, 2, says that the flowering of the Chaste Tree coincides with the ripening of the vintage, and Pliny in various places gives similar hints. For modern maxims of this sort cf. Bergen in Mem. Amer. Folk Lore Soc. 7(1899), 109.

On the custom of ploughing thrice yearly Frazer, Golden Bough, 7, 3 ed. (1912), 73, compares Il. 18, 542; Od. 5, 127; Hes. Theog. 971, and with this cus-

idem quod pro rebus iis quas commemoravi respondebo. X. Quid scammoneae radix ad purgandum, quid aristolochia ad morsus serpentium

tom the name Triptolemus is perhaps to be connected; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 1(1906), 49, and n. 17; Frazer, l.c.

[90]1. haec arbor una: limited to the trees, for Aratus, 1060-1063, says: αδτως δ' άνθέρικος τριχθά σκίλλης ὑπερανθεῖ, / σήματ' ξπιφράσσασθαι δμοίου αμήτοιο, / δσσα δ' έπί σχίνου άροτηρ έφράσσατο καρπώ, / τοσσάδε και σκίλλης τεκμαίρεται άνθει λευκώ; cf. Plin. N. H. 21, '106 (of the scilla): eademque ter floret, ut diximus, tria tempora arationum ostendens. And Plin. N. H. 18, 133 says of the lupine: cum sole circumagitur horasque agricolis etiam nubilo demonstrat. ter praeterea floret; 18, 146 (of medica): refloruit . . . sexies . . . per annos. cum minimum quater; 25, 160 (of a kind of aisoon): trithales quia ter floreat. In the isles of the blessed, according to Hes. Opera, 173: τρίς έτεος θάλλοντα φέρει ζείδωρος άρουρα. Two harvests a year are several times attested (e.g., Diod. 2, 35, 3; 2, 47, 1; 2, 54, 5); fruit twice a year (Athen. 14, p. 653 f.); animals bearing several times a year are mentioned by Homer (Od. 4, 86), Aristotle (de mirabil. Auscult, 80, p. 836 a 19 ff.), and Stephanus of Byzantium (s. vv. 'Αδρία, "Ομβρικοι). Sir John Mandeville (Travels, 1915 ed., 33) speaks of gardens in Egypt in which trees and herbs fruit seven times a year. For figs near Naples bearing thrice yearly cf. Ward ap. Frazer, Golden Bough, 2, 3 ed. (1911), 315, n. l.

[90] If. arandi maturitatem: cf. Leg. 1, 24: maturitatem serendi generis humani; N.D. 2, 119: maturitatesque gignendi. This passage has been variously interpreted, (1) as a case of hypallage (Wopkens, Lectiones Tullianae, 1(1829), 324-326; and others); (2) by changing the position of ad so as to read ad arandi maturitatem signum floris accommodet (so Davies) or arandi ad maturitatem (so Hottinger); (3) by assuming a different subject for accommodet (such as arator or aliquis), or chang-

ing it to accommodent or accommodetur (cf. Rath). But, as Giese (ad loc.) well notes, no change of text or assumption of a harsh figure or construction is required, for Quintus is probably here speaking from the standpoint of the popular belief, in which antecedent or concomitant signs were often regarded as causes (cf. 1, 14, n. (cana, etc.); 1, 29). Usener's emendation (Jahrb. f. kl. Phil. 139 (1889), 391) of commodet appears unnecessary.

[90]2. floris: inconsistent with the ter fruges fundens of the verses above. Harduin (ed. of Plin. N. H. 4(1685), 555) with hesitation suggested reading in the verse ter flores fundens, but the reading fruges is well attested here and in the quotation in Pliny, and is clearly taken from the καρποῖς of Aratus, 1057; cf. Theophr. de Sign. Tempest. 55; Geopon. 11, 12. It would be more reasonable to change floris in the present sentence to frugis (which need not involve the change of florest just above; indeed the reading floris might have arisen through the influence of floreat), but it is still more natural to assume that Cicero, in hasty composition, has been careless about a matter to him both trifling and unfamiliar.

1. quid, etc.: for works on the empirical pharmacology of the Greeks see Fuchs in *Handbuch d. Gesch. d. Medizin*, 1 (1901), 188-189; 248.

2. scammoneae: on the spelling of this word see Saalfeld, Tensaurus Italograecus (1884), 994. The form in -ea is on the whole earlier than that in -ia. The derivation is obscure. Curtius, Prellwitz, Walde, and Boisacq appear to omit the word; Lennep, Etymologicum Linguae Graecae, 2 ed. (1808), 659, derives it from σκάπτω (with which cf. Wittstein, Handwörterbuch der Pharmakognosis des Pflanzenreichs (1882), 787, who mentions σκάπτω + άμμος as one explanation, but himself prefers to derive it from the Arab.

possit—quae nomen ex inventore repperit, rem ipsam inventor ex somnio—

scamunia). Wharton, Etyma Graeca (1882), 114, says "κάμων, Mysian," doubtless on the basis of Nicand. Alexiph. 484: νεοβλάστοιο κάμωνος, on which the scholiast remarks τὸ κάμωνος κατ' ἐνδειαν τοῦ ς' λέγει δὲ τὸν σκαμωνίας χυλόν. Meyer, Handbuch d. gr. Etym. 4(1902), 68, considers the etymology obscure but thinks it perhaps derived from some proper name.

Theophrastus tells little of the plant save (Hist. Plant. 4, 5, 1) that it grows in cold regions, and that its roots produce a medicinal juice (9, 1, 3; 9, 1, 4; 9, 9, 1; 9, 20, 5). Dioscurides 4, 70 says: σκαμμωνία κλώνας άνίησι πολλούς άπό μιας βίζης, τριπήχεις, λιπαρούς, έμφαίνοντάς τι δασύτητος, καί τὰ φύλλα δὲ δασέα, δμοια έλξίνη 🛊 κισσώ, μαλακώτερα μέντοι καὶ τριγωνοειδή, άνθη λευκά, περιφερή, κοίλα ώς κάλαθοι, βαρύοσμα βίζα δὲ ευμήκης, παχεία δσον βραχίων, λευκή, βαρύοσμος, όποῦ μεστή. συλλέγεται δὲ δ δπός της κεφαλής άπο της βίζης άφαιρουμένης και θολοειδώς εκρομβιζομένης είς κοιλότητα. συρρεί γάρ els αύτην δ όπος και ούτως άναλαμβάνεται είς μύακας. Ενιον δε την γην δρύξαντες δλμοειδώς <καί> καρύας φύλλα ύποθέντες καταχέουσι τον όπον και ούτως ξηρανθέντα άναιροῦνται. He also says that it is exported from Mysia, and poorer qualities come from Syria and Judaea. Pliny in several places mentions the plant (especially N.H. 26, 59-61), agreeing in general with Dioscurides, and saying that the best sorts come from Colophon, Mysia, and Priene.

With these descriptions of the plant and its uses there can be little doubt that it is a Convolvulus, probably C. Scammonia L., the drug from which is still known as Scammonium. For a modern description see Boissier, Flora Orientalis, 4 (1879), 108; for an illustration Woodville, Medical Botany, 2, 2 ed. (1810), 243. The plant belongs to the eastern Mediterranean region, in Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and the islands, and is especially common near Smyrna, from

which city and Aleppo the principal exports of the drug are made (Wittstein, op. cit. 784). The method of collecting the milky juice is described by Kraemer, Text Book of Botany and Pharmacognosy, 4 ed. (1910), 656; cf. Woodville, op. cit. 244-245. For the chemical analysis of the drug cf. Wittstein, op. cit. 785; Kraemer, op. cit. 656-657; Wehmer, Die Pflanzenstoffe (1911), 636 (with bibliography).

The strong cathartic properties of this drug were well known to the ancients; cf. Hippocr. de intern. Affect. 2, 505; Arist. Probl. 1, 41, p. 864 a 4; 1, 43, p. 864 b 13; Dioscur. 4, 170, 3-4; 5, 73; Galen, de Subst. Fac. nat. 4, 760; de Meth. Medend. 10, 858; ad Pisonem, 14, 223; Celsus, 3, 20; 3, 24; 4, 24; Plin. N.H. 26, 59; al.; Plut. Quomodo Adulator, p. 69b; Nicand. Alexiph. 564-565, and schol.; Anon. περί δφθαλμών (in Berl. Stud. 5, 2 (1886), 166; 168); Scrib. Larg. 140; Oribas. 5, 25, 44. It was generally taken compounded with some other substance, such as aloes, but was even then considered by some as too powerful a drug to be free from danger (Plut. de tuenda Sanit. p. 134d, and perhaps by implication Cato, de Agric. 157, 12; Wittstein, op. cit. 786, recommends care in its use). A curious device for reducing its strength is described by Galen, Comm. in Hippocr. Epidem. 17, 2, 206. For other notes on its use see Berendes, Die Pharmacie bei den alten Culturvölkern, 1 (1891), 228; Pickering, Chronological Hist. of Plants (1879), 121-122.

[91]2. aristolochia: cf. Theophr. Hist. Plant. 9, 20, 4: ή δὲ ἀριστολοχία παχεῖα καὶ ἐσθιομένη πικρὰ τῷ χρώματι μέλαινα καὶ εδοσμος, τὸ δὲ φύλλον στρογγύλον, οἱ πολὸ δὲ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς. φύεται δὲ καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς δρεσι· καὶ αιτη βελτίστη. τὴν δὲ χρεἰαν αιτῆς εἰς πολλὰ καταριθμοῦσιν ἀρίστη μὲν πρὸς τὰ κεφαλόθλαστα, ἀγαθή δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἔλκη καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐρπετὰν καὶ πρὸς ὑστεραν ὡς πεσσός . . . τῶν δὲ ἐρπετῶν ἐν οἶνφ ὁξίνη πινομένη καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δῆγμα ἐπι-

video, quod satis est; cur possit nescio. Sic ventorum et imbrium signa quae dixi rationem quam habeant non satis perspicio; vim et eventum agnosco, scio, adprobo. Similiter, quid fissum in extis, quid fibra valeat,

1. video Marsus, posse video (videbo H) C.

παττομένη, κτλ.; Dioscur. 3, 4, 1-4: άριστολόχεια: ώνδμασται μέν άπό τοῦ δοκεῖν ἄριστα βοηθείν ταις λοχοίς. Εστι δέ ή μέν τις στρογγύλη, θήλαια καλουμένη . . . ή δὲ μακρά άριστολόχεια άρρην καλείται και δακτυλίτις, ξχουσα φύλλα ξπιμηκέστερα τής στρογγύλης καί τα κλώνια λεπτά, ώς σπιθαμής το μέγαθος, άνθος πορφυρούν, δυσώδες, δπερ έξανθήσαν άπίω παραπλήσιον γίνεται. βίζα δέ . . . της μακράς δακτύλου τό πάχος έχει, σπιθαμιαία # καί usitor. Then follows a third kind called κληματίτις. Id. sect. 4: ποιεί δέ πρός μέν τά άλλα φάρμακα ή στρογγύλη, πρός δὲ τὰ ἐρπετὰ καί θανάσιμα ή μακρά δραχμής μιας όλκή murophry per' olvou, kth. Galen, de Antid. 1, 14 (Med. Gr. 14, 82), mentions three kinds. and elsewhere (de simplic. Medic. Temperament. 6 (Med. Gr. 11, 835-836)) describes their uses, without, however, mentioning snake-bite. Of the plant in general he says (de Compos. Medic. 6, in Med. Gr. 12, 940): ή ἀριστολοχία των διαφορητικών έστιν. Plin. N. H. 25, 95-96 describes the third kind mentioned above and a fourth called plistolochia. Id. 25. 97: maxime tamen laudatur Pontica et in quocumque genere ponderosissima quaeque, medicinis aplior rolunda, contra serpentes oblonga, etc. Sillig here punctuates rotunda contra serpentes, oblonga . . . but this assumes a lacuna and disagrees with Dioscur. 3, 4, 4; yet cf. Aem. Macer, 1395-1398: aristolochiae species tres dicimus esse. / longa prior, radix est cuius longa, vocatur. / dicta rotunda sequens, quod sit radice rotunda. / tertia clematis Graeco sermone vocatur; 1402-1403: pestiferos morsus, cum vino sumpta rotunda / curat et assumptis prodest sic hausta venenis. Ps.-Apul. de Virtut. Herb. 19 gives many names for the plant, but distinguishes only one kind, with power contra vim veneni . . . and contra serpentium et hominum morsus. radices aristolochiae

pondere denarii unius in vini hemina saepius potae discutiunt venena serpentis. Celsus, 5, 26, 35, mentions its use for wounds. For the different kinds see also Schol. Nicand. Ther. 509.

These plants are commonly assigned to the genus Aristolochia, of which von Halácsy, Conspectus Florae Graecae, 3 (1904), 87-90, describes ten species from Greece. Illustrations of some of these, including A. longo L. and A. rotunda L., are given in Fiori e Paoletti, Iconographia Florae Italicae (1895/9), 110-111. Both A. longs and A. rotunds grow in the Peloponnese, but A. parviflora Sibth. and A. pallida Willd. are of wider distribution and greater frequency in Greece, so that it is probably impossible to determine just what species Cicero's source here intended (cf. Pickering, Chronological Hist. of Plants (1879), 307-308; Murr, Die Pflanzenwelt in der gr. Mythol. (1890), 191, and n. 4).

[91]2. ad morsus serpentium: in addition to the passages just cited cf. von Hovorka u. Kronfeld, Vergleichende Volksmedisin, 2(1909), 434-442, on popular remedies for snake-bite. On p. 441 J. F. Osiander is quoted for the statement that on the Malabar coast powdered Aristolochia indica L. is used, both externally and internally, for this purpose. Cf. also 1, 13, n. (radicum).

[92]1. nomen ex inventore: from the gender of inventore we should infer a derivation from Aristolochus, and with this notion apparently agrees Tzetz. Alleg. in Il. 11, 272-273 (Anecd. Gr. ed. Matranga, 101): τρίψας δὲ βίζαν τὴν πικράν τὴν τοῦ 'Αριστολόχου / τὴν παυστικὴν τῶν δδίσων ἐνέβαλε τῷ ἔλκει, κτλ.; but cf. Schol. Nicand. Ther. 509: βοτάνη δὲ ἐστιν ἡ ἀριστολόχεια ωνόμασται. ταίντην δὲ φησιν 'Αριστοτέλης γυναϊκα εδρηκέναι (this fragment seems

accipio; quae causa sit nescio. Atque horum quidem plena vita est; extis

lacking in Rose's ed.). Yet with this view cf. Dioscur. 3, 4, 1: ἀριστολόχεια· ώνομασται μέν άπο του δοκείν δριστα βοηθείν ται̂ς λόχοις; Plin. N. H. 25, 95: inter nobilissimas aristolockiae nomen dedisse gravidae videntur, quoniam esset aplara hexobrais; Isid. Etym. 17, 9, 52: aristolochia dicitur quod muliebribus fetis optima sit. nam supersessa post partum matricem beneficio vaporis expurgat. This seems the better attested and more probable explanation (cf. the English name 'Birthwort'). For plants named for persons, however, cf. Plin. N. H. 25, 22-77, including paeonia, asclepion, heracleon, chironium, ackilleos, teucrion, melampodion, mithridatia, eupatoria, centaurium, clymenus, gentiana, lysimachia, artemisia, nymphaea, euphorbea, etc. The principle is, of course, retained in modern scientific nomenclature, both for genera and species.

[92]1. ex somnio: for similar cases of discovery of curative herbs through dreams cf. Plut. Pericl. 13 (Plin. N. H. 22, 44); Diod. 17, 103, 7 (Curt. 9, 8, 26; Justin, 12, 10, 3); Strab. 15, p. 723 (Oros. 3, 19, 11); Plin. N.H. 25, 17; Iambl. de Myst. 3, 3: διά δὲ τὴν τάξιν τῶν νύκτωρ έπιφανειών ή Ιατρική τέχνη συνέστη άπό τών lepων όνειράτων; also 1, 4, n. (ex somnio); 1, 54, n. (in somnis); and the whole question of incubation (1, 96; 2, 123); Plin. N.H. 29, 3: nec non et hodie multifariam ab oraculis medicina petitur. Many inscriptions bearing phrases of this natureex somnio, ex visu, somnio monitus, iussu dei, etc.—are collected by De Marchi, Il Culto privato di Roma antica, 1 (1896), 285-289; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 324, n. 1; 3 (1880), 405, n. 2. [93]1. cur possit nescio: cf. 2, 47.

[93]3. agnosco, scio, adprobo: cf. in Cat. 2, 1: abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit; Phil. 2, 79: impulsus, inductus, elusus; 5, 51: promitto, recipio, spondeo; and other instances cited by De Witt in Class. Journ. 14 (1919), 331; Quintil. 9, 3, 45: initia quoque et clausulae sententiarum aliis sed

non alio tendentibus verbis inter se consonant.

[93]3. fissum in extis: the word exta is probably from *exsecta, according to Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuck, 2 ed. (1910). 263; yet cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 78 M.: exta dicta quod ea dis prosecentur quas maxime extant eminentque. The term is applied to certain of the vital organs, especially those used in divination; cf. 2, 29, where fel, iecur, cor, and pulmo are mentioned; also 1, 85, n. (pulmo incisus). Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4, 68, reckons six: spleen, stomach, reins, heart, lungs, liver. Of these the earliest to be so used was apparently the liver (Jastrow in Studies in Honor of C. H. Toy (1912), 159-161). The scholiast on Ar. Vesp. 831 says: ἐκεῖνοι γάρ (the priests) πρώτον τὸ ήπαρ ἐπισκοποθνται, είτα σπλάγχνα καὶ τὰ λοιπά, and Plin. N.H. 11, 186 says of the heart non semper autem in parte extorum habitum est. L. Postumio L. f. Albino rege sacrorum post CXXVI Olympiadem. cum rex Pyrrhus ex Italia decessisset, cor in extis haruspices inspicere coeperunt. This addition, according to Jastrow, op. cit. 161, was made after the seat of life and of the soul had been shifted from the liver, where it was early placed and where some primitive peoples still localize it (cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, 8, 3 ed. (1912), 147-148), to the heart. The attempt to place the psychic functions in various parts of the body, as in Plat. Tim. pp. 69-72, left the liver as the seat of the lower passions, but even for Plato (Tim. p. 71e) the mantic power remained in it; cf. Jastrow in Encycl. Brit. 20, 11 ed. (1911), 104, who compares the relation between hepatoscopy and ancient psychological theories of the liver with that of phrenology and more modern psychological ideas of the functions of the brain.

The animals used for hepatoscopy were usually sheep, but occasionally others, e.g., bulls (Blecher, *De Extispicio* (1905), 237-238; but cf. Philostr. *Vit.*

enim omnes fere utuntur. Quid? de fulgurum vi dubitare num possumus?

Apollon. 8, 7, 15), dogs (Paus. 6, 2, 4-5), geese (Petron. 137, 11), and frogs (if we may take seriously Juv. 3, 44-45), and accusations of the use of human exta are not wanting; cf. Strab. 3, p. 154 (of the Lusitanians); Philostr. l.c.; Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Arðarla; Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 1, 2 ed., no. 406, 1; Lamprid. Heliogab. 8, 1; Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. 3, 21; Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 8, 14, 5; Vit. Const. 1, 36; Socrat. Hist. Eccl. 3, 2; 3, 13. On the subject of the varieties used see also Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1 (1879), 171.

Our knowledge of the methods employed is derived (1) from literary sources; (2) from comparison with similar customs among other peoples, especially the Babylonians; and (3) from inferences from certain ancient models of livers (collected by Blecher, op. cit. 237-241, and plates; Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 2 (1906), pl. I-III). No ancient Greek or Roman work on the subject is extant; for the names of such as are known see Müller-Deecke, Die Etrusker, 2, 2 ed. (1877), 19-41; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 171. Very noteworthy is an Etruscan bronze liver found near Piacenza in 1877 and published by Körte in Mitt. d. kais. d. arch. Inst., Röm. Abt. 20 (1905), 348-377, and plates XII-XIII; cf. pl. XIV; Thulin, op. cit. pl. I. This probably dates from the third century B.C. (Körte, op. cit. 370), and shows the gall-bladder, the two main lobes of the liver, and the striking projections known as the processus papillaris and the processus (or lobus) caudatus or pyramidalis (Greek λοβόs, Latin caput; cf. 1, 119, n. (caput) infra), a feature of especial importance. A comparison with the liver of an actual sheep as shown by Körte p. 353 (in the corrected figure) makes clear that the bronze liver is somewhat schematized. Over all runs a set of Etruscan inscriptions significantly arranged, which have been discussed at length in various works (Körte, op. cit. (1905), 362 ff.; Thulin, Die Götter des Martianus Capella u. der Bronseleber von Piacenza (1906); id., Die etrusk. Disciplin, 2 (1906), 20-21; Skutsch in P.-W. s.v. Etrusker (1907), 784-785; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 187, n. 2). This liver was perhaps used by priests for purposes of instruction (Körte, op. cit. 370-371), and is interesting for comparison with a similar Babylonian clay one of the Hammurapi period (about the twentieth cent. B. C.), now in the British Museum (Jastrow, op. cit. 159; cf. Boissier, Note sur un Monument Babylonien se rapportant d l'Extispicine (1899); Blecher, op. cit. 201, fig. 2), and a Hittite one from Boghazkeui (Jastrow, op. cit. 164); cf. also the liver held in the hand of a diviner as shown in a bronze statuette at Avignon (Reinach in Rev. Arch. 40 (1902), 137; id., Répertoire de la Statuaire gr. et rom. 3 (1904), 11, no. 8); and for a possible survival in Christian art Kemp-Welch in Burlington Magazine, 18 (1911), 337.

A full discussion of the parts of the liver here noted is that of Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 2 (1906), 24 ff. (for the fissum pp. 40-41); id. in P.-W. s.v. Haruspices (1912), 2453. According to Thulin the fissa are stripes on the surface, which in the case of sheep's livers are frequent and were considered very significant; cf. 1, 118; 2, 34; N.D. 3, 14: quis invenit fissum iecoris? Fronto, p. 137 Naber: sicut in extis diffis < s > a plerumque minima et tenuissima maximas significant prosperitates. According to its appearance on the pars familiaris or the pars inimica (2, 28), the fissum was familiare or vitale (2, 32). For tricks used by haruspices to change the appearance of the liver, (perhaps with reference to the fissa?) see Jastrow in Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc. 47 (1908), 652,

Fibra (Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 2, 42-44; id. in P.-W. l.c.) is especially a poetic word for exta or iecur. Sometimes it appears as a technical term of varying meaning: Celsus, 4, 1: (iecur) in quattuor

Nonne cum multa alia mirabilia, tum illud in primis: cum Summanus in

fibras dividitur; Serv. Georg. 1, 120: iocineris extremae partes fibrae a nonnullis appellantur; cf. id., Aen. 10, 176; Varr. L.L. 5, 79; Paul. ex Fest. p. 90M.; Isid. Etym. 11, 1, 126. Servius also says (Georg. 1, 120): fibrae per iecur, id est venae quaedam et nervi; and elsewhere (Aen. 6, 600): fibrae sunt eminentiae iecoris. Their color was significant (Fulg. Serm. Ant. p. 112, 11 Helm). The procedure with other parts of the liver is noted by Thulin in P.-W. s.v. Haruspices, 2451-2454, and for similar points in Babylonian custom see Jastrow in Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc. 47, 650-651.

The exta were interpreted in different ways in different places (2, 28 infra), the divergences perhaps mainly resting on the varying application of two principles: (1) the explanation of the signs found on the basis of likeness; (2) the theory that certain parts or provinces of the liver represented certain things (Blecher, op. cit. 202). Yet the great similarity found. in the face of these differences, between Etrusco-Roman, Greek, and Babylonian hepatoscopy can hardly be ascribed to mere chance, but seems to indicate a definite derivation, probably at the period of the oriental residence of the Etruscans: cf. 1, 3, n. (ex Etruria); Körte, op. cit. 377; Thulin, Die Götter des Martianus, etc., (1906), 7 ff.; Die etrusk. Disciplin, 2(1906), 35; 54; Gruppe in Burs. Jahresb. 137 (1908) 335-336; Moore, Hist. of Relig. 1(1913), 559. The opposition of Blecher (op. cit. 192-199; Berl. phil. Woch. 27 (1907), 527-532) to the theory of the oriental origin of the art is unsuccessful and does not regard all the facts.

Greek and Latin passages dealing with extispicine are collected, not exhaustively, by Blecher, De Extispicio, 173-192; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 166 ff.; Lawson, Modern Greek Folk-Lore and ancient Greek Religion (1910), 319; and Blecher reviews (pp. 204-205) the traditions of the discovery of the art (cf. 2,

50-51 infra) and (pp. 205-215) the opinions of ancient philosophers and writers upon it. But as to the primitive conceptions underlying this remarkable rite they give little help. Democritus, to be sure, according to the account in 1, 131, took a view largely physiological, namely, that the liver, doubtless as an organ dealing with digestion, revealed certain results arising from the kind of food on which the animal had been feeding, the weaknesses of which opinion are well noted in 2, 30; but cf. Vitruv. 1, 4, 9. For the elaboration of this theory by the Stoics upon the principle of συμπάθεια see 2, 34. Somewhat different is the view of Porphyr. de Abstinent. 2, 48: οἱ γοῦν ζώων μαντικών ψυχάς δέξασθαι βουλόμενοι είς έαυτούς, τὰ κυριώτατα μόρια καταπιόντες, οδον καρδίας κοράκων # άσπαλάκων ή Ιεράκων, έχουσι παρούσαν τήν ψυχήν και χρηματίζουσαν ώς θεόν και είσιουσαν els αυτούς άμα τη επθέσει τη του σώματος, that is, the existence in the heart (which at this stage of culture probably corresponds to the liver at an earlier one), both during life and after it, of a mantic property. Philostr. Vit. Apollon. 8, 7, 15 says: ότι τὰ μέν άλογα των ζώων είκός, έπειδή εν άγνοία τοῦ θανάτου σφάττεται, μή θολουσθαί τι τών σπλάγχνων ύπο άσυνεσίας ών πείσονται (as opposed to man, whose entrails, full of foreboding as to his future. can give no calm intimation to others of their fate); cf. Porphyr. op. cit. 2, 51: πότερα δέ τα σημεία οι θεοί έπιφαίνουσιν 4 δαίμονες ή ή ψυχή απαλλαττομένη του ζώου πρός την πεύσιν άποκρίνεται διά των 😓 τοις σπλάγχνοις σημείων, ούκ έστιν τοθ παρόντος λόγου έρευνήσαι; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1(1879), 167; Halliday, op. cit. 200, n.1. In short, the origin of the practice lies in a period too remote and primitive to be recovered with certainty from the writings of cultivated Greeks and Romans.

Various scholars, such as Thulin, op. cit. 2, 5; 2, 12; Blecher, op. cit. 216 ff.; 225; Fowler, The relig. Experience of

fastigio Iovis optumi maxumi, qui tum erat fictilis, e caelo ictus esset nec

the Rom. People (1911), 299; Halliday, op. cit. 193 ff., hold that the examination of entrails was originally merely to ascertain the perfectness, and hence the fitness, of the animal to be offered. But the rite certainly developed far beyond this modest beginning, and if we look for a theory as to its significance (cf. 2, 28 ff. infra) we may perhaps assume (1) that the animal sacrificed was itself regarded as a deity (cf. Toy, Introd. to the Hist. of Relig. (1913), 418), and therefore, in its seat of intelligence, possessed of a knowledge of the future (against which view the frequency and triviality of the occasions for killing the god might perhaps militate); or (2) that the god entered into perfect sacrificial exto (Blecher, op. cit. 229 ff.; Thulin, op. cit. 2, 49-50), where, since he was voiceless, his will and foreknowledge had to be sought by extispicine; but in case the exta were imperfect the god would not reside in them, and a new, artificial system of foretelling the future, by the appearance of the (originally pathological) liver arose (the view of Blecher, op. cit. 228-235; cf. Gruppe in Burs. Jahresb. 137 (1908), 335; Ziehen in Burs. Jahresb. 140(1908), 45; this theory is combated in 1, 118 infra); or, again, (3) that the god in accepting the sacrifice assimilates the victim to his own being. as one assimilates food in eating it, so that the victim's liver is brought into accord with the liver (and hence with the foreknowledge) of the god himself (so Jastrow, in Encycl. Brit. 20, 11 ed. (1911), 102), a somewhat subtle theory which is open to the objection that, if we press the analogy, complete assimilation does not take place until the exta are consumed by the god, i.e., burned in sacrifice, to which condition the examination of the exta must obviously be antecedent. Another possible explanation may be suggested, namely, (4) that just before the moment of death the animal, like a human being, becomes most prophetic

in power (cf. 1, 63), so that changes may take place at the moment of or immediately before death (cf. 1, 118; Halliday, op. cit. 202-203; 'the fact that Plat. Tim. p. 72b denies the mantic value of the liver of a dead animal need not disprove the view, for Plato is probably attempting to attack a well-established belief). And precisely as there may still be muscular action for a moment after death, so the liver may, if immediately examined, be thought of as still being in the condition in which it was at the moment before death, and hence prophetic. In support of this view may be cited various bits of evidence indicative of the speed with which the liver was inspected after the actual killing of the animal: Virg. Acn. 4. 64: spirantia consulit exta; cf. Serv. ad loc.; Ov. Met. 15, 136: ereptas viventi pectore fibras; 15, 576: trepidantia consulit exta; Sen. Oed. 353-354: non levi motu, ut solent, / agitata trepidant exta; 391: fibra vivis rapta pectoribus; Threst, 755-756: erepla vivis exta pectoribus tremunt / spirantque venae corque adhuc pavidum salit; Luc. 1, 617; iram superum raptis quaesivit in extis; 1, 639; Sil. Ital. 1, 120-122: hostia mactatur dirae raptimque recludil / spirantis arlus poscens responsa sacerdos / ac fugientem animam properatis consulit extis; Donat. ad Aen. 12, 215: in flammam fundebatur sanguis animalium et, antequam morerentur, extrahebantur corum viscera et aris inponebantur; Cod. Theodos. 16, 10, 12, 1: si quispiam . . . audebit . . . spirantia exta consulere. So in Schol. B Hom. Il. 1, 86 (ἀνατέμνοντες γὰρ (SC. τὰ ξγκατα) σημεῖά τινα ἐθεώρουν ἐν τοῖς hrasw) the use of the present participle perhaps denotes the simultaneity of sacrifice and observation. Strabo says of the Lusitanians (3, p. 154): τά . . . σπλάγχνα έπιβλέπουσιν ούκ έκτέμνοντες. Desire for the speedy examination of entrails is also found in Xen. Anab. 2, 1, 9, and Pliny, N. H. 30, 19 (where the heart of a mole is to be eaten while still throbbing); and usquam eius simulacri caput inveniretur, haruspices in Tiberim id depul-

Blecher, op. cit. 243-244 gives instances from the customs of other races; also cf. his pl. I, 1 for an ancient representation showing evident haste on the part of the consulting priest.

On the connection in form and name between the liver (regarded as a templum) and the celestial templum cf. Körte, op. cit., esp. p. 362; Thulin in P.-W. s.v. Haruspices (1912), 2454; Frothingham in Amer. Journ. of Arch. 2 ser. 18 (1914), 313; and for a connection in Babylonia between liver divination and astrology see Jastrow in Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc. 47 (1908), 141-156.

As to the wide distribution of this practice I have already hinted. Of its employment in Babylonia we have abundant traces, including many clay tablets; more than a thousand from the royal library at Nippur belong to this class, according to Jastrow, op. cit. 664, n. 41; cf. id., Relig. Babyloniens u. Assyriens, 2, 1 (1912), 213-415 on this subject. It was used among the Hittites (id. in Stud. in Honor of C.H. Toy (1912), 164); was of comparatively late introduction into Greece, being without mention in Homer (for its mythical inventors cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1 (1879), 169, and for its early practice at Olympia id. 2 (1880), 335, and n. 4); was common among the Etruscans and borrowed from them by the Romans (for its organization at Rome see 1, 3, n. (harus picum disciplina) supra); was known to the Hebrews (see especially Moore in Oriental. Stud. Th. Nöldeke . . . gewidmet, 2 (1906), 761-769; Gaster in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 808), even as late as the Talmud (Marmorstein in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 15 (1912), 320); and is at present known from such widely scattered cultures as those of the Eskimos, North American Indians (from the Micmacs to California), natives of New Guinea and Borneo (Fowler, Roman Essays and Interpretations (1920), 162-164), Maoris, Kaffirs,

and Nigerians (cf. Wallis in Class. Journ, 9 (1914), 273-274; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 170).

[94] If. extis... utuntur: Hottinger (ad loc.) held these words to be a gloss, but without them the preceding clause is very bald and the transition to what follows too abrupt. For the thought cf. 1, 3, n. (harus picum disciplina).

[95]1. fulgurum: cf. 1, 92, n. (Etruria). [96]1. nonne, etc.: as noted by various editors, Cicero colloquially but somewhat awkwardly changes his question to a declarative sentence; cf. Tusc. 1, 84.

[96]1. Summanus: an epithet of Jupiter as the god who sends lightning by night, or, more exactly, just before morning (for sub-manus cf. C.G.L. 2, 348: κεραυνοβόλιον άπό πρωί νυκτερινόν fulgur submanum). In the inscriptions of the empire the name appears as an epithet of Jupiter (Peter in Roscher, Aussühr. Lexikon, s.v. (1914), 1600), and his worship is probably but a branch of the Jupiter cult, in which it gradually lost its identity (Carter, De Deorum Rom. Cognominibus (1898), 14), so that Paul. ex Fest. p. 75 M. can say: dium fulgur appellabant diurnum, quod putabant Iovis, ut nocturnum Summani; cf. Fest. p. 229 M.: provorsum fulgur appellatur quod ignoratur noctu an interdiu sit factum. itaque Iovi fulguri et Summano fit, quod diurna Iovis, nocturna Summani fulgura habentur; Plin. N.H. 2, 138: Tuscorum litterae novem deos emittere fulmina existumant, eaque esse undeçim generum . . . Romani duo tantum ex iis servavere diurna attribuentes Iovi, nocturna Summano; Aug. C.D. 4, 23; Milo ap. Stob. Ecl. 1, 29, 3; Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1 (1906), 23; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 122; 135; and, against the view of Usener (Rhein. Mus. 60 (1905), 17-18) that Summanus is not an epithet of Jupiter, Thulin, op. cit. 135.

It is not strange, in view of his identity, that the statue of Summanus should

sum esse dixerunt, idque inventum est eo loco qui est ab haruspicibus demonstratus. XI. 17. Sed quo potius utar aut auctore aut teste quam te? cuius edidici etiam versus, et lubenter quidem, quos in secundo de consulatu Urania Musa pronuntiat:

3. de consulatu Monutius, de om. C, consulatus codd. aliquet dett., Baiter.

have adorned the temple of the Capitoline Jupiter (though Pais, Storia di Roma, 1, 2 (1899), 184, would apparently view it as a mere compromise and survival, like the preservation of an image of Tarpeia there). The exact history of this statue is disputed. Pliny, following Varro, says (N. H. 35, 157): praeterea elaboratam hanc autem Italiae et maxime Etruriae; Vulcam Veis accitum, cui locaret Tarquinius Priscus Iovis effigiem in Capitolio dicandam; fictilem eum fuisse et ideo miniari solitum; fictiles in fastigio templi eius quadrigas, de quibus saepe diximus . . . hae enim tum effigies deorum erant lautissimae, nec paenitet nos illorum qui tales cos colucre. . . . durant etiam nunc plerisque in locis talia simulacra; fastigia quidem templorum etiam in urbe crebra et municipiis, mira caelatura et arte suique firmitate, sanctiora auro, certe innocentiora; cf. id. 28, 16; Plut. Public. 13, for the making of these quadrigae fictiles. Now Liv. 10, 23, 11-12 says (of the year 298 B.C.): Cn. et Q. Ogulnii aediles curules aliquot faeneratoribus diem dixerunt; quorum bonis multatis ex eo quod in publicum redactum est aenea in Capitolio limina et trium mensarum argentea vasa in cella Iovis Iovemque in culmine cum quadrigis, etc., i.e., a statue of Jupiter, probably of metal, with or in a four-horse chariot; Liv. per. 14: Pyrrhus in Siciliam traiecit. cum inter alia prodigia fulmine deiectum esset in Capitolio Iovis signum caput eius per haruspices inventum est (on the probable mistake of the epitomator in substituting Iovis for Summani see Jordan, Topogr. d. Stadt Rom im Alterthum, 1, 2 (1885), 99, n.). Finally Plaut. Trin. 83-85 says: si te surripuisse suspicer / Iovi coronam de capite ex Capitolio / qui in columine astat summo. In reconciling these varying statements Jordan (l.c.) suggests (1) that there was originally on the columnn fastigii a terracotta quadriga, with Jupiter driving; (2) that the Ogulnii replaced this by a metal work; (3) whether the terra-cotta Summanus here mentioned was replaced by another of a different material (cf. the words qui tum erat fictilis) cannot be decided; nor (4) can we decide on exactly what part of the roof-ridge-pole, pediment, etc.—it stood. The incident mentioned here (and in 2, 45) occurred in 278 B.C., and was atoned for by the building of a new temple to Summanus near the Circus Maximus (Ov. Fast. 6, 731; Plin. N. H. 29, 57; and inscriptions cited by Peter, l.c.), which was, in its turn, struck by lightning in 197 B.C. (Liv. 32, 29, 1). The Capitol, on account of its height, was frequently so struck (Lact. Inst. 3, 17, 12: Capitolium . . . non semel sed saepius fulmine ictum conflagravit).

[97]1. e caelo ictus: cf. 1, 98.

[98]1. haruspices: a scholiast on Cic. in Cat. 3, 19 (Stangl, Cic. Orat. Scholiastae, 2(1912), 285) has curiously confused our incident with that relating to the statue of Natta told in 1, 19. On the services of the haruspices in expiation of portents see 1, 3, n. (haruspicum disciplina); 2, 45; Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens (1903), 36-37; and for the services of prophets in recovering lost articles cf. 2 Kings, 6, 6.

[98]1. in Tiberim: the distance is not far from 1000 feet.

- 1. idque: intentional repetition to show the exactness with which the result follows the prediction.
- 2. quo potius utar: cf. 1, 122; also the similar introduction of lengthy quotations from his own works in 1, 13-15; N.D. 2, 104: utar, inquit, carminibus

Principio aetherio flammatus Iuppiter igni

Aratiis, quae a te admodum adulescentulo consersa ita me delectant, quia Latina sunt, ut multa ex iis memoria teneam. It is noteworthy that a considerable proportion of Cicero's poetic labors would have perished had he not taken the precaution of preserving them in quotations in his prose works. For the appeal to Cicero's own experience cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).

[99]3. et lubeuter quidem: cf. N.D. 1, 89; Rep. 1, 30; 2, 64; Tusc. 2, 26.

[99]3. de consulatu: some confusion attaches to Cicero's works on this subject, so that a résumé of the situation may not be amiss. In July, 61 B.C. he writes (ad Au. 1, 16, 18): ego tibi aliquid de meis scriptis mittam. nihil erat absoluti. This Schanz (Gesch. d. rom. Litt. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 385, n. 2) thinks may refer to a work on his consulship. At least, on 15 March. 60 he writes (ad Att. 1, 19, 10): commentarium consulatus mei Graece compositum misi ad te . . . Latinum si perfecero ad te millam. lerlium poema exspectato ne quod genus a me ipso laudis meae praetermittatur. Tyrrell and Purser (The Correspond. of M. T. Cicero, 1, 3 ed. (1904), 238) think this Latin work may have been Cicero's letter to Pompey (epistulam non ad mediocris instar voluminis scriptam, as the Schol. Bob. p. 148 Hildeb. call it), for which see Schanz, op. cit. 388. In May, 60 he says (ad Att. 1, 20, 6): de meis scriptis misi ad te Graece perfectum consulatum meum. eum librum L. Cossinio dedi, puto te Latinis meis delectari, huic autem Graeco Graecum invidere. And in Tune, 60 (ad Att. 2, 1, 1): Kal. Iuniis . . . venit obvius tuus puer. is mihi litteras abs te et commentarium consulatus mei Graece scriptum reddidit (for this work, in one volume, cf. Nep. Attic. 18, 6). in quo laetatus sum me aliquanto ante de isdem rebus Graece item scriptum librum L. Cossinio ad te perferendum dedisse; nam si tuum ante legissem furatum me abs te esse diceres . . . meus autem liber totum Isocrati myrothecium atque omnis

eius discipulorum arculas ac non nihil etiam Aristotelia pigmenta consumpsit. quem tu Corcyrae, ut mihi aliis litteris significas, strictim attigisti, post autem, ut arbitror, a Cossinio accepisti. He further says that the work had been read by Posidonius, and, in 2, 1, 2: tu si tibi placuerit liber, curabis ut et Athenis sit et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae: videtur enim posse aliquid nostris rebus lucis adjerre. This work is cited by Plutarch (Crass. 13; Caes. 8), and probably excerpted by him in Cic. 10-23, according to Weizsäcker in Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. 111(1875), 417-428. On a further set of memoirs called artesora (ad Att. 2, 6, 2) see Schanz, op. cit. 386; 389. They less concern us here, because, although probably dealing with related matters, they were not published until after Cicero's death (Dio Cass. 39, 10). From this point the evidence becomes even more confused. I shall cite the principal passages in chronological order. Ad Au. 2, 3, 4 (Dec., 60): sed me karakhels illa commovet quae est in tertio libro: 'Interea cursus . . . laudesque bonorum.' haec mihi cum in eo libro in quo multa sunt scripta άριστοκρατικώς Calliope ipsa praescripserit; 4, 8a, 3(autumn of 56): de poemate quod quaeris quid si cupiat effugere? quid? sinas? ad Q. Fr. 2, 7, 1 (Feb., 55): placiturum tibi esse librum meum suspicabar: tam valde placuisse quam scribis valde gaudeo, quod me admones de nostra Urania suadesque ut meminerim Iovis orationem quae est in extremo illo libro, ego vero memini et illa omnia miki magis scripsi quam ceteris; in Pis. 72 (55 B.C.): qui modo cum res gestas consulatus mei conlaudasset, quae quidem conlaudatio hominis turpissimi mihi ipsi erat paene turpis, 'non illa tibi,' inquit, 'invidia nocuit sed versus tui.' nimis magna poena te consule constituta est sive malo poetae sive libero. 'scripsisti enim: Cedant arma togae,' etc., from which it would appear that the poem containing this famous line

Vertitur et totum conlustrat lumine mundum

was already published; ed Q. Fr. 2, 13, (2 June, 54): scribis poema ab eo (sc. Caesare) nostrum probari; 2, 15, 5 (Aug., 54): quomodonam, mi frater, de nostris versibus Caesar? nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante et prima sic ul neget se ne Graeca quidem meliora legisse; reliqua ad quendam locum babuubrepa; koc enim ulitur verbo. dic mihi verum, num aul res eum aul xapakthp non delectat? 3, 1, 24(Sept., 54): mirificum embolium cogito in secundum librum meorum temporum includere, dicentem Apollinem in concilio deorum qualis reditus duorum imperatorum futurus esset, quorum alter exercitum perdidisset, alter vendidisset; ad Fam. 1, 9, 23 (Dec., 54): scripsi etiam versibus tris libros 'de temporibus meis,' quos iam pridem ad te (sc. Lentulum) misissem, si esse edendos pulassem, sunt enim testes et erunt semditerni meritorum erga me tuorum megeque pietalis . . . quos tamen ipsos libros, si quem cui recte committam invenero, curabo ad te perferendos.

The main question raised is this: must we assume two works by Cicero, each in Latin verse, each with an epic mechanism of gods and muses (Urania in our passage and, by emendation, in ad Q. Fr. 2, 7, 1; cf. the long note of Tyrrell and Purser ad loc.; Calliope (ad Att. 2, 3, 4); Jupiter (ad Q. Fr. 2, 7, 1); and Apollo (ad Q. Fr. 3, 1, 24; cf. Quintil. 11, 1, 24, quoted below)), and dealing, one with his consulship, the other with his times (ad Fam. 1, 9, 23), because ad Fam. 1, 9, 23, in Dec., 54, speaks of the work as only just published, while the oration in Pisonem in 55 indicates that it was already common property? Scholars have generally differentiated between the two works, but Heikel (Adversaria ad Cic. de Consulatu suo Poema (1912)known to me only from the summary in Scriptor Latinus, 9, 9(1913), 127-130holds that the poem on his consulship was written before his exile, and that later, after his return, he so elaborated it as to cover the entire period from the beginning of the Catiline conspiracy to his return from exile under the new, and now more exact, title 'de Temporibus meis.' Our only evidence outside Cicero's references is the slight allusion in the Schol. Bob. p. 144 Hildeb.: de consulato suo scripsit poetico metro, quae mihi videntur opera minus digna talis viri nomine, and the remarks of Quintilian 11, 1, 24: in carminibus utinam pepercisset quae non desierunt carpere maligni: 'Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae,' et: 'O fortunatam natam me consule Romam,' et Iovem illum a quo in concilium deorum advocatur, et Minervam quae artes eum edocuit; quae sibi ille secutus quaedam Graecorum exempla permiserat, and of Ps.-Sall. in Cic. 3; 5-7. In the last-named work noteworthy is section 7: quem Minerva omnis artes edocuit, Iuppiter optumus maxumus in concilio deorum admisit, Italia exulem humeris suis reportavit, in which the mention of these events, of which the last, at least, could not have been treated in the de Consulatu suo, occurs without any break after the criticism of the two verses cited by Quintilian, thus apparently bearing testimony that, for the author of this invective, all occurred in the same work, as would be the case, were Heikel's theory to be accepted. On this question see also 1, 19, n. (atque ea, etc.).

Evidence for the exact title is scanty. The suggestion of Manutius of secundo de in our passage for secundo of the MSS. is a convincing emendation for an ancient case of haplography of the syllables -do de. In addition to the passages cited above cf. Non. p. 202 M.: Cicero in consulatu suo; p. 204 M.: idem consulatus sui lib. II. The fragments are collected in Müller's edition 4, 3 (1879), 398-402, and amount to seven verses in addition to the present passage. On the poem and its contents see also Patin, Études sur la

Menteque divina caelum terrasque petessit, Quae penitus sensus hominum vitasque retentat Aetheris aeterni saepta atque inclusa cavernis.

1. petessit O, petesset BH, petisset ABV, petissit exc. Pith. Petessere analogia firmatur, quamquam Priscianus inter reliqua huius formas desiderativa hoc verbum non recenset; apud Festum quoque in lommate \$. 206 M. petissere scribendum videtur, ut item in Paulo Diacono, \$. 214 M.

2. retentat welg., retentant C.

Poésie latine, 2, 2 ed. (1875), 428-442; Ribbeck, Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung, 1, 2 ed. (1894), 297-303; Schwartz in Hermes, 32 (1897), 599 ff.; Tyrrell and Purser, op. cit. 2, 2 ed. (1906), 93-94; 1, 13, n. (atque, etc.) supra.

How seriously Cicero regarded the impressive list of portents described in this fragment may be judged from 2, 45-48. It may be that his attitude had changed materially since the poem and in Cat. 3, 18-21 were written, but it is more likely that the incidents were used chiefly for their dramatic value.

[99]4. Urania: an appropriate Muse to recite to Cicero these phenomena, many of which were in the heavens.

[180]1. principio: cf. 1, 2, n. (principio); frequent in Lucretius (e.g., 1, 271; 1, 503; 2, 589; 2, 1030; 2, 1048; al.) and Virgil (Georg. 2, 9; 4, 8; Aen. 3, 381; 6, 724; al.), and hence, perhaps, an indication of borrowing from Ennius, for whose use by Cicero cf. Wreschniok, De Cicerone Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus (1907), 1, and n. 1.

[100]1. aetherio . . . igni: cf. Lucr. 2, 1098: ignibus aetheriis.

[100]1. flammatus: a favorite word in this fragment (1, 18: flammato ardore; 1, 20: flammato . . . ictu); also used by Lucretius (2, 672) and Virgil (Aen. 1, 50; 3, 330).

[100]1. Iuppiter: apparently the Stoic view (derived from Heraclitus; N.D. 3, 35) is here accepted, as set forth in N.D. 1, 37; 2, 23-28; 2, 57-58; 3, 35; and cf. Mayor's note on the ignem artificiosum of N.D. 2, 57; also Ac. 2, 126; Virg. Acn. 6, 724 ff.

[101]1. conlustrat lumine mundum: cf. de Pat. fr. 3 Muller (ap. Aug. C.D. 5, 8; a

translation from Homer): Iuppiter auctiferas lustravit lumine terras; Aratea 578: haec sol aeterno convestit lumine lustrans (cf. Wreschniok, op. cit. 56-57); Virg. Aen. 4, 6: lustrabat lampade terras (cf. Norden, 2 ed. of Aen. 6 (1916), p. 375). The compound conlustro is frequent in Cicero (cf. Merguet, Lex. s.v.). In Cicero's translation of the Phaenomena the word lumine appears in the fifth foot of the verse 47 times in 546 lines.

1. menteque divina: cf. divina mente notata infra. For the phrase, which occurs 23 times in the philosophical works, cf. Guendel, De Ciceronis Poetae Arte (1907), 77, and Wreschniok, op. cit. 45.

1. caelum terrasque: cf. 1, 19: caelo terrisque; Wreschniok, op. cit. 57.

1. petessit: this archaic word, of which Fest. p. 206 M. says: petissere antiqui pro petere dicebant, ea quidem forma verbi qua sunt lacessere et incessere. sed, ut mihi videtur, quom significabant saepius petere, et petissant saepius petant, and which occurs also in Lucr. 3, 648; 5, 810, as well as below (1, 18), is perhaps Ennian; on the variation in its spelling cf. Lindsay, Lat. Lang. (1894), 462.

2. retentat: 2, 63; cf. N.D. 2, 121: ad vitam retinendam; Tusc. 1, 27: vitae quae . . . humi retineretur.

3. aetheris aeterni: alliteration is a frequent feature of Ennius (cf. 1, 40, n. (anus attulit artubus); 1, 66; Froben, Die Syntax des Ennius (1910), 126-146), and is much in favor with Cicero, being used not only for initials (cf. 1, 13: scopulorum saepe; 1, 14: rores Aurora remittit; 1, 15: fruges fundens tria tempora; 1, 17: sint signorum in sede; 1, 18: lustrasti et laete... lacte Latinas; multaque misceri; cum claram speciem concreto lumine luna;

Et, si stellarum motus cursusque vagantis Nosse velis, quae sint signorum in sede locatae, Quae verbo et falsis Graiorum vocibus errant, Re vera certo lapsu spatioque feruntur, Omnia iam cernes divina mente notata.

18. Nam primum astrorum volucris te consule motus

subito stellanti; lumina liquit; vero variae; molusque monebant; 1, 19: Torqualo quae quondam et consule Cotta; veius venerataque; 1, 20: rore rigabat; flammato fulminis; fixa gravi fato ac fundata; sanctusque senatus; cernere conatus; si solis; 1, 21: multumque morata; flamma ferroque; patribus populoque patebat; 1, 22: tu tamen . . . requiete relaxans; 1, 52: tertia te Phthiae tempestas laeta locabit; 1, 106: serpentis saucia; praepetibus pinnis; signa suae; 2, 63: liquerunt lumina; pulsu penetraret; 2, 64: tam teneros; mirabile monstrum; deum dedit) but also for the repetition of conspicuous syllables in the same or adjacent lines (as here: aetheris aeterni; 1, 17: omnia iam; 1, 18: stellarum ardore; mactasti lacte; 1, 106: unguibus anguem; 2, 63: portentum mente retentant; penetraret ab ara; 1, 64: versarier aris; and the notorious line of the present poem (fr. 9 Müller): o fortunatam natam me consule Romam). On alliteration in Cicero's poetry see also Guendel, op. cit. 14-16.

[102]3. inclusa cavernis: Guendel (op. cit. 67) and Wreschniok (op. cit. 44) compare Lucr. 4, 391: aetheriis adfixa cavernis; 4, 171=6, 252: magnas caeli . . . cavernas; Cic. Arat. 497: caeli lustrare cavernas; and Guendel notes that Virgil often ends hexameters with cavernas. And cf. Enn. Sc. 112 Vahl.: cava caeli; 381: caeli ingentes fornices; 1, 79, n. (terrae cavernis).

1. vagantis: cf. N.D. 2, 68: Diana omnivaga dicitur . . . quod in septem numeratur tamquam vagantibus; 2, 103.

2. signorum in sede locatae: cf. 2, 89; N.D. 2, 52: signorum orbem; 2, 53: signiferum orbem; signiferi orbis; Arat. 563-565: zodiacum hunc Graeci vocitant nostrique Latini / orbem signiferum perhibebunt nomine vero; / nam gerit hic volvens bis sex

ardentia signa; 609: signifero . . . ex orbi; cf. Mayor on N.D. 2, 52.

3f. verbo . . . falsis . . . re vera: λόγφ . . . ξργφ. Cf. 1, 28; 1, 81, n. (reapse); Fat. 22; 44; pro Cluent. 54. Verbo also here emphasizes the etymology of mharfirai; cf. Tusc. 1, 62: illa non re sed vocabulo errantia; N.D. 2, 51: earum quinque stellarum quae falso vocantur errantes; 2, 119: earum quae errore dicuntur; Rep. 1, 22: earum quinque stellarum quae errantes et quasi vagae nominarentur; 2, 10 infra. Also Plat. Leg. 7, p. 821b: καταψευδόμεθα νθν ώς έπος είπειν Έλληνες πάντες μεγάλων θεών, ήλίου τε άμα και σελήνης . . . φαμέν αύτα ούδέποτε την αύτην όδον ίξναι, και άλλ' άττα άστρα μετά τούτων, έπονομάζοντες πλανητά αὐτά; Tim. p. 38c; Plut. de Exil. p. 604a; Lucr. 2, 1031: palantia sidera; Virg. Aen. 9, 21: palantesque polo stellas; Plin. N. H. 2, 12: septem sidera quae ab incessu vocamus errantia, cum errent nulla minus illis; Gell. 3, 10, 1-2; 14, 1, 11; 14, 1, 18; also the jest of Diogenes on this subject (Stob. Ecl. 2, 1, 23 Wachsmuth).

4. spatio: cf. Munro on Lucr. 2, 218 ff.

6. nam primum: with the following omens cf. in Cat. 3, 18: ita praesentes (sc. dei) his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt ut eos paene oculis videre possemus. nam ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faces, ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum iactus, ut terrae motus relinquam, ut omittam cetera, quae tam multa nobis consulibus facta sunt, ut haec quae nunc fiunt canere di immortales viderentur, hoc certe, Quirites, quod sum dicturus, neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est (what follows is quoted in 1, 19, n. (nunc ea, etc.)); Sall. Cat. 30, 2: simul, id quod in tali re solet,

Concursusque gravis stellarum ardore micantis Tu quoque, cum tumulos Albano in monte nivalis

alii portenta atque prodigia nuntiabant; Obseq. 61: M. Cicerone C. Antonio coss. fulmine pleraque decussa. sereno Vargunteius Pompeiis de caelo exanimatus. trabis ardens ab occasu ad caelum extenta. terrae motu Spoletum totum concussum, et quaedam corruerunt . . . ab his prodigiis Catilinae nefaria conspiratio coepta; Dio Cass. 37, 25, 1-2: καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτοῖς σημεῖα ούκ αίσια συνηνέχθη κεραυνοί τε γάρ έν αίθρία πολλοί έπεσον, και ή γή ίσχυρώς έσείσθη, είδωλά τε πολλαχόθι άνθρώπων έφαντάσθη, καί λαμπάδες άνεκας ές τον ούρανον από των δυσμών άνεδραμον, ώστε πάντα τινά και ιδιώτην τά σημαινόμενα άπ' αὐτῶν προγνῶναι; Plut. Cic. 14: εδόκει δε και το δαιμόνιον προσημαίνειν τὰ πρασσόμενα σεισμοῖς καὶ κεραυνοίς και φάσμασυν.

[103]6. te consule: cf. 1, 21.

1. concursus: cf. Sen. N. Q. 7, 12, 1: quibusdam antiquorum haec placet ratio: cum ex stellis errantibus altera se alteri applicuit confuso in unum duarum lumine facies longioris sideris redditur; nec hoc tunc tantum evenit cum stella stellam attigit, sed etiam cum appropinquavit; intervallum enim quod inter duas est illustratur ab utraque inflammaturque et longum ignem efficit; 7, 13, 1; 7, 19, 1; also the note on 1, 47 (magos) infra. For the conjunction of planets or of the sun and moon as omens in India see Sacred Books of the East, 11, 198; 35, 247.

1. ardore: the idea is that of light rather than heat; cf. the third line below, also in Cat. 3, 18; Mayor in Class. Rev. 3 (1889), 163.

1. micantis: cf. N. D. 2, 111: fulgore micanti. Here by hypallage transferred from stellarum to concursus.

2. tumulos: probably of the neighboring hills in the Alban group; cf. pro Mil. 85: vos enim iam, Albani tumuli atque luci, vos, inquam, imploro; 1, 80, n. (tumulis) infra.

2. Albano in monte: cf. Hülsen in P.-W. s.v. Albanus mons (1894), with plan.

Monte Cavo, 3100 feet high, the culminating point of the Alban Hills, is the site of the sacred precinct of Jupiter Latiaris. the scanty remains of which are mostly obliterated by a monastery. Our sources for knowledge of the rites are (1) several inscriptions found at the site (C.I.L. VI. 2011-2018; 2021-2022 = XIV, 2227-2228; 2236-2244), and (2) numerous references in the authors, collected and discussed by Weiner, De Feriis Latinis (1888); cf. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 40-41; 124-125. Distinction should be made between feriae Latinae, the holiday, and Latinae (as in the next line) the rite itself (Weiner, op. cit. 5-6). The annual festival, whose origin probably reaches back to Alba (Weiner, op. cit. 10-12), as taken over by the Romans formed a basis of union for the different communities of Latium under the protection of Jupiter Latiaris. It belonged to the class of feriae conceptivae (id. 19-22), and was probably proclaimed by the consuls not long after beginning their term of office. The inscriptions (Augustan copies of earlier fasti) show that it was held in many different months, but with a tendency towards May, June, and July (Weiner, op. cit. 36-38). January, February, March, and November, however, also appear, and it is clear that the celebration here described fell in the winter (tumulos . . . nivalis). The number of days in the celebration was gradually increased to three or four (Weiner, ob. cit. 22-23). For the details of the sacrifice see Weiner, op. cit. 24-36. The offering of milk here described appears also in Dion. Hal. 4, 49: καὶ φέρουσιν els abràs al μετέχουσαι των Ιερών πόλεις, αὶ μὲν ἄρνας, αὶ δὲ τυρούς, αὶ δὲ γάλακτός τι μέτρον, αὶ δὲ δμοιόν τι τούτοις πελάνου γένος; Fest. p. 194 M.: memoriam quoque redintegrari initio acceptae vitae per motus cunarum lactisque alimentum, quia per eos dies feriarum et oscillis moveantur, et lactata potione utan-

Lustrasti et laeto mactasti lacte Latinas, Vidisti et claro tremulos ardore cometas.

tur. A list of celebrations of this festival is given by Weiner, op. cit. 56-63. These holidays are made by Cicero the occasion of the dialogues on the Natura Deorum (1, 15) and the Republic (1, 14; 1, 33).

1. laeto: cf. Virg. Georg. 3, 310: laeta magis pressis manabunt flumina mammis. The word is probably in the sense of 'abundant,' and may be derived from the use of laetus of fruits and crops; cf. de Or. 3, 155; N.D. 2, 156; de Sen. 53; 54.

1. mactasti: cf. Serv. Aen. 9, 641: macte magis aucte, adfecte gloria. et est sermo tractus a sacris: quotiens enim aut tus aut vinum super victimam fundebatur. dicebant 'mactus est taurus vino vel ture,' hoc est cumulata est hostia et magis aucta; Paul. ex Fest. p. 125 M.: mactus magis suctus; Non. p. 341 M. gives for the word the meanings praecipitare, honorare, inmolare, magis augere, malo adficere, and cites many examples, including, under the fourth head, Rep. 1, 67. The verb is frequently used with a god as its subject and the offering in the ablative (e.g., in Vatin. 14; Cato, de Agr. 132; 134; 139), but apparently only here, perhaps by a ritualistic archaism or by a poetic figure, is it extended in use to take the name of a festival as its object.

1. lacte: cf. Wyss, Die Milch im Kultus der Griechen u. Römer (1914), 7-13 for the use of milk as an offering at Roman sacrifices.

2. cometas: Seneca's Naturales Quaestiones, book 7, is devoted to comets, with an elaborate criticism of the views of earlier philosophers (7, 3, 1—7, 21, 4). His theories of the causes of the phenomena need not detain us, but of interest is the classification which he ascribes (7, 6, 1) to Epigenes of Byzantium: duo, inquit Epigenes, cometarum genera sunt: alii ardorem undique effundunt nec locum mutant, alii in unam partem ignem vagum in modum comae porrigunt et stellas

praetermeant (quales duo aetate nostra visi sunt), illi priores criniti undique et immoti humiles fere sunt et isdem causis quibus trabes facesque conflantur ex intemperie aëris, etc. Now the first kind, by reason of its form, its stationary character. and its apparent nearness to the earth, agrees closely, not with our notion of a comet, but with the 'aurora polaris.' Seneca, though not disapproving the classification of Epigenes, does not follow it closely, but in several places in his description of cometae he refers to their affinity for the northern portion of the heavens (7, 11, 1; 7, 21, 1; 7, 21, 3; 7, 29, 3). Further, Pliny in his account (N.H. 2, 89-94) distinguishes several kinds of cometae (pogoniae, acontiae, xiphiae, ceratiae, lampadiae, etc.), and says (2, 91), without showing to which kind he refers: fiunt et hibernis mensibus et in austrino polo, sed ibi citra ullum iubar. But the aurora polaris was probably not unrecognized by Aristotle, who says (Meteor. 1, p. 342 a 34 ff.): palverau δέ ποτε συνιστάμενα νύκτωρ αίθρίας ούσης πολλά φάσματα έν τῷ ούρανῷ, οίον χάσματά τε καί βόθυνοι και αίματώδη χρώματα . . . p. 342 b 7 f.: δ άλρ παντοδαπά χρώματα ποιήσει, μάλιστα δὲ φοινικοῦν ή πορφυροῦν . . . p. 342 b 14 ff.: τὰ δὲ χάσματα ἀναρρηγνυμένου τοῦ φωτός ἐκ κυανέου καὶ μέλανος ποιεί τι βάθος έχειν δοκείν πολλάκις δ' έκ τών τοιούτων και δαλοί έκπιπτουσιν, δταν συγκριθή μαλλον συνιόν δ'έτι χάσμα δοκεί. It is difficult to accept the view of Gilbert (Die meteorolog. Theorien d. gr. Altert. (1907), 597, n. 2) that Aristotle is here referring merely to cloud phenomena. The word χάσμα appears in Latin as histus, and Pliny, N. H. 2, 96-97, says: fit et caeli ipsius hiatus, quod vocant chasma, fit et sanguinea species et, quo nihil terribilius mortalium timori est, incendium ad terras cadens inde, sicul Olympiadis CVII anno tertio, cum rex Philippus Graeciam quateret; cf. Sen. N.

Q. 1, 14, 1-4 (an important passage too long to quote). Further cf. 1, 97; 1, 99; 2, 60 infra. The aurora polaris is of comparatively rare occurrence in Greece and Italy (averaging, for Greece and S. Italy, only once in about ten years, according to the chart copied from Fritz. Das Polarlicht (1881) by Chree in Encycl. Brit. 2, 11 ed. (1910), 928), and since there are many different types-arcs, bands, rays, curtains, crowns, patches, and diffused light, shown in Chree's article and in greater variety in Angot, The Aurora Borealis (1897)—it is likely that the different forms were by the ancients regarded as distinct phenomena, some, such as perhaps the arcs, being classed as xáouara, others, such as the radiate forms, as κομήται.

In the present passage indications favor identification with the aurora for these reasons: (1) the use of the plural cometas. which might well describe the numerous parallel comet-like rays of certain forms of aurora; (2) the appropriateness of the words claro tremulos ardore; (3) the winter season, at which the aurora is more frequent (tables in Chree's article, p. 929): (4) the line multaque misceri nocturna strage, which, though by some editors explained as referring to the intrigues of the Catiline conspiracy, has a real appropriateness when understood of an appearance of northern lights. Obsequens 61 speaks of a trabes ardens ab occasu ad caelum extenta as seen this year (cf. note on nam primum supra), which Frobes, Nova et antiqua Luminis atque Aurorae borealis Spectacula (1739), and Lovering in his list of auroras from 502 B.C. to 1864 A.D. (Mem. Amer. Acad. 10, 1 (1868), 16-173) regard as an aurora, but I should prefer to identify this with the Phoebi fax mentioned below.

The ominous character of comets, under which head, as I have tried to show, are probably to be included some of the occurrences of aurora polaris, was widely felt. Not only were they observed (Arist. Meteor. 1, p. 343 b 1 ff.; 1, p. 344 b 19) to portend storms (correctly, if the references are to the aurora; cf. Chree, op. cit. 932; Inwards, Weather Lore, 3 ed. (1898), 78), but they were long regarded as precursors of military or political change (cf. Lecky, Rationalism in Europe, 1, rev. ed. (1868), 289-291, and works there cited), having been noted before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, before the Peloponnesian War (Lecky, op. cit. 290), before Cannae (Sil. Ital. 8, 637), in the Octavian War (N.D. 2, 14), before the conspiracy of Piso (Tac. Ann. 15, 47), before the fall of Jerusalem (Joseph. Bell. Iud. 6, 5, 3; Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 3, 8, 2), before the invasion of Attila (Procop. 2, 4, 1-4), before the movements of the Saracens in 729 A.D. (Beda, 5, 23), and before the Norman Conquest (Anglo-Saxon Chron. for the year 1066; this comet is interestingly shown in the Bayeux Tapestry). Other occasions of note were at or before the death of Julius Caesar (Virg. Georg. 1, 488; Sen. N.Q. 7, 17, 2; Plin. N.H. 2, 93; Plut. Caes. 69; Dio Cass. 45, 7; Suet. Iul. 88; Obseq. 68; for representations in art cf. Richter in Jahrb. d.k. deutsch. arch. Inst. 4(1889), 149), of Agrippa (Dio Cass. 54, 29), Augustus (Dio Cass. 56, 29), Claudius (Suet. Claud. 46; Plin. N.H. 2, 92; Calpurn. 1, 78; Dio Cass. 60, 35), Nero (Suet. Nero, 36), Vitellius (Dio Cass. 65, 8), Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 23; Dio Cass. 66, 17), Commodus (Lamprid. Commod. 16), Constantine (Eutrop. 10, 8, 2), Valentinian (Amm. Marc. 30, 5, 16), and Charles V (Lecky, op. cit. 290), and in several instances in Russia (Anon. in Folk-Lore, 26 (1915), 171). Silius, 8, 637, speaks of the comet as regnorum eversor; Suet. Nero, 36, says: stella crinita, quae summis potestatibus exitium portendere vulgo putatur; cf. Joann. Damasc. de Fid. orthod. 2, 7 (Migne, Patr. Gr. 94, 893): κομήται, σημείά τινα θάνατον δηλούντα

Quod ferme dirum in tempus cecidere Latinae, Cum claram speciem concreto lumine luna Abdidit et subito stellanti nocte perempta est. Quid vero Phoebi fax, tristis nuntia belli,

1. cecidere cod. Eliensis teste Davisio, cecinere C.

βασιλέων; Schol. Prudent. Cathem. 12, 21 (ed. Burnam): cometa a crinibus dicitur: qui quando visitur aut mortem regis aut regni mutationem, aut etiam famem vel pestilentiam significat, et ideo dicitur tristis. Less frequently comets are a sign of good to come, e.g., Plin. N. H. 2, 93-94; Justin, 37, 2, 2-3; Orig. c. Cels. 1, 59; Serv. Aen. 10, 272. On omens from comets see also, in general, Lydus, de Ostent. 11-15b; and Wachsmuth's 2 ed. of Lydus (1897), 165-172.

[106]1. multaque misceri: the likeness of some forms of aurora to ranks of shining weapons (so perhaps the acontias and xiphiae of Plin. N.H. 2, 89) or to firebrands doubtless suggested this description. Cf. the striking account in 2 Maccab. 5, 2-3.

- 1. ferme: probably modifying cecidere, rather than dirum as Merguet understands it; cf. n. on abdidit infra.
- 1. cecidere: in the same position in the verse in 1, 19.
- 2. claram speciem: Wreschniok, op. cit. 56, compares Lucr. 5, 582.
- 2. concreto lumine: not, as some editors have thought, with reference to the complete circle of light of the full moon, but in the sense of a dulled or dimmed light. So in 1, 130 pingue et concretum is used of the sky and opposed to tenue purumque; cf. N.D. 2, 42; 2, 117; Tusc. 1, 42. The dimming of the light of the moon as it enters into the penumbra at eclipse becomes visible to the naked eye shortly before the phase of total eclipse (Newcomb in Encycl. Brit. 8, 11 ed. (1910), 891) and therefore agrees with Cicero's description. Probably the same idea is found in Luc. 1, 537-539: cornuque coacto / iam Phoebe toto fratrem cum redderet orbe, / terrarum subita percussa expalluit umbra.

- 2. lumine luna: a verse tag found also in Arat. 491.
- 3. abdidit: the date of this eclipse has been calculated by Ginzel in his Spexieller Kanon der Sonnen- und Mondfinsternisse (1899), followed by Boll in P.-W. s.v. Finsternisse (1909), 2359, as 3 May, 63, hence it cannot be synchronous with the celebration of the feriae Latinae (on account of the word nivalis), and to avoid such an implication Cicero has inserted the word ferme in the second line above.

Tables of eclipses, solar and lunar, will be found in Ginzel and Boll, opp. citt.; cf. Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens (1903), 8. For the explanations advanced by ancient writers see Boll, op. cit. 2331-2334; 2337-2349; Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 11, n. 2. The theory that they were due to demonic or magic influence accounts for some of the precautions taken at the time of an eclipse (Liv. 26, 5, 9: aeris crepitu qualis in defectu lunae silenti nocte cieri solet; 43, 10, 5; Plaut. Aemil. 17; de Fac. in Orb. Lun. 29; Tac. Ann. 1, 28, 2; Lasch in Archiv. f. Religionswiss. 3 (1900), 97-152). That Cicero had a sound idea, however, of the causes of eclipses may be seen from N.D. 2, 103; Rep. 1, 23-25. But for the ominous meanings attached to such phenomena by the uneducated see Lydus, de Ostent. 9; Boll. op. cit. 2336-2337; 1. 44, n. (liquier) infra. For the prediction of eclipses see 1, 112, n. (de-(ectionem).

- 3. subito: the suddenness of the total phase is also noted in N.D. 2, 103; Rep. 1, 23.
 - 3. stellanti: cf. 1, 19.

Quae magnum ad columen flammato ardore volabat, Praecipitis caeli partis obitusque petessens? Aut cum terribili perculsus fulmine civis

2. petessens Hottinger, petisset C.

[107]4. Phoebi fax: not the sun, as Thoresen (ad loc.) supposes, in spite of Phoebeae facis in Sen. Phaedr. 379, for the expression magnum ad columen does not suit the sun and there is nothing else in the three lines, which are dwelt upon in detail, that could seem ominous if applied to the sun. Nor would tristis nuntia belli, standing where it does, properly apply to the sun. Further, Cicero's own words (in Cat. 3, 18): ab occidente faces ardoremque caeli make it clear that fax is not here a poetic term for the sun, and are supported by Dio Cass. 37, 25, 2: λαμπάδες άνεκας ές τὸν ούρανὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δυσμῶν ἀνέδραμον. Obseq. 61: trabis ardens ab occasu ad caelum extenta, has apparently confused the trabis and the fax, for the distinction between which see below. It is probable that meteoric phenomena of some sort are here described, for Plin. N.H. 2, 96 says: emicant et faces, non nisi cum decidunt visae . . . duo genera eorum. lampadas vocant plane faces, alterum bolidas, quale Mutinensibus malis visum est. distant quod faces vestigia longa faciunt priore ardente parte, bolis vero perpetua ardens longiorem trahit limitem; cf. Sen. N.Q. 7, 5, 2: trabes autem non transcurrunt nec praetervolant ut faces sed commorantur-et in eadem caeli parte collucent. From these passages and from Cicero's words volabat and pelessens we may understand the swift motion of the meteor.

[107]4. nuntia belli: on meteors as omens see Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 511-512; Wülker, op. cit. 10-11; Frazer, Golden Bough, 4, 3 ed. (1912), 58-68; Lucr. 2, 206-208; Frontin. Strat. 1, 12, 6; Luc. 7, 155; Sil. Ital. 8, 650-651; Amm. Marc. 25, 2, 7; Lydus, de Ostent. p. 33 Wachsmuth; also 1, 97; 2, 60 infra.

1. ad columen: for the phrase cf. 1, 20. Columen is here used instead of the usual columna (in 1, 20 and 1, 21 the two

words are used synonymously), in the sense of a pillar of fire; so slow in Heracl. Pont. ap. Aëtius, Plac. 3, 2, 5; Sen. N.Q. 7, 20, 2 (following Posidonius): columnae clipeique flagrantes. Elsewhere the word better describes a comet, as in Fast. Vind. I, p. 298 Mommsen: his consulibus (i.e., 390 A.D.) signum apparuit in celo quasi columna pendens per dies XXX; and cf. the pillar of fire in Exod. 13, 21-22; 14, 19; al.; Courtney in Folk-Lore Journ. 5 (1887), 191.

2. praecipitis: for other cases of such east to west movement of flashes of light cf. Liv. 29, 14, 3(204 B.C.); Dio Cass. 43, 35 (46 B.C.); 45, 17(43 B.C.); Sen. N.Q. 1, 1, 12: nostra certe aetas non semel vidit diurnas faces, alias ab oriente in occidentem versas, alias ab occasu in ortum; Hier. Chron. 164 A.D. For praecipitis Thoresen (ad loc.) well compares Ov. Met. 2, 67-69 (of the down-hill afternoon course of the sun's chariot); see also Virg. Georg. 1, 365-366.

3. terribili: in Ennius twice (A**. 140; 310) in the same position in the verse; awkwardly repeated four lines below.

3. perculsus fulmine: cf. Plin. N. H. 2, 137: in Catilinianis prodigiis Pompeiano ex municipio M. Herennius decurio sereno die fulmine ictus est; cf. Obseq. 61: sereno Vargunteius Pompeiis de caelo exanimatus. With regard to the identification of the man, as pointed out by Münzer (in P.-W. s.v. Herennius (1912), 664), not only is Pliny's account the more explicit, but no Vargunteii are as yet known from Pompeii, while the Herennii are frequently mentioned in Pompeian inscriptions, and at least two are known to have attained high office in the municipality, one having been a duumvir (C.I.L. X, 802; 831; 939; cf. X, 899-900). One L. Vargunteius was prominent in the Catiline conspiracy, but was alive at a

Luce serenanti vitalia lumina liquit?
Aut cum se gravido tremefecit corpore tellus?
Iam vero variae nocturno tempore visae
.
Terribiles formae bellum motusque monebant,

later period than that here mentioned (cf. pro Sull. 6; 67; Sall. Cat. 17, 3; 28, 1; 47, 1).

The striking of a man by lightning was often considered ominous of further trouble (e.g., 1, 98; Liv. 10, 31, 8; 22, 36, 8; 25, 7, 7; 33, 26, 7; 37, 3, 2; Dion. Hal. 5, 46; Plut. Quaest. Rom. 83; Dio Cass. 41, 14; 76, 3; Amm. Marc. 23, 5, 12). Cf. also Liv. 1, 31, 8 (on which see Ampère, Hist. rom. à Rome, 1(1862), 485-487); Plin. N.H. 28, 14; Fest. p. 245 M.; and for the significance of such occurrences Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1(1906), 77-78.

1. luce serenanti: cf. in Cat. 3, 18; Obseq. 61 (quoted above); Dio Cass. 37, 25, 1: κεραυνοί τε γάρ εν αίθρία πολλοί Executy; Plut. Cic. 14 mentions repaired. Despite adverse statements of modern writers (e.g., Hann, Lehrbuck d. Meteorologie, 2 ed. (1906), 477) and of the Epicureans, as represented by Lucretius (6, 400-401: denique cur numquam caelo iacit undique puro / Iuppiter in terras fulmen sonitusque profundit?-cf. Sen. N.Q. 2, 26, 7), the phenomenon of thunder in a clear sky, always ominous, often appears in ancient literature, chiefly, however, in poetry, e.g., Hom. Od. 20, 113-114: ή μεγάλ' εβρόντησας άπ' ουρανοῦ άστερόεντος, / οὐδέ ποθι νέφος έστι τέρας νύ των τόδε φαίνεις; Enn. Ann. 527 (quoted in 2, 82 infra); Varr. Menipp. 233-234; Hor. Carm. 1, 34, 5-8; Virg. Georg. 1, 487; Aen. 7, 141-142; 8, 523-526; 9, 630-631; Ov. Fast. 3, 369-370; Obseq. 1; 24; 28; 47; Plin. N. H. 18, 354; Sen. N.Q. 1, 1, 14-15; 2, 18; Luc. 1, 530; Stat. Theb. 5, 86-87; Sacred Books of the East, 1, 262, no. 13; also Dion. Hal. 2, 5 (as a good sign); Paul. ex Fest. p. 244 M.; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4(1882), 34, and n. 5. The word serenanti is unique in this absolute use.

1. vitalia lumina liquit: cf. 2, 63: liquerunt lumina fatis; the translation of Il. 7, 89 in the de Glor. (Müller's ed. 4, 3, 351, no. 3): hic situs est vitae iam pridem lumina linquens; for parallels in Ennius and Lucretius cf. Wreschniok, op. cit. 11-12.

2. se . . . tremefecit: cf. 1, 35; 1, 78, n. (terrae motus); 2, 60; N.D. 2, 14: quae terreret animos . . . terrae motibus et saepe fremitibus; in Cat. 3, 18. Earthquakes, probably in part from their chthonic character (1, 38, n. (vis illa terrae) infra), have been very generally regarded as portentous; e.g., Plin. N. H. 2, 191-206; Plut. Cic. 14: &doke 82 Kal 78 δαιμόνιον προσημαίνων τὰ πρασσόμενα σεισμοῖς, кта.; Serv. Aen. 4, 166: secundum Eiruscam disciplinam nihil tam incongruum nubentibus quam terrae motus vel caeli dicitur; Lydus, de Ostent. 53-58; Anon. de Terrae Motibus (published by Wachsmuth in his second ed. of Lydus (1897), 172-175). Lists of ominous earthquakes in Italy are collected by Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens (1903), 18, to which add, from a wider field, Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5(1696), 494; 515-519; 539-540; Ar. Eccl. 791, and schol.; Xen. Hell. 3, 2, 24; 4, 7, 4; Virg. Aen. 3, 90-92; Ov. Met. 7, 205-206; Justin, 17, 1, 1-2; 24, 8, 9; 30, 4, 1-3; 40, 2, 1; Sil. Ital. 8, 643-649; Philostr. Vit. Apollon. 6, 38; Matt. 27, 51 (cf. Mark, 15, 38; Luke, 23, 45; Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 2047); Sozom. Hist. Eccl. 6, 10; Mullinger in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Christ. Antiq. 2, Am. ed. (1880), 1544; and, for more exhaustive treatment, Capelle, Erdbeben im Altertum, in Neue Jahrb. 11(1908), 603-633. Cf. also Lasch in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 5(1902), 236-257; 369-383; Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 13.

Multaque per terras vates oracla furenti Pectore fundebant tristis minitantia casus,

19. Atque ea quae lapsu tandem cecidere vetusto Haec fore perpetuis signis clarisque frequentans

[109]4. terribiles formae: doubtless ghosts. Plut. Cic. 14 mentions odougra at this time, and Dio Cass. 37, 25, 2, says: είδωλά τε πολλαχόθι άνθρώπων έφαντάσθη. For the conception of the prescience of the dead see Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 334-336. The questions connected with their appearance (which, when it was brought about by magic means, was known as necromancy; cf. 1, 132, and notes infra) are discussed by Riess in P.-W. s.v. Aberglaube (1894), 93; Hild in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antig. s.v. Larvae (1904), 950-953; Rohde, Psyche, 4 ed. (1907), index s.v. Gespenster; Wünsch in Hessische Blätter f. Volkskunde, 2(1903), 177-188; Collison-Morley, Greek and Roman Ghost Stories (1912), 1-18; 54-79. For an interesting case of such an apparition see Amm. Marc. 31, 1, 3.

[109]4. -que monebant: a verse-ending found in 1, 20.

- 1. vates: cf. de Har. Resp. 18: hanc recentem urbis inflammandae delendique imperi coniurationem non obscure nobis paulo ante praedizerint (sc. haruspices); yet in 1, 105 below Appius Claudius the augur is named as one of those who foretold these dangers. With neither of these methods do the words furenti pectore fundebant agree.
 - 1. furenti: cf. 1, 4: furore.
- 2. fundebant: cf. 1, 34; 1, 115; 2, 110; N.D. 1, 66; and especially the note on 1, 21 (fuderunt) infra.
- 3. atque ea, etc.: these lines appear to be connected with the preceding rather than with those that follow (nunc ea, etc.), although they of course refer to a time earlier than the year 63. Much difficulty has resulted from the fact that most editors have sought to connect them with the lines that follow and to consider them as

describing events of 65, but, as the editors have all noted, vetusto is entirely inappropriate for occurrences of only two years previous. It seems more probable that Cicero is here looking back to the year 87 (the Bellum Octavianum), the revolutionary attempts of which were preceded, like those of 63, by many portents, of which two, at least, were closely identical with those before the Catilinarian conspiracy, namely, the appearance of cometae (N.D. 2, 14; Plin. N. H. 2, 92), and the killing of a prominent man by lightning (Pompeius Strabo, according to App. B.C. 1, 68; 1, 80; Plut. Pomp. 1; Obseq. 56a; Oros. 1, 1). In other words, the attempts against the state (ea) which at last (tandem), i.e., with the final victory of Sulla, failed (labsu cecidere), years ago (vetusto might well be used, especially in the freedom of poetry, for events of a score of years previous), Jupiter in the year 63 by clear and repeated (frequentans) signs foretold would recur (fore). This equating of the trifling Catilinarian conspiracy with the significant and far-reaching civil wars of Marius and Sulla would tend to increase the interest in the poem and to enhance the glory of its author-hero. Such a comparison, moreover, is well paralleled in the words of Cornelius Lentulus as described by Sallust (Cat. 47, 2), and that Cicero compared the plot which he had stifled with the civil wars of the pastin disparagement of the importance of the latter—is clear from another passage: in Cat. 3, 24-25. Very likely in the lost introductory portions of our poem the comparison here hinted at in so cursory a manner was more completely developed. Cf. Pease in Class. Philol. 14 (1919), 175-177.

4. haec: redundant, yet helping to emphasize the identify between the sets of portents and their fulfilment. Ipse deum genitor caelo terrisque canebat.

XII. Nunc ea, Torquato quae quondam et consule Cotta
Lydius ediderat Tyrrhenae gentis haruspex,
Omnia fixa tuus glomerans determinat annus.
Nam pater altitonans stellanti nixus Olympo

- 1. ipse deum genitor: so in Virg. Aen. 7, 306.
- 1. ipse: perhaps with reference to the fact that many of the portents were phenomena of the sky, lightning, cometae, etc.
- 1. caelo terrisque: cf. 1, 17, n. (caelum terrasque).
- 1. canebat: cf. in Cat. 3, 18: ut have quae nunc fiunt canere di immortales viderentur.
- 2. nunc ea, etc.: cf. in Cat. 3, 19:
 nam profecto memoria tenetis Cotta et
 Torquato consulibus compluris in Capitolio
 res de caelo esse percussas, cum et simulacra
 deorum depulsa sunt et statuae veterum
 hominum deiectae et legum aera liquefacta,
 etc.; Dio Cass. 37, 9, 1-2: ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίφ ἀνδριάντες τε πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν
 συνεχωνεύθησαν καὶ ἀγάλματα . . τὰ τε
 γράμματα τῶν στηλῶν ἐς ἀς οὶ νόμοι ἐσεγράφοντο συνεχύθη καὶ ἀμυδρὰ ἐγένετο; Obseq. 61:
 tabulae legum aeneae * litteris liquefactis.
- 2. Torquato . . . et consule Cotta: in 65 B.C. L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta were consuls.
- 3. Lydius: the famous story of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans, who left the realm of King Atys under the guidance of his son Tyrsenus and came for settlement & 'Oμβρικούs, where they became known as Tyrseni, is given by Hdt. 1, 94, and to his account Costanza (in Ausonia, 2(1907), 186-196) would trace back the numerous other ancient references of the same sort, most of which are collected by Dennis, Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, 1(1848), xxxii, n.2. The archaeological and linguistic evidence for the facts in this question (still sub iudice) need not here concern us, but a careful résumé of modern theories is given by Körte in

- P.-W. s.v. Etrusker (1907), 731-748, and a good summary of the main points of likeness between the Etruscans and the Orient by Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1(1906), x-xv. The important point is that the Etruscans are in literature often called Lydians, and that the adjective 'Lydian' is consequently substituted for 'Etruscan' (e.g., Virg. Aen. 2, 781-782; cf. Catull. 31, 13, and Tennyson's well-known imitation). On the Etruscan haruspices cf. 1, 3 supra.
- 4. fixa: in the same position in the verse in 1, 20; cf. 1, 21.
- 4. tuus . . . annus: i.e., annus consulatus tui.
- 4. glomerans: cf. Tusc. 2, 25 (Cicero's translation of Aesch. Prom. V.): atque haec vejusta, saeclis glomerata horridis, / luctifica clades nostro infixa est corpori.
 - 4. determinat: 'brings to a head.'
- 5ff. nam pater . . . ignis: = 2, 45; quoted also by Lact. Inst. 3, 17, 14: qua de re etiam in libris consulatus sui eadem dixit quae Lucretius: Nam pater altitonans stellanti nixus Olympo / ipse suas arces atque inclyta templa petivit / et Capitolinis iniecit sedibus (aedibus codd. B R) ignes. The difference of the second line may be a slip on the part of Lactantius, or perhaps we have here a trace of two editions, ours of the de Consulatu and the other of the de Temporibus, though Lactantius does not so cite the work.
- 5. nam pater altitonans: the adjective was apparently coined by Ennius (Ann. 541) to render the Greek ψιβρεμέτης, and Cicero here follows him in applying it to Jupiter; cf. Wreschniok, op. cit. 5; also 1, 106, n. (altisoni). For the beginning of the line cf. Virg. Acn. 4, 25: vel pater omnipotens; 6, 592: at pater omni-

Ipse suos quondam tumulos ac templa petivit Et Capitolinis iniecit sedibus ignis. Tum species ex aere vetus venerataque Nattae

3. venerataque Guilelmus, generataque C, encrataque Wophens, generosaque O com Mureto.

potens; 12, 178: et pater omnipotens; 7, 141: kic pater omnipotens; 8, 398: nec pater omnipotens; 1, 60: sed pater omnipotens; 7, 770; 10, 100; Georg. 2, 325; Sil. Ital. 3, 163: tum pater omnipotens; Stat. Theb. 1, 248: sic pater omnipotens; Ihm on Damasus 57, 1; Wreschniok, op. cit. 24 (detecting the influence of Ennius).

[111]5. stellanti: cf. 1, 18; such awkward repetitions of unusual words at short intervals are a psychological phenomenon frequent in Cicero, both in prose and in verse.

[111]5. Olympo: a verse ending found in Ennius, Cicero, and often in Virgil (Wreschniok, op. cit. 24). The adjective stellanti shows that Olympo here = caelo.

1. ipse suos: ancient temples, being often in lofty and exposed situations, were frequently struck by lightning. In addition to 29 such cases described by Livy (Luterbacher, Prodigienglaube u. Prodigienstil der Römer (1880), 13, n. 36), cf. Dio Cass. 42, 26; 45, 17; 47, 40; 55, 1; Consol. ad Liv. 401-402; App. B.C. 2, 36; 4, 4; Suet. Aug. 29; Dom. 15; Tac. Ann. 13, 24; Oros. 4, 4, 1; Hier. Chron. 112 A. D.; 189 A.D.; Theodoret. 3, 7; also Ar. Nub. 401; Ov. Am. 3, 3, 35. That such an occurrence was regarded as of religious significance may be seen from the frequent mention of it and from Liv. 27, 25, 8, where the dedication of a temple to Honor and Virtus in 208 B.C. was prevented by the pontiffs, quod negabant unam cellam duobus diis recte dedicari, quia si de caelo tacta aut prodigii aliquid in ea factum essel, difficilis procuratio foret, quod utri deo res divina sieret sciri non posset; cf. Hor. Carm. 1, 2, 2-4; Lydus, de Ostent. 47: el δè καθ' leροῦ πέση κεραυνός τοις ἐνδόξοις του πολιτεύματος και τοις περί την βασιλείαν αύλην δ κίνδυνος ένσκηψε; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 43, and Thulin, op. cit. 1, 73, for the theory that the significance of the bolt was indicated by the province of the god whose shrine was struck. The common view is attacked by Lucretius, 6, 397-400: postremo cur sancta deum delubra suasque / discutit infesto praeclaras fulmine sedes / et bene facta deum frangit simulacra suisque / demit imaginibus violento volnere honorem? cf. 2, 1101-1102; Sen. N. Q. 2, 45, 1: quid enim tam imperitum est quam credere fulmina e nubibus Iovem mittere, columnas, arbores, nonnumquam statuas suas peterel cf. 2, 46, 1; also Christian writers, e.g., Min. Fel. Oct. 5, 9. Eusebius remarks (Pr. Ev. 6, p. 238c): els τοσοθτον δὲ τὴν εἰμαρμένην οἱ γενναῖοι θεοὶ πεφρίκασιν, ώς δμολογείν μηδέ κεραυνομένοις αύτων τοίς lepoîs δύνασθαι έπαμύνειν. πολλή άρα γένοιτ' αν έλπις ανθρώποις εύχομένοις τυχείν βοηθείας παρά των μηδέ σφίσιν αύτοις έπαρήγειν δυνατών, ατλ.; cf. 4, p. 135a. That the same superstition may have attached itself also to Christian churches may be guessed from Isid. Pelus. Ep. 1, 73, who explains why God does not spare his own temples.

1. tumulos: cf. 1, 18 supra. The plural is perhaps poetic, as in Hor. Carm. 1, 2, 3-4: dextera sacras iaculatus arcis / terruit urbem; or perhaps refers to the two summits of the Capitoline Hill; or may even refer to the striking of the Capitoline and some other hill not elsewhere noted in the evidence preserved. For the alliterative pair tumulos ac templa cf. 1, 20: fixa ac fundata; 1, 21: fiamma ferroque; Wölfflin in Sitsungsb. d. k. bayr. Akad. 1881, 2, 1-93; especially 56-57.

2. Capitolinis: as in the time of Sulla the Capitol had been burned, so now Jupiter seemed to foreshadow a similar danger to it. Further, the Capitoline is the type of the state itself, as in Hor. Carm. 3, 3, 42; 3, 30, 8; Virg. Acm. 9, 448; etc.

3. species: this use of the word (=simulacrum) is apparently limited to

Concidit, elapsaeque vetusto numine leges,

1. netusto V1, netustae (sel netuste) C.

this poem (cf. 1, 20; 1, 21) and is doubtless poetic, for in 2, 45 and 2, 47 Cicero uses the expression *Nattae statua*.

[112]3. venerataque: the simplest emendation here suggested, which forms a neat and characteristic alliterative phrase with selus.

[112]3. Nattae: one of the statuae veterum kominum mentioned by Cicero in Cat. 3. 19 (and cf. the scholiast). The name is discussed by Schulze, Zur Gesch. rom. Eigennamen (1904), 286, n. 3; 363. By some it is identified with the Naccae of Fest. p. 166 M. (in the sense of fullones). We have two unfavorable pictures of later men named Natta (Hor. Sat. 1, 6, 124; Pers. 3, 31). Natta appears as a cognomen in the gens Pinaria attached to the worship of Hercules (Liv. 1, 7, 12; Dion. Hal. 1, 40; Fest. p. 237 M.), and with this gens Cicero in 2, 47 connects this Natta. Tac. Ann. 4, 34, 2 also speaks of a Pinarius Natta; cf. Prosopogr. Imper. Rom. 3 (1898), 39; Schulze, op. cit. 366; 416. Various guesses as to whom this statue may have represented are offered by Pais, Storia di Roma, 1, 2 (1899), 665, n. 1. For statues on the Capitoline see Jordan, Topogr. d. Stadt Rom im Alterthum, 1, 2 (1885), 56-58; also the second line below in our text.

1. concidit: the portent is partly in the striking by lightning and partly in the falling. For the latter feature cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 64 M.: caduca auspicia dicunt quum aliquid in templo excidit, veluti virga e manu; 1, 27, n. (necesse, etc.); 1, 75, n. (stellaeque); 1, 77; and the question of stumbling in 2, 84. The falling of statues of men or gods is often noted; cf. Luterbacher, op. cit. 13, n. 36; Plin. N. H. 7, 152; 35, 5; Suet. Nero, 46; Galb. 1; Dio Cass. 37, 9; 39, 15; 40, 17; 41, 14; 50, 15; 54, 1; 77, 11; Obseq. 5; 7; 18; Gell. 4, 5; Vopisc. Prob. 24, 2; Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 1965; Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 33; Crooke in Folk-Lore, 8 (1897), 341; Knowlson, Origins of Popular Superstitions (1910). 164-167; Frazer, Golden Bough, 11, 3 ed. (1913), 165-167; Rose in Folk-Lore, 24 (1913), 222. Sometimes a significant part of the statue fell, as the golden apple in the hands of the statue of Justinian at Constantinople (cf. 1, 20, n. (tum fore, etc.)), the fall of which betokened the loss of much of the Greek empire (Travels of Sir John Mandeville (1905 ed.), 7). For caduca auspicia in general see the collection of Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 437-440, to which may be added Xen. Hell. 4, 4, 5; Heracl. Pont. in F. H. G. 2, 218, no. 17; Ov. Met. 9, 571-572; Plut. Marc. 5; Otho, 4; Dio Cass. 43, 18; 48, 43; Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 13, 2; 60, 4-5; Chron. Pasch. 407 A.D.; Euseb. Pr. Ev. 5, 34, p. 231 c-d; Socrat. Hist. Eccl. 3, 1; Claud. in Eutrop. 2, 282 ff.; de Rapt. Proserp. 3, 126-127; Bouché-Leclercq. Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 198.

For the striking of statues by lightning cf. 1, 98; Lydus, de Ostent. 47: el δὲ κατ' άγαλμάτων κατανεχθή, ποικίλας καί έπαλλήλους τάς συμφοράς τοῦς πράγμασιν άπειλεί· el γάρ χαρακτήρες ίδεων τινών καί κόσμια πόλεων τὰ άγάλματα ὑπωπτάθη τοῖς παλαιοίς, άρὰ τοίς πράγμασιν ή περί αθτά υβρις; also see Oxyrhynck. Pap. 6 (1908), 198-200 for a papyrus of the second or third century describing the omens from the striking of the statue of a poor man and (broken off just after the beginning) those from the striking of that of a rich man. And cf. Thulin, op. cit. 1, 76-77; Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern (1903), 9.

1. elapsae: cf. in Cat. 3, 19: legum aera liquefacta; Dio Cass. 37, 9, 2: τὰ τε γράμματα τῶν στηλῶν ἐς ἄς οἰ νόμοι ἐσεγράφοντο συνεχίθη καὶ ἀμυδρὰ ἐγένετο; Obseq. 61: tabulae legum aeneae * * litteris liquefactis; also 2, 47 infra. Whether elapsae refers to the slipping down of the inscribed tablets from their places, or possibly to the 'run-

Et divom simulacra peremit fulminis ardor. 20. Hic silvestris erat Romani nominis altrix,

ning' of the letters on their surfaces is not clear. A passage in Dio Cass. 41, 14, 3 (relating to the year 49 B.C.) says: κεραυνοί . . . τάς στήλας τάς τούς νόμους έχουσας έλυμήναντο. The way in which the Capitol had become the repository for documents, original or copied, is well discussed by Jordan, op. cit. 1, 2 (1885), 52-56, who quotes Suet. Vesp. 8 (for the period after the fire of 69 A.D.): aerearumque tabularum tria milia quae simul conflagraverant restituenda suscepit undique investigatis exemplaribus: instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta plebiscita de societate ac foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis.

[113]1. vetusto numine: troublesome to editors but probably correct, for numen is used not only of the divine but also of the human will and its expressions; cf. Phil. 3, 32: magna vis est, magnum numen unum et idem sentientis senatus; post Red. in Sen. 18: numenque vestrum aeque miki grave et sanctum ac deorum . . . futurum. The idea appears, then, to be 'laws of ancient sanction.'

2. hic silvestris, etc.: cf. 2, 45; in Cat. 3, 19: et tactus etiam ille qui hanc urbem condidit Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio, parvum atque lactentem, uberibus lubinis inhiantem fuisse meministis; Dio Cass. 37, 9, 1: elkor te tis hukalpys our te τῷ 'Ρώμω και σύν τῷ 'Ρωμύλω ιδρυμένη έπεσε; Obseq. 61: biennio ante in Capitolio lupam Remi et Romuli fulmine ictam. U[sener] in Rhein. Mus. 56(1901), 313 compares Rep. 2, 4: cum esset (sc. Romulus) silvestris beluae sustentatus uberibus; Propert. 3, 9, 51: eductosque pares silvestri ex ubere reges; and Virg. Aen. 8, 631-632 (of which the Schol. Danielis remark: totus hic locus Ennianus est), to indicate that the word silvestris (and probably also uberibus) is a reminiscence of Ennius. If these words, then possibly more also, and one might suspect the phrase vitali rore rigabat. The word kic evidently refers to the Capitol.

Liv. 10, 3, 12: eodem anno (295 B.C.) Cn. et Q. Ogulnii aediles curules aliquot faenatoribus diem dixerunt; quorum bonis multatis ex eo quod in publicum redactum est aenea in Capitolio limina et trium mensarum argentea vasa in cella Iovis Iovemque in culmine cum quadrigis et ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum urbis sub uberibus lupae posueruni. With this wolf of the Ogulnii there has often been identified the famous bronze wolf now preserved, with twins perhaps added in the sixteenth century (but cf. Michaelis in Rom. Mittheilungen, 6 (1891), 13), in the Museo dei Conservatori in Rome, yet the idea has been often expressed that this extant work cannot be that of which Cicero writes because his was destroyed by lightning and was a gilded statue. That these assumptions are both incorrect has been maintained by Petersen (Klio, 8(1908), 440-456; 9(1909), 29-47), who reverts to the earlier belief of Marliani (1543), Winckelmann, and others, that the bronze wolf of the Capitol is that of which Cicero speaks as cast down (but not destroyed), and of which the gilding (in Cat. 3, 19) was found, not on the statue itself, but on the accompanying twins (Petersen, op. cit. 450 ff.). Most significant seemed to Petersen the examination of the extant statue made by an electrical engineer, G. Mengarini, who concluded that the damage to the hind legs, already observed by others, was in all probability due to lightning (Petersen, op. cit. 453-456). The style of the wolf is further noted by Petersen (in his second article) to be far older than the time of the Ogulnii, and he concludes it to be the work of an Ionian or Chalcidian artist settled in Italy. Dieterich, however, (Rhein. Mus. 55 (1900), 204-207), followed by Soltau (Archiv f. Religionswiss. 12(1909), 122Martia, quae parvos Mavortis semine natos Uberibus gravidis vitali rore rigabat; Quae tum cum pueris flammato fulminis ictu Concidit atque avolsa pedum vestigia liquit.

124), though identifying the extant wolf with that addressed by Propertius (4, 1, 55-56), yet distinguishes carefully between the wolf on the Capitoline, of which Cicero speaks, in a group of which the twins were an essential part, and that near the ficus Ruminalis, where he thinks that the Ogulnii merely placed figures of the twins under an already existing wolf. wolf of the Museo dei Conservatori, if it be identified with that which once stood on the Capitol, should show (1) traces of the damage done by lightning, and (2) evidence by its position of the earlier presence of the twins. The former might be the traces found by Mengarini (of which, of course, Dieterich had not had the knowledge), but the position of the wolf is not that suited to a beast giving suck but rather to the more often represented type of the wolf threatening an enemy, so that, as he believes, we are probably not justified in identifying this statue with that of which Cicero speaks,

Into the arguments of Petersen upon the effect of the work on the development of the Romulus legend, and the attacks upon this theory by De Sanctis (in Rivist. di Filol. 38 (1910), 72) we need not here go. The later history of the extant wolf is treated by Petersen, op. cit. 440 ff., and a good bibliography of representations of the wolf and works upon its identity is given by Helbig-Amelung, Führer durck die öffentlicken Sammlungen . . . in Rom, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 564. For representations in art see also Carter in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Romulus (1909), 202-207; Soltau, op. cit. 119, n.; cf. the inscriptions in C.I.L. II, 2156; 5063; VIII, 958; Suppl. 12220. The legend is discussed by Carter (op. cit. 176-178), and close parallels for the suckling by the wolf are given by Roscher in his Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v.

Apollon (1884), 439; cf. Justin, 1, 4, 2-14; 44, 4, 8-12. On the lines here under discussion cf. Byron, Childe Harold, 4, 88.

[114]2. altrix: cf. 2, 45: altrice belua.

- 1. Martia: the wolf was sacred to Mars and apparently a totem; cf. De Sanctis, Storia dei Romani, 1(1907), 213, and n.4; Virg. Aen. 9, 566: Martius . . . lupus (where Servius remarks: aut cruentus aut Marti dedicatus); Liv. 10, 27, 9: Martius lupus, integer et intactus, gentis nos Martiae et conditoris nostri admonuit; Manil. 4, 26: lupa . . . Martia (cf. Propert. 4, 1, 55); Auct. Orig. Gent. Rom. 20, 4: lupum picumque Martiae tutelae esse; Plut. Rom. 4: roulferau 8' Apom lupà rà fûa; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2(1906), 1380, n. 2.
- 1. Mavortis: Cicero uses the name in prose only twice, and then to make clearer a supposed etymology (N.D. 2, 67; 3, 62), and it is perhaps borrowed from Ennius (Wreschnick, op. cit. 3-4).
- 2. rore: only here used of milk, but elsewhere of tears, blood, myrrh, etc., as well as of water.
- 3. flammato: cf. 1, 17, n. (flamma-
- 3. fulminis ictu: so in Lucr. 3, 488 (in which there are other traces of Ennius); 5, 399; Ov. ex Pont. 3, 1, 51; cf. Lucr. 6, 386; Wreschniok, op. cit. 55, who derives the phrase from Ennius.
- concidit: in the same position in the verse in 1, 19. Displacement rather than destruction of the statue is here meant.
- 4. avolsa: probably nominative, modifying altrix; possibly by poetic transfer of adjectives accusative = avolsorum pedum vestigia.
- 4. vestigia liquit: cf. Lucr. 3, 320; vestigia linqui; Wreschniok, op. cit. 55, again suggests Ennius as a source. The word vestigia in this position in the verse is

Tum quis non artis scripta ac monumenta volutans Voces tristificas chartis promebat Etruscis? Omnes civilem generosa a stirpe profectam Vitare ingentem cladem pestemque monebant, Vel legum exitium constanti voce ferebant, Templa deumque adeo flammis urbemque iubebant

- 3. generosa a Maller, generosa ab O, generosa H^3 , Christ, generosam C.
- 4-5. vo. inverso ordine leguntur in C, necnon in editionibus votustioribus.
- Uire (corr. Uitare) ingentem B (litteres ein in ras.), Uir ingentem AV, Uiri ingentem H, Volvier in gentem Plasberg in Rhein. Mus. 53 (1898), 95-97.
 - 5. Vel legum V2, Uoltum legum ABV2, sed prior vez A in res., Vultum legum H, Tum legum Plesberg, l.c.
 - 6. urbemque cod. Belliolensis Devisii, urbisque C.

frequent in Cicero (in Müller's ed. 4, 3, p. 351, 28; p. 352, 31; p. 361, 89; p. 370, 339; p. 371, 367; 382; p. 372, 425; p. 374, 472; p. 380, 703). Bases of statues from which the figures have been so removed as to leave only the 'foot-prints' are too familiar to archaeologists to require Mustration.

- 1. tum quis: cf. 2, 45.
- 1. scripta ac monumenta: hendiadys.
- 1. volutans: cf. Lucr. 6, 375-377: non Tyrrhena retro volventem carmina frustra / indicia occultae divum perquirere mentis, / quidve monere queat de caelo fulminis ictus.
- 2. voces tristificas: cf. 1, 13, n. (tristificas).
- 2. chartis... Etruscis: cf. 1, 72, and nn.; 1, 100; and for lists of the different phrases employed to describe these writings see Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 7, n. 2; Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1 (1906), 1-12; id. in P.-W. s.v. Etrusca disciplina (1909), 725.
- 3. civilem: cf. Lydus, de Ostent. 47:
 el δὲ ἐν πολιτικῷ ἡ δημοσίφ κατενεχθείη τόπφ
 (sc. ὁ κεραυνός), ἐμφυλίους το πολέμους καὶ
 στάσεις καὶ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀνατροπὴν δηλοῦ.
- 3. generosa a stirpe: probably of Catiline (nobili genere natus, according to Sall. Cat. 5, 1) and his associates, of whom those of senatorial and equestrian rank are enumerated by Sall. Cat. 17, 3-4; though Büdinger (Denkschr. d.k. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 36 (1888), 91) would apparently apply the expression to the whole patriciate as the source from which

the trouble arose; cf. Schwartz in Hermes, 32 (1897), 566-567. For the phrase cf. Lucr. 4, 1222: ab stirpe profecta; Wreschnick, op. cit. 54.

4ff. monebant . . . ferebant . . . iubebant . . . vereri . . . teneri: an unusual case of rhyme. A little beyond we find ortus . . . senatus, morata . . . locata, hora ... columna ... parata. Cf. Arat. 165-166: feretur . . . tuetur; Tusc. 1, 68, where Cicero quotes Ennius, Sc. 151-153 Vahlen: frondescere . . . pubescere . . . incurvescere; see also Sc. 58-61 (quoted in 1, 66 infra): ciet . . . pudet . . . piget . . . dolet; 97-99: inflammari . . . evitari . . . turpari; Froben, Die Syntax des Ennius (1910), 146-150. There seems little reason for supposing that the rhymes in our passage are not intentional, though some scholars, like Wölfflin, have regarded them as mere identities in inflexional endings. On this whole question cf. Usener in Jahrb. f. kl. Philol. 107 (1873), 174-176 = Kl. Schr. 2 (1913), 255-257; Wölfflin in Archiv f. lat. Lex. 1 (1884), 389; Dingeldein, Das Reim bei den Gr. u. Römern (1892), especially 106-107 on Cicero; Lundstrom in Eranos, 2 (1897), 81-116; Norden, Die antike Kunstprosa, 2, 2 ed. (1909), 810-908, especially 839, who thinks Cicero the only poet of his time who would have ventured upon so bold a rhyme.

5. legum exitium: typified by the throwing down of the tables of the law (1, 19), as the stragem horribilem below perhaps corresponds to the nocturna strage of 1, 18.

Eripere et stragem horribilem caedemque vereri; Atque haec fixa gravi fato ac fundata teneri, Ni prius excelsum ad columen formata decore Sancta Iovis species claros spectaret in ortus. Tum fore ut occultos populus sanctusque senatus

- 3. ni prius Guilelmus, Nepos AVI, Ne post BVI, Ni post HO.
- 3. excelsum B^2 , excesum AB^2V , excessum H.

[116]6. -que: postponed in position (cf. Munro on Lucr. 2, 1050), possibly to bring it into juxtaposition with adeo. For the phrase -que adeo cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. 1 (1900), 613, 42 ff.

- 1. eripere, etc.: cf. in Cat. 3, 19: quo quidem tempore cum haruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, caedis atque incendia et legum interitum et bellum civile ac domesticum et totius urbis atque imperi occasum appropinquare dixerunt, nisi di inmortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent.
- 2. fundata: cf. Wreschniok, op. cit. 56.
 - 3. ad columen: cf. 1, 18.
- 4. sancta lovis species: cf. in Cat. 3. 20: idemque iusserunt simulacrum Iovis facere maius et in excelso conlocare et contra atque antea fuerat ad orientem convertere; ac se sperare dixerunt si illud signum quod videtis solis ortum et forum curiamque conspiceret fore ut ea consilia quae clam essent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperi inlustrarentur ut a senatu populoque Romano perspici possent; Dio Cass. 37, 9, 2: τά τε οὖν άλλα ἐξεθύοντο τοῖς μάντεσι πειθόμενοι, και τῷ Διι άγαλμα μείζον, πρός τε τάς άνατολάς και πρός τήν άγοράν βλέπον, δπως αι συνωμοσίαι ύφ' ών έταράττοντο έκφανείω ίδρυθήναι έψηφίσαντο; Obseq. 61: signumque Iovis cum columna disiectum aruspicum responso in foro repositum; Arnob. 7, 38: quotiens vatum iussis karuspicumque responsis postquam divina res facta est et ex gentibus transmarinis acciti dii . . . et in altioribus columnis signa quaedam et simulacra sunt constituta et inminentium aversi sunt periculorum metus et gravissimi kostes pulsi; 7, 40: ictum cum esset Capitolium fulmine multaque in hoc alia, Iovis etiam simulacrum, sublimi quod

in culmine stabat, suis esse ab sedibus provolutum, responsum deinde ab haruspicibus editum res scaevas tristissimasque portendi ab incendiis, caedibus, ab legum interitu et ab iuris occasu, maxime tamen ab domesticis hostibus atque ab impia coniuratorum manu. sed flecti haec posse, immo aliter publicari scelerata non posse consilia nisi Iuppiter rursus oltiore in culmine figeretur orientalem conversus ad cardinem radiisque oppositus solis. adfuisse dicto fidem; nam subrecto culmine conversoque ad solem signo patuisse res abditas et reserata in maleficia vindicatum. This statue of Jupiter must be included in the divom simulacra of 1, 19 (= simulacra deorum of in Cat. 3, 19); and for statues of Jupiter on the Capitoline temple cf. 1, 16, n. (Summanus), and works there cited. It may perhaps be inferred that this statue had originally been at the west and that it was now transferred to the east.

4. species: cf. 1, 19, n. (species).
4. claros... in ortus: cf. 1, 106:
nitidos convertit ad ortus. Ammon (in
Bayer. Blätter f. d. Gymnas.-Schulwesen,
53 (1917), 295-301; see also Berl. philol.
Wochenschr. 38 (1918), 565) suggests that
the east is prominent as the place where
the generalissimo, Pompey, was deciding
the fate of Rome. Bouché-Leclercq,
Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 23, n., would
explain the orientation on religious
grounds.

5. tum fore, etc.: cf. the statue of Justinian (?) on a pillar at Constantinople facing east and with hand uplifted as though to avert the Persians (to the full references for which collected by Reinach in Rev. des Études grecques, 9 (1896), 82-85 add Travels of Sir John Mandeville (1905 ed.), 7). See also the description by

Cernere conatus posset, si solis ad ortum Conversa inde patrum sedes populique videret.

21. Haec tardata diu species multumque morata Consule te tandem celsa est in sede locata, Atque una fixi ac signati temporis hora Iuppiter excelsa clarabat sceptra columna, Et clades patriae flamma ferroque parata

7. Et Hottinger, At BHV, Ad A, Ac Mersus.

Alexander Neckam of the inventions of the wizard Virgil (Comparetti, Virgilio nel Medio Evo, 2, 2 ed. (1896), 193), who Romae item construxit nobile palatium, in quo cuiuslibet regionis imago lignea cambanam manu tenebat, quotiens vero aliqua regio maiestati Romani imperii insidias moliri ausa est, incontinenti proditricis icona campanulam pulsare coepit. miles vero aeneus, equo insidens aeneo, in summitate fastigii praedicti palatii kastam vibrans, in illam se vertit partem quae regionem illam respiciebat. Zonaras 8, 1 says that before the approach of the Gauls a statue of Victory at Rome descended from its pedestal and faced the direction from which the invaders were coming. Cf. also 1, 74, n. (arma sonuerunt) infra. The idea of deity resident in statues and consequent powers of observation and reaction on the part of images is partly the basis of various ancient tales of statues sweating (1, 74; 1, 98), weeping, turning around, etc. See in this connection the curious story in Dio Cass. 60, 13, 3. For the setting of a statue in a loftier position cf. Gell. 4, 5, 1-4; and for the restoration of fallen statues Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 546, n. 6.

[117]5. sanctusque senatus: cf. Enn. Ann. 238: sanctoque senatu; Virg. Aen. 1, 426: sanctumque senatum; also in Cat. 1, 9. With the unusual order populus sanctusque senatus cf. C.I.L. II, 5041(= Dessau 15): populus senatusque.

2. patrum sedes populique: cf. in Cat. 3, 20: forum curiamque conspiceret.

3. tardata diu: cf. 2, 46-47; in Cat. 3, 20: atque illud signum conlocandum consules illi locaverunt; sed tanta fuit operis

tarditas ut neque superioribus consulibus neque nobis ante hodiernum diem conlocaretur; 3, 21: illud vero nonne ita praesens est ut nutu Iovis optimi maximi factum esse videatur ut cum hodierno die mane per forum meo iussu et coniurati et eorum indices in aedem Concordiae ducerentur eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? quo conlocato atque ad vos senatumque converso omnia el senatus et vos quae erant contra salutem omnium cogitata inlustrata et patefacta vidistis; Dio Cass. 37, 34, 3-4: του Κικέρωνος δημηγορούντός τι περί αυτών το άγαλμα τό τοῦ Διός ές τε τό Καπιτώλιον παρ' αυτόν τόν καιρόν της εκκλησίας ανιδρύθη καί κατά την υφήγησιν των μάντων πρός το τάς άνατολάς και πρός την άγοραν βλέπον άνετίθη. έπειδή γάρ έκεινοί τε συνωμοσίαν τινά έξελεγχθήσεσθαι έκ της του άγάλματος στάσεως (al. πτώσεως) εἰρήκεσαν, καὶ ή ἀνάθεσις αὐτοῦ τοῖς φωραθείσι συνέβαινε, τό τε θείον έμεγάλυνον καί τούς την αίτίαν λαβόντας δι' όργης μάλλον фтою от то; Quintil. 5, 11, 42: Cicero . . . in contione contra Catilinam cum signum Iovis columnae impositum populo ostendit.

4. locata: cf. Wreschniok, op. cit. 52, for the influence of Ennius.

5ff. atque . . . et: note the rapid fulfilment of the predictions.

6. clarabat: cf. Arat. 273; 410; Tim. 40, and Plasberg's n. Here it probably means 'revealed,' i.e., 'stretched out'; possibly, however, the sceptre may have been gilded, so that an idea of its flashing is here implied.

7. et clades . . . patebat: for the metrical effect of these lines, the first heavily spondaic, dealing with the danger to Rome, the second largely dactylic, representing the escape from these dan-

- Vocibus Allobrogum patribus populoque patebat.

 XIII. Rite igitur veteres, quorum monumenta tenetis,
 Qui populos urbisque modo ac virtute regebant,
 Rite etiam vestri, quorum pietasque fidesque
 Praestitit et longe vicit sapientia cunctos,
 Praecipue coluere vigenti numine divos.
 Haec adeo penitus cura videre sagaci
 - Otia qui studiis laeti tenuere decoris, 22. Inque Academia umbrifera nitidoque Lyceo
- 1. populoque suig., populusque AB^1V^1 , populisque B^1HV^2 .
- gers, cf. Guendel, De Ciceronis Poetae Arte (1907), 11.
- 1. Allobrogum: for the facts cf. in Cat. 3, passim; Sall. Cat. 40-41.
- 2. rite, etc.: note the similar beginnings of lines: rite . . . rite . . .; praestitit . . . praecipue.
- 2. rite: on this word cf. Parzinger, Beiträge sur Kenntnis... des ciceronischen Stils, 2 (1912), 30.
- 2. veteres: evidently contrasted with vestri below, and therefore, on the principle of exempla externa and exempla domestica (cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius) infra), probably referring to the Greeks. Thoresen (ad loc.) well suggests Homer, on the basis of the remarks of Hor. Ep. 1, 2, 1-4.
- 3. modo ac virtute: cf. de Sen. 77: vitae modo atque constantia.
- 5. sapientia: this as an ancient Roman ideal appears in many places, e.g., in the epitaphs of the Scipios (C.I.L. I, 30; 34), and in Cicero's account of Cato (de Sen. 4; 6).
- 6. vigenti numine: Hottinger (ad loc.) well notes that the gods, in contrast to the olium of men, are active and intent upon human affairs. It is by the study of the signs sent by them that men learn the future. The variants proposed (ingenti, viginti; also nomine in place of numine), though palaeographically easy are in meaning so difficult as to be unworthy of acceptance. With the phrase vigenti numine cf. Lucr. 1, 925: instinctus mente vigenti; and Cicero frequently uses

- vigeo with animus or mens (e.g., 1, 63; 1, 115; 2, 139; cf. Merguet's lexica s.v.).
- 7. hace adeo, etc.: on the metrical flor of this and the next two lines cf. Guendel, op. cit. 11.
- 8. otia: for the plural of this word cf. Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre der lat. Spr. 1, 3 ed. (1901), 632; Maas, Stud. z. poet. Plural bei den Römern (1902), 545-546; Stangl in Rhein. Mus. 70 (1915), 238-239.
- 8. tenuere: Thoresen, in Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi, 3 ser., 2 (1894), 26-27, objects to this word and emends to trivere (or perhaps the rare form teruere), and in his edition (1894), compares de Amic. 104: in quibus (studiis)... omne otiosum tempus contrivimus. But otium teneo is not a harsh expression, and a partial parallel may be found in de Leg. agr. 2, 103: quam vos fortunati eritis, si in hoc statu quam habetis vestra non ignavia quaesitum sed virtute partum otium tenueritis.
- 9. Academia: shall we read academia. ambrifera (keeping the Greek quantity of the penult of Academia and losing the caesura in the line) or academia / ambrifërā (with hiatus and shortening of the final a of Academia, as Lachmann in a long and learned note on Lucr. 3, 374 would hold)? Moser, to avoid the awkward elision, suggested a change of order to umbrifera inque Academia, but for this we have no manuscript evidence. Perhaps we may infer whether Cicero said Academia or Academia from a verse in Plin. N. H. 31, 8, by Laurea Tullius, a freedman of our author, describing a Ciceronian villa: atque Academiae cele-

Fuderunt claras fecundi pectoris artis. E quibus ereptum primo iam a flore iuventae

bratam nomine villam. A freedman sufficiently educated to write verse would probably have known the pronunciation in use for such a word by his master when speaking of part of his estates. I should incline, therefore, to the former of the two scansions suggested above, awkward as the result may appear (and for other harsh features in this poem cf. Ribbeck, Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung, 1, 2 ed. (1894), 297-303). For similar elisions cf. Guendel, op. cit. 35; and on the omission of the caesura id. 23. Further, certain evidence for Academia in verse is not found until Claudian (Paneg. Manl. Theod. 94) and Sidonius (Carm. 2, 169), that in Anon. de Figuris 122 (Poet. Lat. Min. 3, 281; Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed., 16) being based upon an uncertain text.

[119]9. umbrifera: cf. Ar. Nub. 1005; άλλ' els 'Ακαδήμειαν κατιών ύπο ταις μορίαις καταθρέψη; Diog. L. 3, 7: ἐπανελθών δ' els 'Αθήνας (sc. ὁ Πλάτων) διέτριβα & 'Ακαδημία. τὸ δ' ἐστι γυμνάσιον προάστειον άλσωδες . . . καί Εύπολις έν 'Αστρατεύτοις φησίν' Έν εὐσκίοις δρόμοισιν Έκαδήμου θεοθ; Plut. Cim. 13: τὴν δ' 'Ακαδήμειαν ἐξ ἀνύδρου καὶ αὐχμηρᾶς κατάρρυτον άποδείξας άλσος, ήσκημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμοις καθαροῖς καὶ συσκίοις περιπάτοις. The grove was cut down by Sulla, according to Plut. Sull. 12: και την τε 'Ακαδήμειαν έκειρε δενδροφορωτάτην προαστείων ούσαν, but it apparently later recovered some of its charm; cf. de Fin. 5, 1; Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 45: inter silvas Academi; Plin. N.H. 12, 9 (on plane trees there); Paus. 1, 30, 1, and Frazer's note; Judeich, Topogr. von Athen (1905), 363-365. See also Milton, Parad. Lost, 4, 244 ff.

For the adjective umbrifera cf. 2, 63. The word is used by Varro, Virgil, and later writers, and may be Ennian. A pleasant picture of such philosophical discussions in the shade is found in de Leg. 1, 15, imitating Plat. Leg. 1, p. 625b-c. [119]9. nitidoque Lyceo: for a description and history of the Lyceum, including its

use as a gymnasium, see Frazer on Paus. 1, 19, 3; Judeich, op. cit. 365-366. The adjective nitido has reference to the oil used by the gymnasts, the unctuous and shining appearance being by an easy figure transferred from the persons to the place which they frequented. So Theocr. 2, 51: λιπαρῶς ἐκτοσθε παλαίστρας; [Luc.] Αποτες, 3: λιπαραί παλαίστραι (again in 45); Ov. Her. 15 (16), 149-150: nitida dum nuda palaestra / ludis; 18 (19), 11: unctae dona palaestrae; Met. 6, 241: opus nitidae iuvenale palaestrae; Fast. 5, 667: nitida quoque laete palaestra; Mart. 4, 8, 5: nitidis . . . palaestris.

The two words Academia and Lycee are not to be considered as limiting Cicero's philosophical studies in Athens to acquaintance with those schools alone. He says (Brut. 315): cum venissem Athenas sex mensis cum Antiocho veteris Academias nobilissimo et prudentissimo philosopho fui, studiumque philosophiae, numquam intermissum a primaque adulescentia culium ei semper aucium, hoc rursus summo auctore et doctore renovavi; de Fin. 1, 16: Phaedrum . . . aut Zenonem quorum utrumque audivi . . . atque eos quos nominavi cum Attico nostro frequenter audivi; N.D. 1, 59: Zenonem . . . cum Athenis essem audiebam frequenter. Doubtless the two schools here mentioned are merely types of philosophy in general, in the study of which Cicero was engaged during his Greek trip of 79-77 B.C.

I. fuderunt: perhaps intentionally similar to 1, 18: vates oracla furentis / pectore fundebant, the philosophers and seems being thought of as alike sharing in inspiration and pouring forth their message from within (pectore, pectoris), but the message of the one set being indefinite and terrible, while that of the other is open and logical (claras).

2. è quibus, etc.: cf. ad Att. 2, 3, 4: sed me karakhels mea illa commovet quae est in libro tertio: Interea cursus, quos prima

Te patria in media virtutum mole locavit. Tu tamen anxiferas curas requiete relaxans Quod patriae vacat id studiis nobisque sacrasti.

Tu igitur animum poteris inducere contra ea quae a me disputantur de divinatione dicere, qui et gesseris ea quae gessisti, et ea quae pronuntiavi accuratissume scripseris? 23. Quid? quaeris, Carneades, cur haec ita

 relaxans, Quod patriae vacat id Madvig, relaxas, Quod patriae vocatis C (sed V vocis ex correct.), relaxas, Quod patria vacat his studiis Davies, relaxas, Quam patriae vocis Schweis, relaxas, Quod patriae voci studium Foorisch, relaxas, Quod patriae vocis O.

a parte iuventae / quosque adeo consul virtute animoque pelisti, / hos retine atque auge famam laudesque bonorum. haec mihi cum in eo libro in quo multa sunt scripta αριστοκρατικώς Calliope ipsa praescripserit, non opinor esse dubitandum quin semper nobis videatur els olwròs αριστος αμθνεσθαι περί πάτρης.

[120]2. ereptum: to express the sudden transition from a life of study to one of practical politics. Patin (Études sur la Poésie lat. 2, 2 ed. (1875), 438-439) compares the experience of Horace as shown in Ep. 2, 2, 46-48.

[120]2. primo... flore iuventae: Drackenborch on Sil. Ital. 1, 376 (primaevo flore
iuventae) has collected many similar
phrases, including Virg. Aen. 7, 162:
primaevo flore iuventus; Sen. Phaedr. 620:
iuventae flore primaevo; Quintil. Decl. 9,
9: primo iuventae flore; Sil. Ital. 16, 405:
primaevae flore iuventae.

1. te patria, etc.: the widely accepted interpretation of these lines by Hottinger (ad loc.) may well be quoted: te vocavit ad res gerendas, atque amplissimam tibi dedit materiam, in qua vires tuae exerceri, virtusque tua spectari posset. Giese (ad loc.) suggests that the occasion here described is Cicero's quaestorship in Sicily (cf. 2 Verr. 5, 35: sic obtinui quaesturam in Sicilia provincia ut omnium oculos in me unum coniectos esse arbitrarer, ut me quaesturamque meam quasi in aliquo terrarum orbis theatro versari existimarem, etc.) in 75 B.C., but there seems no need to limit the line to that one

year, rather than to the general course of events after his entering public life.

- 2. anxiferas: used only by Cicero, the only other passage being in a translation from Sophocles in *Tusc.* 2, 21.
- 3. quod patriae vacat: cf. 2, 7; Rep. 1, 8: neque enim hac nos patria lege genuit aut educavit ut nulla quasi alimenta exspectaret a nobis . . . sed ut plurimas et maximas nostri animi, ingeni, consili partis ipsa sibi ad utilitatem suam pigneraretur tantumque nobis in nostrum privatum usum quantum ipsi superesse posset remitteret; de Or. 1, 3: in his asperitatibus rerum vel angustiis temporis obsequar studiis nostris et quantum miki vel fraus inimicorum vel causae amicorum vel res publica tribuet oti ad scribendum potissimum conferam; Off. 2, 4: postea quam konoribus inservire coepi meque totum rei publicae tradidi, tantum erat philosophiae loci quantum superfuerat amicorum et rei publicae temporibus; cf. in Caecil. 41; Quintil. 3, 10, 26.
- 4. poteris: cf, 1, 33; 1, 72; 2, 46. The appeal to Marcus on the ground of his own record recalls that of Balbus to Cotta in N.D. 2, 168. See also below 1, 25, n. (**setra*); 1, 58; 1, 68; 1, 103; 1, 106.
- 6. accuratissume scripseris: cf. Tusc. 5, 1.
- 6. Carneades: cf. 1, 7, n. (Carneade); the objections of Carneades appear in full in 2, 9 ff. For apostrophe of a philosopher who is regarded as the inspirer of one's opponent cf. N.D. 1, 87-88; Tusc. 2, 29.

^{4.} de dett. aliquot, et de C.

fiant aut qua arte perspici possint? Nescire me fateor, evenire autem te ipsum dico videre. Casu, inquis. Itane vero? quicquam potest casu esse factum quod omnes habet in se numeros veritatis? Quattuor tali iacti casu Venerium efficiunt; num etiam centum Venerios, si quadringentos

- 1. nescire: for the thought cf. 1, 12, n. (eventa); 1, 16.
- 2. casu: in several passages in the second book, doubtless following Carneades, the argument from the possibility of chance is employed to refute divination; cf. 2, 21; 2, 27; 2, 39; 2, 47; 2, 48; 2, 52; 2, 62; 2, 66; 2, 67; 2, 75; 2, 83; 2, 121; 2, 141.
- 2. itane vero: ironical, as in 2, 68; 2, 83; N.D. 2, 11.
- 3. omnes . . . numeros: this use of numerus corresponds to a Greek use of φοθμός, as in Isocr. Busir. p. 224d; Diog. L. 7, 100; Stob. Ecl. 2, 7, 11a (2, p. 93 Wachsmuth). With these cf. Off. 3, 14: perfectum atque absolutum est, et, ut idem dicunt, omnes numeros habet; Fin. 3, 24: omnes numeros virtulis; 4, 56: pauciores quasi numeros offici; N.D. 2, 37: expletum omnibus suis numeris et partibus; Ov. Met. 1, 427-428: imperfecta suisque / trunca vident numeris; 7, 126: perque suos intus numeros componitur infans (sc. in alvo); Sen. Ep. 71, 16: (virtus) habet numeros suos, plena est (and so perhaps Ep. 95, 5; Plin. Paneg. 71; Quintil. 10, 1, 91); Aug. C.D. 22, 30: omnes . . . kar-Certain passages moniae . . . numeri. (e.g., Sen. de Benef. 7, 1, 4; Quintil. 10, 1, 4; 12, 2, 12) in which numeri clearly refer to positions or attitudes in wrestling have led some scholars to trace this idiom to But as Ernesti (Clavis that source. Ciceroniana, various edd., s.v. numerus) points out, the word may well be taken in the sense of partes, which seems to agree better with its static meaning than a figure drawn from the active motions of wrestling.
- 3. veritatis: cf. 1, 125, n. (ex omni aeternitate . . . veritas).
- 3. quattuor tali: cf. 2, 48; 2, 121. The use of astragals or ivory or metal likenesses of them was common for games

of various kinds (Heydemann, Die Knöchelspielerin im Palasso Colonna (1877), 8-9; Mau in P.-W. s.v. 'Αστράγαλος (1896), 1793) and in gambling and divination (astragalomantia; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1(1879), 191; 3(1880), 310; Riess in P.-W. s.v. Astragalomanteia (1896); Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 213-215). With the important description of Schol. Plat. Lys. p. 206 cf. Eustath. Il. 23, 88; Suet. ed. Reifferscheid, pp. 326-328; Mau, op. cit. 1794. Various numbers of tali might be used, but the usual number was four and is thus often represented in art (Heydemann, op. cit. 9). Only a few of the 35 combinations possible with the four thrown at once are known to us by name, but the most favorable was the 'Appobling or Venus, in which all the upper faces were different (Mart. 14, 14-15: cum steterit nullus vultu tibi talus eodem / munera me dices magna dedisse tibi; [Luc.] Amores, 16: el nore tip bede αύτην εύβολήσειε, μηδενός άστραγάλου πεσέντος ίσφ σχήματι, κτλ.), which is not infrequently mentioned, e.g., Plaut. Asia. 905; Hor. Carm. 2, 7, 25-26; Propert. 5(4), 8, 45; Suet. Aug. 71; Heinevetter, Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland'u. Kleinasien (1912), 25; also Frazer on Paus. 7, 25, 10 (on dice in general). The name of Venus appears in other connections as well, associated with good luck; cf. Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2(1906), 1366.

- 4. Venerium: sc. iactum; but cf. Plaut.

 Asin. 905: hoc Veneriumst.
- 4. num etiam centum: cf. N.D.
 2, 93: hoc (i.e., the creation of the universe by chance) qui existimat fieri poluisse non intellego cur non idem putet si innumerabiles unius et viginti formae litterarum vel aureae vel qualeslibet aliquo coiciantur posse ex iis in terram excussis annales Enni, ut deinceps legi possint, effici; quod

talos ieceris, casu futuros putas? Aspersa temere pigmenta in tabula oris liniamenta efficere possunt; num etiam Veneris Coae pulchritudinem effici posse aspersione fortuita putas? Sus rostro si humi A litteram inpresserit, num propterea suspicari poteris Andromacham Enni ab ea posse describi? Fingebat Carneades in Chiorum lapicidinis saxo diffisso caput

- 1. jeceris cod. Reg. Contab., cieceris ABV, ciceris H.
- 2. Come Victorius, comeque V, coeque B, quoque A, cohe H, Cuidiae Comeque Morsus.
- 5. lapicidinis V^1 , lapidicinis AB^1V^1 , lapidi cini B^1 , lipicidinis H teste Deitere.

nescio an ne in uno quidem versu possit tantum valere fortuna; also Arist. de Caelo, 2, 12, p. 292 a 29: olor μυρίους άστραγάλους Κίους βαλεῖν ἀμήχανον, άλλ' ἐνα ή δύο ἡξον.

1. aspersa: cf. 2, 48; Plut. de Fortuna, 4: Νεάλκη μέντοι φασίν Ιππον ζωγραφοῦντα τοῖς μέν ἄλλοις κατορθοῦν είδεσι καὶ
χρώμασι, τοῦ δ' ἀφροῦ τὴν περὶ τῷ χαλινῷ
κοπτομένην χαινότητα καὶ τὸ συνεκπίπτον
ἄσθμα μὴ κατορθοῦντα γράφειν τε πολλάκις
καὶ ἐξαλείφειν, τέλος δ' ὁπ' ὁργῆς προσβαλεῖν
τῷ πίνακι τὸν σπόγγον ώσπερ είχε τῶν
φαρμάκων ἀνάπλεων, τὸν δὲ προσπασόντα
θαυμαστῶς ἐναπομάξαι καὶ ποιῆσαι τὸ δὲον.

1f. oris liniamenta: cf. 2, 48.

2. Veneris Coae: this painting is mentioned as a typical masterpiece in N.D. 1, 75; Orat. 5: Coae Veneris pulchritudinem. It is more fully treated by Plin. N. H. 35, 91-92: Venerem exeuntem e mari divus Augustus dicavit in delubro patris Caesaris, quae anadyomene vocatur, versibus Graecis tali opere dum laudatur victo sed inlustrato, cuius inferiorem partem corruptam qui reficeret non poluit reperiri verum ipsa iniuria cessit in gloriam artificis. consenuit haec tabula carie, aliamque pro ea substituit Nero principato suo Dorothei manu. A pelles inchoaverat et aliam Venerem Coi, superaturus famam illam suam priorem; invidit mors peracta parte nec qui succederet operi ad praescripta liniamenta inventus est; cf. Off. 3, 10: ut nemo pictor esset inventus qui in Coa Venere eam partem quam Apelles inchoatam reliquisset absolveret—oris enim pulchritudo reliqui corporis imitandi spem auferebat; ad Fam. 1, 9, 15. On the history of the former painting see Strab. 14, p. 657: ἐν δὲ τῷ προαστείψ (at Cos) τὸ 'Ασκλεπιεῖον ἔστι, σφόδρα ἔνδοξον καὶ πολλῶν ἀναθημάτων μεστόν, ἐν οῖς ἐστι καὶ ὁ 'Απέλλου 'Αντίγονος. ἢν δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀναδυομένη 'Αφροδίτη, ἡ νῦν ἀνάκειται τῷ θεῷ Καίσαρι ἐν 'Ρώμη, τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀναθέντος τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀρχηγέτιν τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ. φασὶ δὲ τοῖς Κώρις ἀντὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἐκατὸν ταλάντων ἄφωτιν γωέσθαι τοῦ προσταχθέντος φόρου. Ον. Ττ. 2, 527-528 also mentions the statue at Rome.

3. sus: in the two previous examples and the following pure chance is involved, free from volition; in the case of the pig we have an animal thought of as so stupid as to be practically without reason. Cf. the proverbs on the stupidity of the pig collected by Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer (1890), 336-337, and 224 (the familiar sus Minervam).

3. A litteram: the letter is perhaps chosen at random or perhaps as the initial of the play to be mentioned.

4. Andromacham Enni: of this play, apparently also called Andromache Aechmalotis, we have 33 complete or partial lines, many of them quoted by Cicero. On the making of words and sentences by chance cf. N.D. 2, 93 (quoted above), and the excellent note of Mayor; also Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 11: τί κωλύει λέγεων έτερον, ώς ούχ έγραψε τὰς κυρίας ἡμῦν Ἐπίκουρος, ὧ Βόηθε, δόξας, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ αὐτομάτως οῦτω πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν γραμμάτων συνεμπεσόντων, ἀπετελέσθη τὸ βιβλίον.

5. in Chiorum lapicidinis: the quarries and marbles of Chios are frequently mentioned: e. g., Theophr. de Lapid. 6: λιβοτομίαι Παρίων τε καὶ Πεντελικών καὶ Χίων τε καὶ Θηβαϊκών; Strab. 14, p. 645: ξχει δ' ἡ νῆσος καὶ λατόμιον μαρμάρου λίβου;

extitisse Panisci; credo aliquam non dissimilem figuram, sed certe non talem ut eam factam a Scopa diceres. Sic enim se profecto res habet ut numquam perfecte veritatem casus imitetur.

Plin. N. H. 5, 136: (habet Chios) marmor Chium; 36, 46: primum, ut arbitror, versicolores istas maculas Chiorum lapicidinae ostenderunt; 36, 132: Theophrastus auctor est et tralucidi lapidis in Aegypto quem Chio similem ait.

In Plin. N. H. 36, 14, however, the scene of our story is laid in a different island: sed in Pariorum mirabile proditur, glaeba lapidis unius cuneis dividentium soluta, imaginem Sileni intus extitisse. Osann (in Rhein. Mus. 4 (1833), 419-422) attempted to identify the imaginem here mentioned with a figure of Pan or Silenus in the Adamas relief at the entrance of a quarry-shaft in Paros (I.G. XII, 5, 1 (1903), no. 245, with bibliography; Reinach, Répertoire de Reliefs, 2 (1912), 360), stating that the group in question showed traces of different dates in its carving, and suggesting that an irregularly broken surface was the original head (which may have been later improved by art), and that the rest of the figures were afterwards added. The original central figure may have been variously interpreted by the sources of Carneades and Pliny as Pan or Silenus, and the story in the telling have changed its scene, so that it is not necessary to emend, as did Osann, the Chiorum of our passage to Pariorum.

The appearance of heads underground, perhaps sometimes fossils (for which see Gomperz, Gr. Denker, 1, 2 ed. (1903), 132; 437-438; Diels, Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 41), is noted in other instances, particularly in the aetiological tale of the caput Oli (Liv. 1, 55, 5; Dion. Hal. 4, 59; Auct. de Vir. ill. 8, 4; Serv. Aen. 8, 345; Chronogr. a. 354, p. 144 Mommsen; Arnob. 6, 7; Et. Mag. 490, 44; Isid. Etym. 15, 2, 3) and the story of the head of Orpheus as an underground oracle (Philostr. Her. p. 306). One may also compare the origin of the lots at Praeneste (2, 85); the Tages story

(2, 50); and an inscription from Magnesia on the Macander (Michel, Rec. d'Inscr. grecques € 900), no. 856 and literature there cited): δ δήμος δ Μαγνήτων ἐπερωτιξ τὸν θεὸν περὶ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ γεγονότος, ὅτι πλατάνου κατὰ τὴν πόλιν κλασθείσης ὑπὸ ἀνέμου εὐράθη ἐν αὐτῆ ἀφείδρυμα Διονύσου, τὶ αὐτῶ σημαίνει.

The argument from the case here mentioned is answered at length in 2, 48-49.

1. extitisse: the same word is used of the similar appearance of Tages in 2, 50.

1. Panisci: on the form of the word see Petersen, The Greek Diminutive Suffix -ισκο-, -ισκη- (Trans. Connect. Acad. Sci. 18(1913), 139-207; cf. additions by Sturtevant in Class. Philol. 11(1916), 113-117). One of Petersen's classes (p. 161) is images, including those of gods, and he cites 'Απολλωνίσκος, Σατυρίσκος (cf. 1, 39 infra), and Πανίσκος. The last named occurs also in N.D. 3, 43 (plural); Plin. N. H. 35, 144; Suet. Tib. 43; Clem. Protr. 4, 61; C.I.L. VIII, 2632; XIV, 4098. Cf. also the men's names thus formed, e.g., Heraiscus, Hermiscus.

Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2(1906), 1389, n. 1, observes that Pan became pluralized into families of Pans, with Pan children (Panisci), and the representation of such in Hellenistic and Roman art is discussed by Wernicke in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s. v. Pan (1909), 1436-1439. In the present case Paniscus may be such a young Pan or simply a small figure of the mature Pan, rather than an 'attendant of Pan,' as Petersen, op. cit. 187, suggests.

2. Scopa: as a type of the great sculptor mentioned by Cicero only here, and in the reply in 2, 48 it is Praxiteles with whose work the head is contrasted. Scopas is, however, used as a type by Hor. Carm. 4, 8, 6. Possibly some Paniscus by Scopas may have been known to

XIV. 24. At non numquam ea quae praedicta sunt minus eveniunt. Quae tandem id ars non habet? earum dico artium quae coniectura continentur et sunt opinabiles. An medicina ars non putanda est? quam

Cicero; in fact Plin. N.H. 36, 29, in rather close connection with his account of Scopas, mentions a statue of Pan in the Saepla at Rome, but is in doubt as to its artist.

[124]2. sic enim se... res habet: cf. N.D. 3, 89: sic enim res se habet; Leg. 1, 56: ita res se habet; 1, 58: profecto ita se res habet; and many other instances; cf. Merguet, Lex. s. d. phil. Schr. 2, s.v. habeo, p. 122.

[124]3. veritatem: cf. 2, 49.

1. at: as often in Cicero, introducing the argument of an opponent; cf. 1, 60; 2, 45; 2, 81; 2, 105; 2, 112; 2, 146; al.

1. minus eveniunt: cf. N.D. 2, 12 (in part quoted by Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 14): al fortasse non omnia eveniunt quae praedicta sunt, ne aegri quidem quia non omnes convalescunt ideireo ars nulla medicina est. signa ostenduntur a dis rerum futurarum. in his si qui erraverunt non deorum natura sed hominum coniectura peccavit; 3, 15: at medici quoque (ita enim dicebas) saepe falluntur, quid simile medicina, cuius ego rationem video, et divinatio, quae unde oriatur non intellego? Tac. Ann. 6, 22, 5: plurimis mortalium non eximitur quin primo cuiusque ortu ventura destinentur, sed quaedam secus quam dicta sint cadere, fallaciis ignara dicentium, ita corrumpi fidem artis, cuius clara documenta et antiqua aetas et nostra tulerit; [Luc.] de Astrol. 2: ol be vûr auably kal babuuly kal προσέτι μισοπονίη κείνοισί τε άντίξοα φρονέουσι και εὐτ' αν ανδράσιν ξπικυρέωσι ψεύδεα μαντευομένοισι, άστρων τε κατηγορέουσι καλ αύτην άστρολογίην μισέουσιν, ούδέ μιν ούτε δγιέα οδτε άληθέα νομίζουσιν άλλά λόγον ψευδέα και άνεμώλιον, ού δικαίως, έμοι δοκέει, φρονέοντες οδτε γάρ τέκτονος άιδρίη τεκτοσύνης αύτης άδικίη ούτε αύλητέω άμουσίη μουσικής άσοφίη, άλλ' οι μέν άμαθέες των τεχνέων, ἐκάστη δ' ἐν ἐωυτή σοφή; Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 13: et quia vanities aliquotiens plebeia strepit, haec inperite mussando, si esset praesentiendi notitia quaedam, cur ille se casurum in bello, vel alius hoc se passurum ignoravit aut illud, sufficiet dici, quod et grammaticus locutus interdum est barbare, et absurde cecinit musicus, et ignoravit remedium medicus; set non ideo nec grammatica nec musica nec medicina subsistit. Similarly Aug. de Div. Daem. 10 argues that prophetic demons are often deceived, sicut medici et nautae et agricolae; cf. C.D. 10, 32. For the support of a principle frequently ineffective by comparison with the fallibility or the abuses of other principles cf. N.D. 3, 70; Leg. 2, 13.

- 1. minus: this word softens for the speaker the admission of a fact somewhat damaging to his contention. The admission again appears in 1, 124, and, in a form with most extreme concessions, in 1, 128, and the argument is answered in 2, 16.
- 2. earum: cf. Ac. 2, 107: eisne (sc. artibus) quae ipsae fatentur coniectura se plus uti quam scientia, an eis quae tantum id quod videtur secuntur, etc.
- 3. opinabiles: the subject of opinion; so the adjective δοξαστός in Greek.
- 3. an medicina: the parallels here alleged (physician, pilot, general, and statesman) appear frequently in other connections, especially the first three forming a triad; cf. 1, 3, n. (Pythio). Of such groups (cf. Heeringa in Philologus, 68 (1909), 564) may be cited 1, 112 (physicians, pilots, farmers); 2, 12 and 2, 13 (pilot, physician, general); 2, 16 (physician, general, pilot); Off. 1, 60 (physicians, generals, orators); Rep. 5, 8 (pilot, physician, general); Demetr. de Eloc. 78 (general, pilot, charioteer); Max. Tyr. 14, 7 (physician, pilot, traveler); 19, 3 (physician, general, pilot); 19, 4; 20, 4; 38, 5 (physician, pilot, farmer); Euseb. Pr. Ev. 14, 20 (physician, pilot, general); Aug. de Div. Doem. 10; Amm. Marc. 21.

tamen multa fallunt. Quid? gubernatores nonne falluntur? An Achivorum exercitus et tot navium rectores non ita profecti sunt ab Ilio ut 'profectione laeti piscium lasciviam intuerentur,' ut ait Pacuvius, 'nec

1, 13 (grammarian, musician, physician). In the following cases two only are cited: N.D. 3, 76; Rep. 1, 62; 5, 5; Off. 1, 60; Plat. Rep. 1, p. 346a; Max. Tyr. 21, 5; 21, 8; 40, 5; Quintil. 2, 17, 24-25; Curt. 5, 9, 3; Orig. c. Cels. 4, 96; Stob. Flor. 103, 27. On the use of examples drawn from trades and professions cf. Plat. Gorg. p. 491a.

Points of resemblance between divination and medicine were observed by Hippocrates (Med. Gr. ed. Kühn, 23, 790): ίητρική δέ και μαντική και πάνυ συγγενείς είσιν, έπειδή και των δύο τεχνέων πατήρ είς 'Απόλλων (80 Ar. Plut. 11), δ και πρόγονος ήμεων, εούσας και εσομένας νόσους προαγορεύων και νοσέοντας και νοσήσοντας ιώμενος. Cf. Aug. C.D. 10, 32, p. 509 Hoffmann; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 47-48; Eustath. Il. p. 48, 37 (Trag. Gr. Frag. ed. Nauck, 2 ed., p. 127, no. 460): ΑΙσχύλος . . . τον Ιατρον μάντιν ονομάζει; also the use of the word larpopartis. The essential differences, however, between these specialists and diviners are insisted upon in 1, 112; 2, 13-16; Luc. Diss. cum Hesiodo, 7-8; Sext. Emp. 5, 1-2; Iambl. de Myster. 3, 26, p. 163 Parthey; Ps.-Clem. Hom. 3, 11; Aug. de Div. Daem. 9; Suid. s.v. προφητεία.

3. profectione, etc.: by slight changes two additional lines may be won for this quotation, as Ribbeck (*Trag. Rom. Frag.*, 3 ed. (1897), 153), following the suggestions of others, has done:

+ profectione laeti piscium lasciviam.

intuentur, nec tuendi satietas capier potest. Other emendations for the last clause are: satias capere possiet Gruter, capere posset satietas Davies, capere satietas potest Hermann, satias capere nos potest Usener, capere potis est satietas Stieglitz. Cicero might easily have modified intuentur to intuerentur and capier to capere to adapt the quotation to the context (the conjunction ut and the mention of the army).

The quotation can be further lengthened by the addition of lines found in de Or. 3, 157, beginning with the words inhorrescit mare and continuing for three and a half lines beyond the end of the part here quoted; cf. Ribbeck, l.c. In Non. p. 423 M. the line beginning interea prope is ascribed to Varro epistula ad Caesarem, but Ribbeck well suggests a lacuna between the words Varro and epistula containing the name of the play and of Pacuvius.

From what play this fragment is taken Ribbeck does not decide, but notes that in fr. 14 and 15 of the Teucer of Pacuvius we also have descriptions of a shipwreck. Zillinger (Cic. u. d. altrom. Dichter (1911), 130) without question ascribes our lines to the Teucer, though some earlier scholars, perhaps on the basis of a reference to shipwreck in fr. 16 of the Dulorestes, assigned it to that play. The lines quoted in 1, 29 below have been also placed in the same play as the present lines; cf. Ribbeck, op. cit. 286.

Without sure knowledge of the identity of the Latin play we can hardly name its Greek source, but the subject is the great storm familiar from the third book of the Odyssey and the fourteenth book of Quintus Smyrnaeus, described in Aesch. Agam. 626 ff., and predicted in Eur. Tr. 77-97. The introductory words suggest somewhat two lines in the Aegisthus of Livius Andronicus (Ribbeck, op. cit. 1, no. 2): tum autem lascivum Nerei simum pecus / ludens ad cantum classem lustratur (cf. Patin, Etudes sur la Poésie latine, 2 (1883), 150-151), with which compare fr. 44 of Pacuvius, placed by Ribbeck just before our lines. It may well be that all are derived from one original.

- 3. lasciviam: cf. Rutil. 1, 379; la-scivos . . . pisces.
- 3. Pacuvius: for Cicero's estimate of Pacuvius see Zillinger, op. cit. 31-34,

tuendi satietas capere posset?'

Interea prope iam occidente sole inhorrescit mare,

Tenebrae conduplicantur noctisque et nimbum occaecat nigror. Num igitur tot clarissimorum ducum regumque naufragium sustulit artem gubernandi? aut num imperatorum scientia nihil est quia summus imperator nuper fugit amisso exercitu? aut num propterea nulla est rei publicae gerendae ratio atque prudentia quia multa Cn. Pompeium, quaedam M. Catonem, non nulla etiam te ipsum fefellerunt? Similis est haruspicum responsio omnisque opinabilis divinatio; coniectura enim nititur, ultra / quam progredi non potest. 25. Ea fallit fortasse non numquam, sed tamen ad veritatem saepissime dirigit; est enim ab omni aeternitate repetita, in qua cum paene innumerabiliter res eodem modo evenirent isdem signis antegressis, ars est effecta eadem saepe animadvertendo ac

1. posset O, possit C; vide infra.

notando.

11. dirigit codd. et edd., derigit Müller; cf. adnotationem eins criticem.

and for his quotations from him the same self in a list of instances is noted by work, 124-131.

- 2. inhorrescit mare: cf. Sisenna, Hist. 4, 104 (ap. Non. p. 423 M.): subito mare subhorrere caecosque fluctus in se provolvere; Cic. Rep. 1, 63: cum subito mare coepit horrescere; Virg. Aen. 5, 11: inhorruit unda tenebris; Curt. 4, 3, 17: inhorrescens mare.
- 3. noctis . . . nigror: cf. Lucil. 209 Marx: noctis nigrore.
- 3. occaecat: cf. Liv. 33, 7, 2: densa caligo occaecaverat diem.
- 5. nihil: for similar predicate uses cf. Merguet, Lexikon z. d. phil. Schr. s.v., 700.
- 5. summus imperator: Pompey is thus described in pro Font. exc. Cusana 8: Cn. Pompei, summi imperatoris et fortissimi viri, and, by implication, in Imp. Pomp. 28; 36. Cicero uses the expression freely of other generals as well, both past and present.
- 6. nuper: 48 B.C. For the use of nuper in introducing exempla see Schoenberger, Beispiele aus der Geschichte (1911), 59; also 2, 55; 2, 59 infra.
- 8. non nulla etiam: the climax contributes to the effect of an indirect boast hardly again equalled until Plin. $E\phi$. 9. 23, 6. Similar citation by Cicero of him-

Schoenberger, op. cit. 28, in pro Planc. 20.

- 9. opinabilis: Davies observes that the art of physicians, generals, etc., is also dependent upon opinion, and he would take this word as a gloss, while Christ would explain: omnisque divinatio opinabilis est. But it is unnecessary to make any change; opinabilis probably has primary reference to the forms of artificial divination, as distinguished from natural (which, although it may at times mislead, Cicero does not consider as so largely involved in interpretation); cf. 1, 72.
- 9. coniectura . . . nititur: cf. 1, 124; 2, 55; Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 12: somniorum autem rata fides et indubitabilis foret ni ratiocinantes coniectura fallerentur inter-
- 9f. ultra quam progredi: cf. Tusc. 4, 38: modum quendam quem ultra progredi non oporteat.
- 11. ab omni aeternitate: cf. 1, 115; 1, 125; 2, 19; de Har. Resp. 29: caerimonias ab omni vetustate acceptas; also 1, 125, n. (ex omni aeternitate . . . veritas) infra.
 - 12. evenirent, etc.: cf. 1, 12.
- 13. isdem signis antegressis: cf. 1, 127; Hippoc. de Victu, 1, 12 (Diels, Frag.

δ. Vorsokratiker, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 83): μαρτική τοιόσδε τοῖσι μὲν φανεροῖσι τὰ ἀφανέα γινώσκει καὶ τοῖσιν ἐφανέσι τὰ φανερά. καὶ τοῖσιν ἐφανέτα καὶ τοῖσιν ἀποθανοθοι τὰ ζώντα καὶ τῷ ἀσυνέτω συνίασιν ὁ μὲν εἰδώς ἀι ὁρθώς ὁ δὲ μὴ εἰδώς ἄλλοτε ἄλλως; and, for dreams, Synes. de Insomn. 11: τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἐκάστοτε σημαινόμεθα τὴν τῶν ἐσομένων ἐνέργειαν. πρόδρομα γάρ ἐστι ταῦτα τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ δμοια τῶν ὀμοίων.

[127]13. ars est effects: cf. 1,1;2,146; N.D. 2, 166: multa praeterea ostentis, multa extis admonemur, multisque rebus aliis quas diuturnus usus ita notavit ut artem divinationis efficeret.

[127]13f. animadvertendo ac notando: cf. 1, 12.

1. vestra: an indirect appeal to Cicero on the ground of his official connection with divination; cf. N.D. 1, 14. Similar cases are found in 1, 30; 1, 72; 1, 105; N.D. 2, 168: tu autem Cotta . . . te . . . pontificem esse cogites; Rep. 1, 20: pergisse eam, Laeli, artem inludere in qua . . . excellis ipse? cf. de Har. Resp. 26-27; also 1, 22, n. (poteris).

1f. nunc. . . ignorantur: cf. 1, 28; N.D. 2, 9: negligentia nobilitatis auguri disciplina omissa, veritas auspiciorum spreta est, species tantum retenta; Leg. 2, 33: sed dubium non est quin haec disciplina et ars augurum evanuerit iam et vetustate et negligentia. ita neque illi adsentior qui hanc scientiam negat umquam in nostro collegio fuisse, neque illi qui esse etiam nunc putat; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 71; 1, 72, n. (augurales) infra. In 2,70 the reason for keeping up the forms of divination is explained.

2. bona, etc.: cf. Leg. 3, 34: bona tua venia dixerim; N.D. 1, 59: bona venia me audies; Tusc. 4, 12: pace tua dixerim (so in Leg. 3, 29).

2. Cilicibus, etc.: cf. 1, 2; 1, 92; 1, 94; 2, 80; Leg. 2, 33; Reitzenstein, Droi Vermutungen z. Gesch. d. röm. Litt. (1894), 29.

3. Lycias: of peculiarly Lycian augury I find no remnants, but Virgil mentions (Aen. 4, 346; 4, 377) Lycian sortes (doubtless the utterances of the oracle of Apollo at Patara), and Paus. 7, 21, 13 notes an oracular spring of Apollo in Lycia.

3ff. quid . . . commemorem: cf. 2, 52; de Sen. 52; Tusc. 1, 100; in Cat. 4, 16.

4. Deiotarum: tetrarch of the Tolistoboii in Galatia, who, because of his aid to Roman governors and generals, had had his territory increased and had been given the title of king (pro Reg. Deiot. 10). Cicero speaks in various places of aid received from him in Cilicia (e.g., pro Reg. Deiot. 39: laboro equidem regis Deiotari causa, quocum mihi amicitiam res publica conciliavit, hospitium voluntas utriusque coniunxit, familiaritatem consuetudo attulit, summam vero necessitudinem magna eius officia in me et in exercitum meum effecerunt; for other evidence cf. Niese in P.-W. s.v. Deiotarus (1901), 2401), and describes his assistance to other generals (pro Reg. Deiot. 27; 37; Phil. 11, 33), everywhere in terms of high praise. His scruples in religious matters are set forth in detail in de Har. Resp. 29; for his knowledge of augury cf. 2, 76-79 infra. On divination among Celtic races see Dottin in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 788; 1, 90, nn. (Druidae, auguriis) infra.

5. nihil umquam, etc.: cf. 1, 28; also 1, 3, n. (auspicato . . . condidisse).

5. ex itinere: cf. 2, 20; Val. Max. 1, 4, 2: Deiotaro vero regi omnia fere auspicato gerenti salutaris aquilae conspectus

proposito et constituto revertisset aquilae admonitus volatu, conclave

fuit, qua visa abstinuit se ab eius tecti usu anod nocte insequenti ruina solo aequatum est. For similar tales cf. Pherecydes ap. Schol. Hom. Od. 11, 287: Μελάμπους άκοθει δπερθέν τινων σκωλήκων διαλεγομένων δτι καταβεβρώκοιεν την δοκόν. και τοῦτο άπούσας καλεί τούς διακόνους καί κελεύει αύτον έκφέρουν, τής κλίνης λαμβανομένους τήν μέν γυναϊκα πρός ποδών, τόν δέ άνδρα πρός κεφαλής, οί δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναλαβόντες ἐκφέρουσιν. ἐν τοσούτω δὲ καὶ ἡ δοκὸς κατακλάται καὶ ἐπιπίπτα τθ γυναικί και κτείνει αυτήν; de Or. 2, 353 (after Simonides had recited in the house of Scopas at Crannon a poem in praise of Castor and Pollux): paulo post esse ferunt nuntiatum Simonidi ut prodiret: iuvenis stare ad ianuam duo quosdam qui eum magno opere evocarent; surrexisse illum, prodisse, vidisse neminem. hoc interim s patio conclave illud epularetur Scopas concidisse; ea ruina ipsum cum cognatis oppressum suis interisse. This tale is also found in Ouintil. 11, 2, 12-13, and-told of Pindar instead of Simonides—in Solin. 1, 120. Herod is also said to have providentially escaped from a house just before it fell, according to Joseph. Bell. Iud. 1, 17, 4. Somewhat similar are the cases of escape from shipwreck on the part of Simonides (1, 56; 2, 134-135; 2, 143) and Apollonius of Tyana (Philostr. Vit. Apollon. 5, 18). The falling of roofs due to the breaking of roof-timbers is discussed by Theophr. Hist. Plant. 5, 6, 1; and cf. the story in Hdt. 6, 27; also the remarks of Juv. 3, 190-196 on the dangers from falling roofs.

The omen here described belongs to the general class known as ἐνόδια, mentioned by Aesch. Prom. V. 487, and defined by Suid. s.v. οἰωνισμα (so also in Anecd. Gr. ed. Cramer, 4, 241): τὸ δὲ ἐνόδιον ὡς ὅταν ἐξηγήσηται τις τὰ ἐν τῆ ὀδῷ ἀπαντῶντα, ὅτι ἐὰν ἀπαντήση σοι τις τόδε βαστάζων, τόδε συμβήσεται σοι. It is further illustrated by Ar. Eccl. 792; Theophr. Char. 16; Chrysost. in Ephes. 4, Hom. 12, 3; and cf. Hor. Carm. 3, 27, 5-8.

1. aquilao: the attribute and special messenger of Zeus (1, 106; Hom. Il. 8, 247 ff., and Schol. Townl.; Aesch. Choeph. 258-259; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 133; Sittl. in Fleck. Jahrb. Supplbd. 14 (1885), 3-42; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2(1906), 793-794; Cook, Zeus, 1 (1914), 164, n. 4), appearing in divination in instances too frequent to mention (but cf. Riess in P.-W. s.v. Aberglaube (1894), 68; Oder in P.-W. s.v. Adler (1894), 373; Thompson, Glossary of Greek Birds (1895), 5), and often interpreted as bringing from the king of the gods omens to be applied to a king among men; cf. 1, 106, n. (kic Iovis). On this symbolism by which the eagle represents the king see Oder, op. cit. 374-375; Cook in Folk-Lore, 15 (1904), 390-391; and the collections of Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 415-417; 487-488; to which add Aesch. Agam. 111 (and Süsskand in Woch. f. kl. Philol. 32 (1915). 496 ff.); Nic. Damasc. in F. H.G. 3, 384 (for Gyges); for Tarquinius Priscus Cic. Leg. 1, 4; Liv. 1, 34, 8; Dion. Hal. 4, 63; Apul. de Deo Socr. 7; Auct. de Vir. illustr. 6, 2; for Alexander Arr. Anab. 1, 18 (cf. 2, 3); Curt. 4, 15, 26; Jul. Val. 164, 7; for Caesar, Petron. 122, line 177; in general Theorr. 17, 72-73; Joseph. Bell. Iud. 3, 6; also Sen. N.Q. 2, 32, 5. Dreams of eagles were also associated with royalty (Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 20; cf. Aesch. Pers. 205); the eagle appears on sceptres (Thompson, op. cit. 9-10; Cook, Zeus, 1, index s.v. Eagle); and the soul of a ruler might be imagined as embodied in an eagle (cf. that rising from the pyre of Augustus mentioned by Dio Cass. 56, 42; and see Cumont, L'Aigle funéraire des Syriens et l'Apothéose des Empereurs in Rev. de l'Hist. des Relig. 62 (1910), 119-164; Strong, Apotheosis and after Life (1915), 181 ff.).

For omens from eagles see also Hopf, Thierorakel und Orakelthiere (1888), 87-92. As a sign the eagle might be either illud, ubi erat mansurus, si ire perrexisset, proxima nocte corruit. 27. Itaque, ut ex ipso audiebam, persaepe revertit ex itinere, cum iam progressus esset multorum dierum viam. Cuius quidem hoc praeclarissimum est, quod, posteaquam a Caesare tetrarchia et regno pecuniaque multatus est, negat se tamen eorum auspiciorum quae sibi ad Pompeium proficiscenti secunda evenerint paenitere; senatus enim auctoritatem et populi Romani libertatem atque imperi dignitatem suis armis esse defensam, sibique eas aves quibus auctoribus officium et fidem secutus esset bene consuluisse;

4. tetrarchia et regno Devies, tetrarchiae regno C, tetrarchia, regno Klots.

7. imperii C, Maller.

favorable or unfavorable. On the basis of what Deiotarus considered this case unfavorable does not appear.

- 1. mausurus: as in 1, 59 of a stop for the night; cf. the noun mansio.
- 1. ire perrexisset: cf. Ac. 1, 1: ire perreximus.
- 3. hoc praeclarissimum: cf. Ac. 2, 86: iam illa praeclara, quanto . . .; Tusc. 3, 73: praeclarum illud est, ut . . .; Leg. 1, 23; Off. 1, 63: praeclarum illud Catonis; Nep. Thrasyb. 3. Also 1, 124: illud . . . paene divinum quod. . .
- 4. posteaquam: in the philosophical works commoner than postquam.
- 4. a Caesare tetrarchia, etc.: Deiotarus sided with Pompey but after Pharsalus made peace with Caesar and aided him and his legate Domitius Calvinus. During a long period he attempted to oust the other Galatian princes and to control the whole country. By murder and other means he had thus acquired the tetrarchates of the Teetosages and Trocmi, but the deposed princes appealed to Caesar, and after the battle of Zela the question was decided at Nicaea, Deiotarus, who was defended by Brutus, losing all power outside Galatia, especially Little Armenia (the regno here mentioned), which, with the tetrarchate of the Trocmi (tetrarchia; cf. 2, 79), was given to Mithridates of Pergamum (the adseculae suo Pergameno nescio cui of 2, 79), but retaining the Tectosages and, in general, Galatia west of the Halvs. After the fall of Mithridates in 46/5, Deiotarus by an embassy to Rome tried to acquire his

territory. But enemies were also active and preferred various charges against him, including an alleged attempt to murder Caesar in 47, and in his defence Cicero delivered the oration pro Rege Deiotaro. The case was not decided before Caesar's death, and after that event Deiotarus seized the territory of Mithridates, which Antony allowed him to retain. After supporting the murderers of Caesar he later went over to the side of the triumvirs; cf. Niese in P.-W. s.v. Deiotarus (1901), 2402-2403.

With the present passage cf. 2, 78-79; Phil. 2, 94: compellarat (sc. Caesar) hospitem praesens, computarat, pecuniam imperarat, in eius tetrarchia unum ex Graecis comitibus suis conlocarat, Armeniam abstulerat a senatu datam.

- 5. negat, etc.: cf. 2, 78.
- 5. ad Pompeium: it probably better served the purpose of Deiotarus (and of Cicero) to represent the hostility to the king as arising from his faithful support of Pompey, rather than from the more probable cause of the unscrupulous and menacing methods which he had employed in the enlargement of his domains.
- 8. auctoribus: the word auctrix is of late occurrence, auctor being used in earlier Latin even with feminines, as here; cf. Plaut. Trin. 107: rem tibi auctorem dabo; Virg. Aen. 12, 159: auctor ego (sc. Iuno); Macrob. Somn. Scip. 1, 11, 7: quin ipsa sit . . . et auctor et conditrix; Cramer, Ueber die Verbalsubstantiva auf -tor und-trix bei Cicero (1848), 20; Schömann, Opusc. 3(1858), 409.

antiquiorem enim sibi fuisse possessionibus suis gloriam. Ille mihi videtur igitur vere augurari. Nam nostri quidem magistratus auspiciis utuntur coactis; necesse est enim offa obiecta cadere frustum ex pulli ore cum

1. antiquiorem: Fronto p. 162, 9
Naber: vulgo dicitur quod potius sit
antiquius esse. This use is frequent in
Cicero (e.g., 2, 78; ad Fam. 11, 29, 1:
antiquius tibi officium meum quam illius
voluntas fuit). So in Greek πρεσβύτερος, of
which this idiom is perhaps an imitation.

2. igitur: for the deferred position of this word cf. 2, 8; 2, 133; Merguet, Lex. s.d. phil. Schr. 2, 205; Plasberg on Ac. 1, 26.

2. augurari: Valeton (in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 423) distinguishes, partly on the basis of this passage, between augurari, of the observation of auspicia oblativa, and auspicari, of the deliberate search for auspicia impetrativa; cf. 1, 3, n. (auspiciis). But as our passage probably refers, not to the eagle above mentioned (an auspicium oblativum), but to the observation of birds before Deiotarus set out to join Pompey (whether oblative or impetrative we do not know), the conclusion must rest upon other cases than this.

3. coactis: this admitted weakness in contemporary auspices is further developed in 2, 71-74.

3. necesse, etc.: the subject of auspices from the sacred chickens has been discussed at length by Valeton in Mnemos. 18 (1890), 211-215, whose argument, with some additions, is briefly this. There are two important kinds of signs to be considered (1) those from feeding animals, such as a wolf, in Plin. N. H. 8, 83; Virg. Aen. 6, 199, where Servius remarks hine optimum significatur augurium quod pascebant; other quadrupeds (Plut. de Def. Orac. 49); birds, according to Curt. 4, 8, 6; a snake, in Hdt. 8, 41 (and other references in Frazer, Golden Bough, 4, 3 ed. (1912), 86, n. 5; with which cf. Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 90, n. 1); fishes, according to Plin. N.H. 32, 17 (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la

Div. 1 (1879), 152); the bull Apis, in Plin. N.H. 8, 46; Solin. 32, 19 (and for Russian parallels cf. Schrader in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 815); and (2) the tripudium solistimum (2, 72; Plin. N.H. 10, 49; Fest. p. 298 M.; Serv. Aen. 3, 90), when an object fell to the ground of its own accord, without human aid (cf. the auspicium caducum and 1, 19 supra), a variety of which, when a sound was made by the fall, was called the tripudium sonivium (for which see Serv. Aen. 3, 90; Plin. N. H. 15, 86; cf. ad Fam. 6, 6, 7; Fest. pp. 290; 297 M.; Paul. ex Fest. p. 291 M.). Moreover Cicero remarks (2, 72): terripavium primo, post terripudium dictum est; hoc quidem iam tripudium dicitur, and Festus says (p. 245 M.; more completely in Paul. p. 244 M.): quod tripudium faceret, id est terripavium. pavire enim ferire est; cf. p. 363 M. These explanations are etymologically incorrect (cf. Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuck, 2 ed. (1910), 92 for various views), but perhaps well represent the significance of the word to the popular mind. Now it is the combination of these two distinct kinds of auspicia oblativa, according to Valeton, op. cit. 212, that produced the tripudium sollistimum, the most perfect tripudium (cf. 1, 28, n. (solidum) infra), in which the animals used for the auspices ate their food so greedily that bits fell to the ground in the process, as described here and in 2, 72; cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 244 M.: bonum enim augurium esse putabant si pulli per quos auspicabantur comedissent, praesertim si eis edentibus aliquid ab ore decidisset. sin autem omnino non edissent arbitrabantur periculum inminere; cf. Dio Cass. ap. Tzetz. ad Il. p. 108 Hermann (fr. 43, 33 Boissevain).

According to old augural practice (2, 73), omnem arem tripudium facere posse. For the view that such augural

pascitur. 28. Quod autem scriptum habetis † aut tripudium fieri, si ex ea

1. aut (hinc V²) tripudium C, avi tripudium Turnebus, Christ, Beller, Thorsson, fortasse solistimum avi tripudium Christ, tripudium O come Brussie.

animals were originally totemic see Reinach, Orpheus, Engl. tr. (1909), 98; 116. But chickens proved especially available for this purpose, both for private use in the country (Varr. R.R. 3, 3, 5) and more particularly for generals at the moment before battle (Mommsen, Rom. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 84-85), when the observation of birds at large was timeconsuming and uncertain. Rossfeld, to be sure, in Antiq. Rom. (1743), 205, followed by Zoega (Bassirelievi anticki di Roma, 1 (1808), 65-66), suggested a significance in the choice of the chicken as (when grown) a fighting animal and as sacred to Mars, for which he gives citations; and for the sound of the cock as ominous see also 1, 74, n. (asis illa). By carrying along a coop of chickens, under the care of an official pullarius (see 2, 72; also 1, 77; 2, 74; C.I.L. VI, 1008; 1897; 2198-2200; Mommsen, op. cit. 1, 85, n. 2; etc.), who fed them, observed their feeding, and reported it to the general, the holders of military imperium (according to de Leg. agr. 2, 32) converted this originally oblative form of auspices into an impetrative one, and, as Cicero charges, a coactum auspicium. This stage had been reached as early as 325 B.C. (Liv. 8, 30, 2). The ritual for the consultation of the chickens is given in 2, 71-72, and, with independent details, by Schol. Veron. in Virg. Acn. 10, 241 (in the formula of which Valeton, op. cit. 213, detects traces of the old oblative origin of the rite). After a time the process became further formalized and the only point noticed was the eating, without reference to the falling of food to the ground (id. 214, and n. 6).

For a Roman relief found at Tusculum and now in the Palazzo Albani, showing the sacred chickens in their cage, and set up by a libertus who was a pullarius in memory of his former master, see

Zoega, op. cit. 1, 65 ff., and pl. 16; its inscription is in C.I.L. XIV, 2523; a portion of the relief with the cage and the chickens alone is shown in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), opp. p. 322, and copied in Schreiber, Atlas of Classical Antiquities (1895), pl. 19, no. 13, and other recent works. A relief on an Etruscan cinerary urn at Volterra (Inghirami, Monum. Etrusc. 1(1821), 308, and pl. 36) shows a lectus with two feeding birds beneath it, no cage appearing. Inghirami explained these as augural chickens, but they may be some other kind of bird. Cf. also the feeding chickens in a relief of Augustus as augur (now at Florence) described in C.I.L. VI, 448, and figured in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. lituus, fig. 4504. For the whole question of alectryonomancy cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 144-145.

[131]3. offa: cf. Fest. p. 242 M.: penitam offam (cf. p. 230 M.) Naevius (fab. inc. fr. 16 Ribb.) appellat absegmen carnis cum coda; antiqui autem offam vocabant abscisum globi forma, ut manu glomeratam pultem; p. 245 M. (more completely in Paul. p. 244 M.): puls potissimum dabatur pullis in auspiciis, quia ex ea necesse erat aliquid decidere quod tripudium faceret. id est terripavium; also 2, 73 infra. For offa as a term for the food used for fattening birds see Varr. R.R. 3, 5; Columell. 8, 9, 2; al. Part of the compulsion of this form of auspices evidently consisted in giving to the chickens food in such a form that they could not well eat it without dropping fragments.

[131]3. obiecta: cf. Virg. Aen. 6, 420-421: offam / obicit; Val. Max. 2, 5, 5: exta farre sparguntur et pullis quibus auspicia petuntur puls obicitur.

1. pascitur: middle voice as in 2, 72; N.D. 2, 7; Liv. 6, 41, 8; Virg. Ed. 1, 60.

quid in solidum ceciderit, hoc quoque, quod dixi, coactum tripudium solistimum dicitis. Itaque multa auguria, multa auspicia, quod Cato ille

[132]1. scriptum habetis: on the question of the written form of the libri augurales cf. Regell, De Augurum publicorum Libris (1878), 16-18, and for the fragments id., Fragmenta auguralia (1882), and, more fully, his Commentarii in Lib. aug. Frag. Specimen (1893). perhaps here thinks of these books as known to Quintus through the medium of the work of Ap. Claudius Pulcher on the auguralis disciplina. This Appius, the son of the Caecilia of 1, 4 supra, and brother of P. Clodius, was M. Cicero's predecessor as governor of Cilicia, and was well known to him, being mentioned in 1, 29-30; 1, 105; 1, 132 (cf. Tusc. 1, 37); 2, 75; in Brut. 267 called cum auguralis tum omnis publici iuris antiquitatisque nostrae bene peritus; in Leg. 2, 32 considered as an excellent augur; and addressed in ad Fam. 3, 1-13. On his relations with Cicero see Büdinger in Denkschr. d. Wien. Akad. 31 (1881), 249-250. He also appears in Varr. R. R. 3, 2, 2; 3, 7, 1. In ad Fam. 3, 4, 1 (June, 51) Cicero writes to him: . . . illo libro augurali, quem ad me amantissimum scriptum suavissimum misisti; 3, 9, 3 (Feb., 50): et velim reliquum quod est promissi ac muneris tui mihi persolvas. cum ipsam cognitionem iuris auguri consequi cupio tum mehercule tuis incredibiliter studiis erga me muneribusque delector; 3, 11, 4 (June, 50): nunc tamen, ut ipse polliceris, pro auguralibus libris orationes tuas confectas omnis exspectabo. Fragments of the work are found in Fest. pp. 197; 297; 298 M., and other traces of borrowing Zingler (De Cic. Historico Quaest. (1900), 24-25) would detect in our present work; cf. 1, 29, n. (P. Claudius); 1, 46. The tendencies of Appius were reactionary and superstitious (cf. 1, 105; 1, 132; 2, 75) and opposed to the more rationalistic school as represented by his colleagues Marcellus and Cicero; cf. Zingler, op. cit. 19 ff.

[132]1. aut: the emendation ari is palaeographically easy here, but the sense is incomplete; some modifying adjective seems needed for it.

1. solidum: the form of the clause implies an etymological connection between solistimum and solidum. Cf. Fest. p. 293 M.: sollum Osce totum et soldum significat. unde . . . quae nulla parte laxata cavaque sunt solida nominantur (cf. Paul. p. 292); Fest. p. 298 M.: sollo Osce dicitur id quod nos totum vocamus (so Paulus); ibid.: sollistimum Ap. Pulcher in auguralis disciplinae lib. I. ait esse tripudium, quod tautt excidit ex eo, quod illa fert: saxumve solidum, aut arbos viviradix ruit, quae nec prae vitio thumanit caedanturve iacianturve pellanturve (emended by Müller to read: . . . tripudium quom avi excidit ex ore . . . vilio humanave vi caedantur, etc.). For modern derivations see Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 674, s.v. salvus; 721-722, s.vv. solidus, sollus. But granted the etymological kinship of solistimum and solidum, it does not follow that the explanation above given (si quid in solidum ceciderit) is correct. Rather solistimum would be a strong, illogical, but not unrhetorical expression meaning 'most complete.' For solidum in the sense of 'ground' cf. Flor. 1, 18, 9.

1. quoque: not only pure oblative tripudia but even forced, impetrative ones might constitute a tripudium solistimum; cf. Valeton in Mnemos. 18 (1890), 214, n. 3. Schiche (in Hermes, 10 (1876), 382) would remove quoque by emendation.

2. auguria . . . auspicia: cf. 1, 3, n. (auspiciis).

2. Cato: the remark is assigned by Peter (*Hist. Rom. Reliq.* 1, 2 ed. (1914), 95) to the uncertain works of Cato. For Cicero's use of Cato (with list of citations) see Zingler, op. cit. 11-12.

sapiens queritur, negligentia collegi amissa plane et deserta sunt.

XVI. Nihil fere quondam maioris rei nisi auspicato ne privatim quidem gerebatur, quod etiam nunc nuptiarum auspices declarant, qui re omissa nomen tantum tenent. Nam ut nunc extis (quamquam id ipsum aliquanto minus quam olim), sic tum avibus magnae res inpetriri sole-

1. collegi C. Maller.

[133]2f. ille sapiens: cf. Leg. 2, 5: sapienti illi Catoni; Off. 3, 16; de Sen. 5; de Amic. 9; in Caecil. 66. This use of ille is frequent in Cicero; e.g., 1, 46; 1, 51; 1, 78; cf. Ullman in Class. Philol. 14 (1919), 416-417.

1. queritur: Cato apparently distinguished in point of respectability and importance between augurs and haruspices, and between consultation for public and political purposes and that for private curiosity; cf. 2, 51; N.D. 1, 71; Cat. de Agr. 5, 4: haruspicem, augurem, hariolum, Chaldaeum nequem consuluisse velit; Tavenner, Studies in Magic from Lat. Lit. (1916), 27. For the complaint here made cf. 1, 90; 1, 105; N.D. 2, 9: negligentia nobilitatis auguri disciplina omissa veritas auspiciorum spreta est, species tantum retenta; Leg. 2, 33: sed dubium non est quin haec disciplina et ars augurum evanuerit iam et velustate et negligentia; Dion. Hal. 2, 6: πέπαυται δ' έν τοῖς καθ' ήμας χρόνοις, πλήν οδον είκων τις αύτοῦ λείπεται τής όσίας αὐτής ένεκα γινομένη; Liv. 43, 13: non enim nescius ab eadem negligentia quia nihil deos portendere vulgo nunc credant neque nuntiari admodum ulla prodigia in publicum neque in annales referri; Tac. Ann. 11, 15, 1: quod nunc segnius fieri publica circa bonas artes socordia; Plin. N.H. 10, 20; Valeton in Mnemos. 19 (1891), 416.

1. amissa . . . et deserta: perhaps synonymous, or possibly a distinction is intended between oral traditions which have been allowed to lapse and the augural books which have simply been neglected but not lost.

- 2. nihil fere: cf. 1, 3, n. (auspiciis); 1, 95; Val. Max. 2, 1, 1: apud antiquos non solum publice sed etiam privatim nihil gerebatur nisi auspicio prius sumpto. quo ex more nuptiis etiam nunc auspices interponuntur, qui, quamvis auspicia petere desierint, ipso tamen nomine veteris consuetudinis vestigia usurpantur; Serv. Aen. 1, 346: nihil nisi captatis faciebant auguriis, et praecipue nuptias; also Liv. 6, 41, 4 ff.
- 2. maioris rei: cf. magnae res infra; 1, 95; 1, 122; Rep. 1, 20; al.
- 2. privatim: for auspicium privatum see Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 89, n. 1; Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Auspicium (1896), 2581-2582. Nigidius Figulus wrote a work on the subject, according to Gell. 7, 6, 10.
- 3. nuptiarum auspices: their use is very fully discussed by Rossbach, Untersuchungen über die röm. Ehe (1853), 294-307; cf. Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 436; Hotman in the same work, 8 (1698), 1112-1114; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 166, and n. 7; De Marchi, Il Culto privato di Roma antica, 1 (1896), 154-155; Wissowa, l.c. Similar observation of signs at weddings was found among the Greeks (cf. Hes. Opera, 800-801), and was recognized in the Etrusca disciplina (Serv. Acn. 4, 166; cf. 4, 339). For numerous other superstitious rites at weddings cf. Rossbach, op. cit.; Samter, Geburt, Hockseit, u. Tod (1911); also 1, 104 infra.
- 3f. ro . . . nomon: cf. 1, 17, n. (verbo . . . falsis . . . vocibus . . . re vera).
- 4. ut nunc extis: for the gradual encroachment of haruspicine on augury see

^{3.} auspices Turnebus, auspicis AV1, auspiciis BHV1; forma auspicis casus nom. iis addonda est quas Lackmannus ad Lucr. p. 56 recensuit; candom codd. nostri non omnes praebont 1, 18 terribilis, 1, 81 virginis, 1, 100 ucientis, 2, 20 classis, 2, 24 haruspicis, 2, 52 omnis.

^{5.} inpetriri Gruter, edd. recc., inpertiri AV (imp-V), impertiri B, impetriri H teste Baitere, sed impertiri teste Deltere.

bant. Itaque sinistra dum non exquirimus in dira et in vitiosa incurrimus. 29. Ut P. Claudius, Appi Caeci filius, eiusque collega L. Iunius classis

1, 3, n. (karuspicum disciplina); Valeton in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 447, and n. 7; Carter in Röm. Mittheilungen, 25 (1910), 87; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 533; 548.

[134]5. inpetriri: cf. 1, 3; Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 77, n. 4.

1. sinistra: cf. 1, 12, n. (a laeva); 2, 82.

1. dira... vitiosa: technical terms of the augurs. So Leg. 2, 21: quaeque augur iniusta nefasta, vitiosa dira defizerit. Valeton (in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 288) notes that unfavorable signs are not called dextra, but have other technical names; cf. Fest. p. 7 M.: ut in auguriis altera cum appellatur avis quae utique prospera non est; Paul. ex Fest. p. 276 M.: remores aves in auspicio dicuntur quae acturum aliquid remorari conpellunt.

2. ut P. Claudius: the use of instances or exempla from Roman history has been treated, for Cicero, by Schoenberger, Beispiele aus der Geschichte, ein rhetorisches Kunstmittel in Ciceros Reden (1911); cf. also Piton, Die typische Beispiele aus der rom. Geschichte (1906); Schanz, Gesch. d. rom. Litt. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 151; and, especially in so far as the instances have a distinct moral character, by Litchfield in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol. 25 (1914), 1-71 (for Cicero particularly pp. 6; 65). Since the Stoic defence of divination rested upon establishment of effect rather than inquiry into cause (1, 12; 1, 16; al.), it is not surprising that this book abounds in exempla. These are usually divided (cf. 1, 21, n. (veteres); Schoenberger, op. cit. 13-41) into foreign (Graecorum in 1, 55; cf. Tusc. 5, 105; externa in 1, 46; 1, 95; N.D. 2, 8; Tusc. 1, 33; Off. 2, 26; 3, 99) and native (nostra in 1, 55; 1, 97; 2, 8; N.D. 2, 8; Tusc. 5, 105; Off. 3, 99; domestica in N.D. 2, 7; Parad. 12; Off. 2, 26; 2 Verr. 4, 73; propiora in 1, 4; 2, 22; Zingler, De Cic. Historico Quaest. (1900), 23; cf. the division of Val. Max. 1,

praef.: urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna; Demosth. 13, 21: οὐ γὰρ άλλοτρίοις ὑμῖν παραδείγμασι χρησαμένοις, άλλ' olkelois έξεσθ' ά προσήκει πράττειν είδέναι); or, again, into those of mythology (fabulae in 1, 40; 1, 43; 1, 63), those of long ago (vetera in 1, 29; 1, 58; Tusc. 1, 33; 2 Verr. 3, 182), and the more vivid modern instances, especially appeals to the personal experience of participants in the dialogue (as in 1, 17; 1, 58; 1, 68; al.). That mythological instances and others so ancient as to be incapable of verification should have been admitted as testimony along with modern ones and personal experience is due to the failure to distinguish between their moral and ideal worth (largely independent of their historicity) and their value as evidence for facts, which is what is here demanded. Their admission into the conventional canon of instances of the former sort undoubtedly facilitated their intrusion into the none too strictly defined category of the latter. As to their comparative cogency cf. Apsines in Rhet. Gr. ed. Spengel, 1, 2, 281: χρή δὲ τὰ παραδείγματα γνώριμα είναι καί σαφή καί μή πάνυ άρχαῖα μηδὲ μυθώδη, κτλ.; cf. Schoenberger, op. cit. 13-14. Litchfield notes (op. cit. 62 ff.) the formation of a somewhat indefinite canon of exempla, through the influence in part, perhaps, of Roman books of examples such as that of Valerius Maximus (cf. the list of such in Litchfield, op. cit. 62-63), but still more through the authority of great writers, especially Ennius in his Annales.

In the present passage we have the following exempla in order: Claudius, Junius, Crassus, Attus Navius, Ti. Gracchus; in N.D. 2, 7-8: Claudius, Junius, Flaminius, Attus Navius, Ti. Gracchus; in Val. Max. 1, 4, 1-12: Attus Navius, Claudius, Junius, Metellus, Cicero, Ti. Gracchus; in Min. Fel. Oct. 7, 4: Claudius, Junius, Flaminius, Crassus. Flaminius is

maxumas perdiderunt, cum vitio navigassent. Quod eodem modo evenit Agamemnoni; qui, cum Achivi coepissent

. inter se strepere aperteque artem obterere extispicum,

3. . . inter se Ribboch, Boiler, Müller, inter se CO, illi inter se Stieglits, inter sese Davies, Christ, inter se strepitare Moser.

not treated in the present passage but is discussed at length in 1, 77-78. The source from which these exempla are drawn Zingler (op. cit. 18-25) thinks to be the work of Appius Claudius Pulcher on the auguralis disciplina (cf. 1, 28, n. (scriptum habetis) supra).

[135]2. Claudius: his full name (Fast. Capit. a. 505, in C.I.L. I, 2 ed., p. 24) was P. Claudius Ap. f. C. n. Pulcher, and he was consul in 249 B.C. If the son of Appius Claudius Caecus, as Cicero and the Schol. Bob. p. 337 (p. 90 Stangl) say, he could not have been a young man at the time of the battle (Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Claudius (1899), 2857), which took place off the Sicilian coast and is best described by Polyb. 1, 49, 3-51, 2. Claudius seems to have escaped with thirty ships, losing ninety-three. The explanation of his defeat as due to his irreligious disregard of auspices may perhaps show a religious radicalism inherited from his father, whose blindness was ascribed to his religious innovations; cf. Liv. 9, 29, 9-11; Val. Max. 1, 1, 17. It is told by many authors and is a stock exemplum of the lack of piety towards the gods (cf. Litchfield, op. cit. 29). See also N.D. 2, 7: nikil nos P. Claudi bello Punico primo temeritas movebit? qui etiam per iocum deos inridens, cum cavea liberati pulli non pascerentur, mergi eos in aquam iussit, ut biberent quoniam esse nollent. qui risus classe devicta multas ipsi lacrimas, magnam populo Romano cladem attulit. quid? collega eius Iunius eodem bello nonne tempestate classem amisit, cum auspiciis non paruisset? itaque Claudius a populo condemnatus est, Iunius necem sibi ipse conscivit; Liv. per. 19: Claudius Pulcher consul contra auspicia profectus—iussit mergi pullos, qui cibari nolebant-infeliciter adversus Carthaginienses classe pugnavit; cf. 22, 42, 9; Flor. 1, 18, 29; Eutrop. 2, 26, 1; Val. Max. 1, 4, 3; 8, 1, Abs. 4; Suet. Tib. 2; Min. Fel. Oct. 7, 4; Jordanes, Rom. 174; also Serv. Aen. 6, 198, where Claudius is said to have thrown the chickens into the Tiber before starting on his cruise, although most authorities suppose, as Florus clearly states, that they were thrown overboard from the fleet. The rationalistic Polybius does not mention the chickens. This passage is answered in 2, 71. For another case in which the rejection of divination is followed by the loss of a fleet cf. Apollod. Bibl. 2, 8, 3, and for similar disregard of the omens from the chickens cf. the case of Flaminius (1, 77; Liv. 41, 18, 14; Curt. 9, 4, 27-29; Oros. 3, 22, 3; also cf. Liv. 6, 41, 6 ff.).

[135]2. L. Iunius: his full name is given in the Fast. Capit. (C.I.L. I, 2 ed., p. 24 a. 505) as L. Iunius C. f. L. n. Pullus, and his cognomen is also attested by Censor. de Die nat. 17, 11. His failure is described by Polyb. 1, 52 ff.; Diod. 24, 1, 8-11; Oros. 4, 10; and by Cicero here and in 2, 71. In N.D. 2, 7 (followed by Val. Max. 1, 4, 4) his disregard of auspices is mentioned. Since he was in conditions not dissimilar to those of Claudius may we perhaps infer that the form of auspices was that by the sacred chickens, and that his cognomen may have been given, after his defeat, from that fact, like the title Uticensis applied to Cato?

1. vitio: a technical term, used also in 1, 33; 2, 74; N.D. 2, 11; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 249 ff.; Valeton in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 288; 18 (1890), 234-235; 424, and n. 1; Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Augures (1896), 2334.

1. eodem modo: cf. Reid on N.D. 1, 84 (in Mayor's ed.).

3. inter se, etc.: anonymous lines (Ribbeck, Trag. Rom. Frag. 3 ed. (1897), 286), for the combination of which with



Solvere imperat secundo rumore adversaque avi.
Sed quid vetera? M. Crasso quid acciderit videmus, dirarum obnun-

those of Pacuvius in 1, 24 see the note on that passage.

[136]3. strepere: of the disturbance made by soldiers; cf. Tac. Ann. 1, 25, 2.

[136]3. obterere: cf. 2 Verr. 5, 1, 2: obteri laudem imperatoriam.

- 1. solvere: sc. navem or classem.
- 2. vetera: see n. on ut P. Claudius supra.

2. M. Crasso: to the omens preceding the defeat of Crassus allusion is made in 2, 22; 2, 84; 2, 99; cf. Vell. 2, 46, 3: kunc proficiscentem in Syriam diris cum ominibus tribuni pl. frustra retinere conati; quorum execrationes si in ipsum tantummodo valuissent, vile imperatoris damnum salvo exercitu fuisset rei publicae; App. B.C. 2, 18: άλλά τώδε μέν έξιόντι της πόλεως πολλά τε άλλα άπαίσια έγίγνετο, καί οί δήμαρχοι προηγόρευον μή πολεμείν Παρθυαίοις οδδέν άδικοῦσιν, ού πειθομένω δὲ δημοσίας άρας έπηρώντο, ών δ Κράσσος ού φροντίσας **ἀπώ**λετο ἐν τῆ Παρθυηνῆ σύν τε παιδί δμωνύμω και αυτώ στρατώ; Dio Cass. 39, 39-40: οι ούν δημαρχοι . . . Επεφημιζον . . . αυτώ πολλά και άτοπα, ώσπερ ού και τῷ δημοσίφ δι' ἐκείνου καταρώμενοι, και τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίφ τάς εύχάς αύτοῦ τάς νομιζομένας έπλ τή στρατεία ποιουμένου και διοσημίας τινάς καί τέρατα διεθρόουν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐξορμωμένω οἰ πολλά και δεινά έπηράσαντο. Επεχείρησε μέν γάρ δ 'Ατέιος και ές το δεσμωτήριον αυτον **έμβαλεῖν: ἀντιστάντων δὲ ἐτέρων δημάρχων** μάχη τε αθτών καὶ διατριβή έγένετο, κάν τούτφ δ Κράσσος έξω τοῦ πωμηρίου έξηλθε. και δ μέν, είτε έκ συντυχίας είτε και έκ των άρων αὐτῶν, οὐκ ès μακράν ἐσφάλη; Plut. Crass. 16 (the first part agreeing, with added details, with Dio Cassius): Δλλων δέ δημάρχων ούκ δώντων, ο μέν υπηρέτης άφηκε τον Κράσσον, ο δ' 'Ατήιος προδραμών έπι την πύλην έθηκεν έσχαρίδα καιομένην και τοῦ Κράσσου γενομένου κατ' αύτην έπιθυμιών και κατασπένδων άρας έπηρατο δεινάς μέν αύτάς και φρικώδεις, δεινούς δέ τινας θεούς και άλλοκότους έπ' αύταις καλών και δνομάζων, ταύτας φασί 'Ρωμαΐοι

τάς άρας υποθέτους και παλαιάς τοιαύτην έχειν δύναμιν, ώς περιφυγείν μηδένα τών ένσχεθέντων αύταις, κακώς δέ πράσσειν τον χρησάμενον, δθεν ούκ έπλ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν αυτάς ούδ' ὑπὸ πολλών ἀρᾶσθαι. καὶ τότ' οὖν ἐμέμφοντο τον 'Ατήιον, εί δι' ήν έχαλέπαινε τώ Κράσσφ πόλιν, els αυτήν άρας άφηκε και δεισιδαιμονίαν τοσαύτην; Flor. 1, 46, 3: et tribunus plebi Metellus (apparently a slip of the memory) excuntem ducem hostilibus diris devoverat. For other bad signs to Crassus cf. Regling in Klio, 7 (1907), 364, n. 2; 369, n. 5; 374, n. 9; who detects in their number and the frequency with which they are mentioned the favorite methods of the optimates used against Crassus. It will be noticed that Velleius. Appian, Dio Cassius, Plutarch, and probably Florus introduce into the story an element lacking in Cicero's account. namely, in addition to the report of bad omens (dirarum obnuntiatio), positive curses (execrationes, apal) directed against Crassus. If we combine the accounts we shall get a series of events somewhat as follows: the proposed campaign against the Parthians, undertaken by Crassus from variously interpreted motives (Regling, op. cit. 362, n. 1), was unpopular, and when public opinion failed to restrain Crassus, the political use of auspices (obnuntiatio) was employed, but in vain; next Ateius attempted the arrest of Crassus (a purely secular method), but was frustrated by the action of his fellowtribunes, who had the arrested man released. As a last resort, perhaps rather to vent his personal feeling than to prevent the expedition, Ateius at the very gateway, i.e., at the pomerium, with its significance as an augural boundary, uttered, not predictions, but imprecations of evil. Of these curses Cicero makes no mention, and why? Perhaps because Ateius Capito and his colleague P. Aquilius Gallus were the only two tribunes of the year 55 who

tiatione neglecta. In quo Appius, collega tuus, bonus augur, ut ex te audire soleo, non satis scienter virum bonum et civem egregium censor C. Ateium notavit quod ementitum auspicia subscriberet. Esto; fuerit hoc

supported the politics of the senatorial party, consequently the less said about any act of spite upon the part of Ateius, which might be construed as having brought disaster upon the state, the better. That this may be the correct interpretation is further indicated by the fact that Cicero in the second book, when speaking of Crassus, fails to employ the very evident opportunity open to him to shift the responsibility for the fate of Crassus from the observer of auguries to the utterer of curses. Appius, on the other hand, whatever may have been his feeling in regard to the curses, was, as Cicero here admits, a bonus augur, and one whose faith in the details of his art led him to be considered as ultra-conservative (cf. 1, 28, n. (scriptum habetis) supra), and the reasons for his action were, according to the judgment of Valeton (in Mnemos. 18 (1890), 440-443), quite different from what Cicero would have us think, namely, that Ateius had taken and reported auspices when he had no right to do so (cf. Mnemos. 19 (1891). 109, n. 2), the right belonging to Pompeius who was present with Crassus as an augur and who had found no auspices unfavorable to his going (Plut. Crass. 16), and that Ateius had thereby deceived Crassus, who could not know that these auspices of Ateius had any reference to him. Valeton finally (p. 442) remarks: hanc ob causam Ateius certe numquam condemnari potuit neque a iudicibus neque populo, quia eius culpa etiam post interitum Crassi eis solis manifesta erat qui fidem haberent auspiciis; sed recte eum notare potuit censor qui idem augur erat et scientiam auguralem esse credebat, postquam exitus illa confirmavisse videbatur, primum quod auspicando quaesita (ficta) nuntiasset, deinde quod ob eam causam Crassus inauspicato in bellum profectus esset.

[137]2. dirarum: often in the sense of

'curses,' though evidently not so here or in Plin. N. H. 28, 17; 28, 26; see also just below (n. on dirae) and Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4, 185, n. 4.

[137]2. obnuntiatione: on obnuntiatio, whether by magistrates or by augurs, see Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 107, n. 2; Valeton in Mnemos. 18 (1890), 417-456; 19 (1891), 75-113; 229-270.

- 1. Appius: Zingler (De Cicerone Historico Quaest. (1900), 19 ff.) remarks that in this work Appius and Q. Cicero are contrasted with Marcellus and Marcus Cicero. On former political differences between Cicero and Appius see Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Claudius (1899), 2850.
- 2. non satis scienter: in 1, 28, n. (scriptum kabetis) I have indicated that Appius had a knowledge of the details, and probably of the theory, of augury superior to that of Cicero; in the light of these passages and of the explanation of Valeton given in the note on M. Crasso above it seems that Cicero's criticism is here unjustified.
- 2. virum . . . civem: cf. 1, 36; Giese (ad h. loc.) cites from Wyttenbach and other sources many Ciceronian examples of couplets made from the words komo, vir, and civis.
- 2. censor: for his acts as censor (50 B.C.) see Münzer, op. cit. 2852.
- 3f. C. Ateium: he later joined the party of Caesar (cf. ad Fam. 13, 29, 6, written in 46 B.C.). In 45 he visited Cicero at Tusculum (ad Au. 13, 33a, 1), and to him were addressed (in 44) the letters ad Au. 16, 16c; 16, 16 f.
- 3. quod . . . subscriberet: either Quintus Cicero is quoting the explanation of Marcus and so uses the subjunctive (contrast the indicative for his own reason in adscripsit below), or we may accept the explanation of Giese (ad h. loc.) that the clause = quod ementitus esset auspicia

censoris, si iudicabat ementitum; at illud minime auguris quod adscripsit ob eam causam populum Romanum calamitatem maximam cepisse. Si enim ea causa calamitatis fuit, non in eo est culpa qui obnuntiavit, sed in eo qui non paruit. Veram enim fuisse obnuntiationem, ut ait idem augur et censor, exitus adprobavit; quae si falsa fuisset nullam adferre potuisset causam calamitatis. Etenim dirae, sicut cetera auspicia, ut omina, ut signa, non causas adferunt cur quid eveniat, sed nuntiant eventura nisi

- 5. fuisset codd. dett. Davisii, fuissent C.
- 6. dirac Turnebus, dira C.
- 6. sicut V(f)O, sicut et ABH, sicutei Klots, Christ, sicuti Kayser.

ut subscripsit (Zumpt, Lat. Gr. 5 ed. (1826), sect. 551; Madvig, Lat. Gr. (Eng. tr. 3 ed. (1857)), sect. 357a, obs. 2; Roby, Lat. Gr. 2 (1874), sect. 1746; cf. Off. 1, 40: quod . . . diceret; Fin. 1, 24: quod . . . arguerent; Phil. 2, 88: quod . . . putares; etc.). On the use of subscriptiones in which the reason for the censorial nota was explained see pro Cluent. 118 ff.; Gell. 17, 21, 39.

[138]3. ementitum auspicia: cf. Liv. 10, 40, 11: qui auspicio adest, si quid falsi nuntiat, in semetipsum religionem recipit; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 210.

[138]3. esto: cf. Fin. 2, 61; 2, 75; 2, 92; Tusc. 1, 102; Rep. 4, 11.

- 2. calamitatem . . . cepisse: cf. Off. 3, 99: calamitatem accepisset.
- 3f. in eo qui non paruit: cf. Phil. 2, 88: quod me de ementitis aus piciis quibus tamen parere necesse erat putares esse dicturum.
- 4. veram, etc.: Zingler (De Cic. Historico Quaest. (1900), 20-21) understands these as the words of Appius, not in his subscriptio, but in his work on the auguralis disciplina (cf. 1, 28, n. (scriptum habelis) supra), from which Zingler would derive much of the present account. If so, the source must lie in one of the later books, for the first book had appeared in or before 51 (ad Fam. 3, 4, 2), before Appius had been censor. But it is quite as simple to understand the phrase ut ait, etc. of the explanation given by Applus in the subscriptio (so Valeton in Mnemos. 18 (1890), 441, n. 2).
 - 6. dirae: Paul. ex Fest. p. 260 M.

distinguishes these from other augural signs: quinque genera signorum observant augures, ex caelo, ex avibus, ex tripudiis, ex quadrupedibus, ex diris; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 185, n. 4.

6. omina: cf. 1, 102, n. (omina).

7. non causes adjerunt: this distinction between the cause of an effect and a mere sign which is the concomitant of that cause (and hence a prediction of the effect) is frequently made; cf. 1, 34, n. (ratione); 1, 109; 1, 127; 1, 131; de Fat. 34. The matter is treated, in so far as it relates to dreams, by Aristotle (de Dis. per Somn. p. 462 b 26 ff.): ἀνάγκη δ' οὖν τὰ ἐνύπνια ή αίτια είναι ή σημεῖα τῶν γιγνομένων ή συμπτώματα, ή πάντα ή ένια τούτων A & poror. After discussing various cases he continues: οδτω μέν οδν ένδέχεται τών ένυπνίων ένια καί σημεία καί αίτια είναι. τὰ δὲ πολλά συμπτώμασιν ξοικε, κτλ. For astrology the subject is treated by Plotinus (Enn. 2, 3, 1): ότι ή των άστρων φορά σημαίνει περί έκαστον τὰ ἐσόμενα, άλλ' οὐκ αὐτή πάντα ποιεί, ώς τοίς πολλοίς δοξάζεται, είρεται μέν πρότερον έν άλλοις και πίστεις τινάς παρείχετο δ λόγος; cf. Porphyr. ap. Stob. Ecl. 2, 8, 42: σημαίνειν μέν οδν τά ποιά σχήματα τούς βίους τίθεται Πλάτων άναγκάζειν δέ οὐκέτι, κτλ.; Aug. C.D. 5, 1; and, in general, Orig. c. Cels. 2, 20: δ μέν Κέλσος οΐσται διά τούτο γίνεσθαι τὸ ὑπό τινος προγνώσεως θεσπισθέν, έπεὶ έθεσπίσθη ήμεῖς δέ, τοῦτο ο διδόντες, φαμέν τον θεσπίσαντα αίτιον είναι τοῦ ἐσομένου, ἐπεὶ προείπεν αὐτό γενησόμενον, άλλά τό ἐσόμενον, ἐσόμενον ἀν καὶ μή θεσπισθέν, τήν αίτιαν τῷ προγιγνώσκοντι παρεσχηκέναι τοῦ αὐτό προειπεῖν, κτλ. The popular conprovideris. 30. Non igitur obnuntiatio Atei causam finxit calamitatis, sed signo obiecto monuit Crassum quid eventurum esset nisi cavisset. Ita aut illa obnuntiatio nihil valuit, aut si, ut Appius iudicat, valuit, id valuit ut peccatum haereat, non in eo qui monuerit, sed in eo qui non obtemperarit.

XVII. Quid? lituus iste vester, quod clarissumum est insigne augura
1. Atei Christ, aetei B, etei AHV, Ateii vulg.

fusion between cause and sign, to which these passages bear testimony, was perhaps partly due to the fallacy of post hoc propter hoc, and partly to the frequent intermingling of magic elements in which the diviner by magic means (as in the curses of Ateius) attempted to cause results. For the relations of divination to magic cf. Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), ch. 4; Tavenner, Studies in Magic from Lat. Lit. (1916), 10.

2. cavisset: the verb is perhaps chosen with especial reference to the story told in 2, 84.

3. id valuit: cf. Tusc. 5, 24: quae dicit idem valent.

4. peccatum haereat: cf. pro Q. Rosc. 17: potest hoc homini huic haerere peccatum?

4. obtemperarit: several times in Cicero of compliance with predictions; 1, 92; 2, 20; 2, 21; post Red. in Sen. 11.

6. lituus: for its form cf. Liv. 1, 18, 7: augur . . . baculum sine nodo (for the taboo upon knots cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, 3, 3 ed. (1911), 293-317) aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt; Hygin. ap. Gell. 5, 8, 2(=Macrob. Sat. 6, 8, 1): cum lituus sit virga brevis in parte qua robustior est incurva, qua augures utuntur; Serv. Aen. 7, 187: lituus est incurvum augurum baculum quo utebantur ad designanda caeli spatia, nam manu non licebat . . . vel lituum, id est regium baculum in quo potestas esset dirimendarum litium (cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 116 M.: lituus appellatus quod litis sit testis); 7, 190: Circe . . . eum (sc. Picum) in avem, picum Martium, convertit . . . hoc autem ideo fingitur quia augur fuit et domi habuit picum per quem futura noscebat; quod pontisicales indicant libri. bene autem supra ei lituum dedit, quod est augurum proprium; etc.; Plut. Camill. 32: τοῦτο (sc. τὸ μαντικὸν ξῦλον) δ' δστι μὲν ἐπικαμπὲς ἐκ θατέρου πέρατος, καλεῖται δὲ λίτυον χρῶνται δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πλινθίων ὑπογραφὰς ὅταν ἐπ' δρνισι διαμαντευόμενοι καθέζωνται, ὡς κάκεῖνος (sc. Ῥωμύλος) ἐχρῆτο μαντικώτατος ῶν; Rom. 22: ἔτι δὲ μαντικὸν ἰστοροῦσι γενέσθαι (sc. Ῥωμύλον), καὶ φορεῖν ἐπὶ μαντικῆ τὸ καλούμενον λίτυον. ἔστι δὲ καμπύλη ῥάβδος, ἢ τὰ πλινθία καθεζωμένους ἐπ' οἰωνῶν διαγράφειν; and cf. the description of Dion. Hal. 14, 2, 5 (quoted in the note on defagravisset infra).

The lituus is frequently shown in wall paintings, upon reliefs, coins, gems, etc., both Etruscan and Roman; cf. Thédenat in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. lituus (1904), 1277, and nn. 11-15; 1278, and nn. 1-13; also Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 19, n. 1. It appears to be of Etruscan origin (Bouché-Leclercq, I.c.; Thédenat, op. cit. 1277; Carter in Rom. Mittheilungen, 25 (1910), 83-84), and in its beginning only a staff. In fact, in Plin. N. H. 28, 15 we find a scipio used by the Etruscan diviner, Olenus Calenus, in laying out the Capitoline temple, and the passages from Servius and Paulus above quoted suggest its identity with the king's sceptre. Its uselessness in surveying, as compared with the more accurate groma, is noted by Bouché-Leclercq, l.c., who holds it to have been a symbolic rather than a practical instrument. It appears as a symbol of Romulus in Virg. Aen. 7, 187; Ov. Fast. 6, 375, and as the distinguishing mark of the augurs (as here) in Apul. Apol. 22. On its use in augury see especially Valeton in Mnemos. 18 (1890), 256-263.

tus, unde vobis est traditus? Nempe eo Romulus regiones direxit tum cum urbem condidit. Qui quidem Romuli lituus [id est incurvum et leviter a summo inflexum bacillum, quod ab eius litui quo canitur similitudine

2-3. id est . . . invenit pro glossomale habueruni Lambinus allique; in textum tamon recepit Miller.

A more comprehensive treatment is needed of the various forms and uses of rod and stick symbols, to which the lituus doubtless belongs, and which include such different types as the thyrsus (cf. von Papen, Der Thyrsos (1905), especially p. 40 for magic uses), the spear (Deubner in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 8, Beiheft (1905), 72 ff.), the sceptre, the crosier, the shepherd's crook (cf. Saglio in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. pedum), the caduceus (Samter in P.-W. s.v. Caduceus (1897), 1170-1171; Legrand in Daremb. et Saglio, op. cit. s.v. Mercurius (1904), 1807-1808; Waser in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 16 (1913), 367; and the works cited by them); the rod of Delian Apollo (Mart. Cap. 1, 7), the mace, the magic wand (cf. the rods of Jacob (Gen. 30, 37-41), Moses (Exod. 4, 4; 14, 16; 17, 5-6; 17, 9; Num. 20, 11), Aaron (Exod. 7, 9; 7, 19-20; Num. 17, 8-10; Heb. 9, 4), and Jonathan (1 Sam. 14, 27)); also the large number of cases of rod symbolism from the Bible cited by Justin Martyr, Dial. cum Tryph. 86; Wilpert, Roma Sotterranea (1903), 41 for the rod as shown in miracle scenes in catacomb paintings (for non-Biblical cases of which cf. Rawlinson on Hdt. 4, 67-68; Hesych. s.v. lourthpior; Cic. Off. 1, 158; Tzetz. Alleg. 1, 28; Schol. Nicand. Ther. 613); the perca arsmatiam of Tab. Iguv. VI b, 49-50, the staff as the symbol of judges (Hirzel, Themis, Dike, u. Verwandtes (1907), 71 ff.), the peeled stick of dowsers (see the full bibliography in Ellis, The Divining Rod (1917), 26-53), the blooming rod (cf. Barry, the Blossoming Rod, in Open Court, 31 (1917), 620-633; Is. 11, 1; also the legends of the Virgilian virga). For rhabdomancy as a whole cf. Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 226-228; also id. 67 ff.; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 177; Amm. Marc. 31, 2, 24; Theophyl. ad

Oseam, 4, 12. And for much varied material see Browne, Pseudodoxia epidemica, (Wilkin's ed. 2 (1852), 5, 24, 6-7; Baring-Gould, Curious Myths of the Middle Ages, 2 ed. (1906), 55-92; Frazer, Golden Bough, 1, 3 ed., 346; also index s.v. Stick, and the abundant but uncritical collection of material in Réal, trans. by Hurlbert, The Story of the Stick (1892). Beaven, Tales of the Divining Rod, has not been accessible to me.

[140]6. iste vester: cf. 1, 25, n. (sestra). For the combination of these two adjectives Thoresen (ad h. loc.) compares N.D. 1, 107; 3, 78; Fin. 1, 42.

[140]6. quod: attracted to the gender of the predicate. For many examples of this from Cicero cf. Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 37.

1. regiones direxit: for the terms used for marking out the parts of the heavens see Valeton in *Mnemos*. 18 (1890), 262-263; Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Augures (1896), 2340; also 1, 31 infra: regionum... discriptio, in ... partes divisisset.

2. cum urbem condidit: cf. Lydus, de Mens. 4, 73: τ η πρό δεκαμιάς Καλεσδών Μαΐων δ 'Ρωμύλος τ ην 'Ρώμην ἐπόλισε . . . τ αυτη πάσης χώρας δεσπόσαι τ ην 'Ρώμην οιωνιζόμενος αυτός τε ιερατικήν σάλπιγγα ἀναλαβών—λίτουον δ' αυτήν πατρίως 'Ρωμαίοις Έθος καλεῖν άπό τ ης λιτής— εξεφώνησε τὸ τ ης πόλεως δνομα, πάσης ιερατικής τελετής ηγησάμενος.

2ff. id est . . . invenit: the phrase id est not infrequently introduces glosses; moreover, it is unlikely that Cicero would have felt it necessary to describe the object.

3. quod ab eius, etc.: cf. Gell. 5, 8, 8-10: quoniam facta litui mentio est non praetermittendum est quod posse quaeri animadvertimus utrum lituus auguralis a tuba quae lituus appellatur an tuba a lituo augurum lituus dicta sit; utrumque enim

nomen invenit], cum situs esset in curia Saliorum quae est in Palatio eaque deflagravisset, inventus est integer. 31. Quid? multis annis post Romu-

pari forma et pariter incurvum est. sed si, ut quidam putant, tuba a sonitu lituus appellata est ex illo Homerico Myke subs, necesse est ita accipi ut virga auguralis a tubae similitudine lituus vocetur; cf. passages quoted in the note on lituus above for a supposed connection of lituus and lis. For modern derivations cf. Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 437; 533 (s.v. obliquus), who traces the name from the bent shape of the instrument.

1. nomen invenit: cf. 2, 69; N.D. 2, 104; Leg. 1, 58; also 1, 16 supra: nomen repperit.

1. curia: the exact site of this curia of the Palatine college of Salii is unknown; cf. Jordan-Hülsen, Topogr. d. Stadt Rom im Alterthum, 1, 3, 2 ed. (1907), 44. On the use of the term curia see Varr. L.L. 5, 155: curiae duorum generum: nam et ubi curarent sacerdotes res divinas, ut curiae veteres, et ubi senatus humanas, ut curia Hostilia. Six curiae are known at Rome (Hülsen in P.-W. s.v. Curia (1901), 1821-1826).

deflagravisset: cf. Fasti Praenestini, 23 Mar. (C.I.L. I, 2 ed., p. 234 = Dessau 8844a; Peter, Hist. Rom. Frag. p. 126): Lutatius quidem claram eam ait esse in ruina Palati incensi a Gallis repertam qua Romulus urbem inauguraverit; Dion. Hal. 14, 2, 5: & δè τβ Ῥώμη καλιάς τις "Αρεος λερά περί την κορυφήν ίδρυμένη τοῦ Παλατίου συγκαταφλεγείσα ταις πέριξ olklais έως εδάφους, άνακαθαιρομένων των οίκοπέδων ενεκα τής επισκευής, εν μέση τή περικαύστφ σποδώ, το σύμβολον τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ τῆς πόλεως διέσωσεν άπαθές, βόπαλον έκ θατέρου τών άκρων έπικάμπιον, οία φέρουσι βουκόλοι καί νομείς οι μέν καλαύροπας οι δέ λαγωβόλα καλούντες, & 'Ρωμύλος δρνιθευόμενος διέγραφε των οιωνών τας χώρας, ότε την πόλιν οικίζειν ξμελλεν; Plut. Rom. 22: τοῦτο (sc. τὸ λίτυον) δ' & Παλατίω φυλαττόμενον άφανισθήναι περί τὰ Κελτικά τής πόλεως άλουσης. είτα μέντοι των βαρβάρων έκπεσόντων εδρεθήναι κατά τέφρας βαθείας άπαθές ύπο τοῦ πυρός & πάσι τοῖς άλλοις ἀπολωλόσι καὶ διεφθαρμένοις; Camill. 32: οὶ δὲ τοὺς ἰεροὸς τόπους ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ὁρίσαι ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καμίλλου, συγκεχυμένων ἀπάντων, ὡς ἡκον ἐπὶ τὴν καλιάδα τοῦ "Αρεως περιοδεύοντες τὸ Παλάτιον, αὐτὴν μέν, ὡς τὰ άλλα, διεφθαρμένην καὶ κατακεκαυμένην εδρον ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, σκειωρούμενοι δὲ καὶ καθαίροντες τὸ χωρίον ἐντυγχάνουσι τῷ μαντικῷ ξύλῳ τοῦ 'Ρωμύλου κατὰ τέφρας πολλής καὶ βαθείας καταδεδυκότι; Val. Max. 1, 8, 11: sunt et illa miraculorum loco, quod deusto sacrario Saliorum nihil in eo praeter lituum Romuli integrum repertum est.

2. integer: such escapes of a single holy object from destruction were considered as miraculous. Val. Max. (l.c.) continues: quod Servi Tulli statua, cum aedis Fortunae conflagrasset, inviolata mansit (cf. Dion. Hal. 4, 40); quod Quintae Claudiae statua in vestibulo templi Matris deum posita bis ea aede incendio consumpla . . . in sua basi flammis intacta stetit; Obseq. 19: vasto incendio Romae cum regia quoque ureretur sacrarium et ex duabus altera laurus ex mediis ignibus inviolatae steterunt: cf. Liv. per. 50 in Oxyrhynch. Pap. 4 (1904), 99. In the case of images the preservation of the Palladium in the siege of Ilium (App. Mithr. 53), of a statue of Zeus (Paus. 3, 26, 6), and of one of Tiberius (Tac. Ann. 4, 64, 3-4) may be noted. So also a pillar of the house of Oenomaus (Paus. 5, 20, 6-7), attesting in verses quoted by Pausanias the tale of its preservation; two posts associated with the death of Christian saints (Bede, Hist. Eccl. 3, 10; 3, 17); the church of the Novatians at Constantinople (Socrat. Hist. Eccl. 7, 39); houses of bishops (Bede, Hist. Eccl. 1, 19; 2, 7); a finger of St. John the Baptist (Travels of Sir John Mandeville (1905 ed.), 72); and a copy of a prized Protestant book thrown into the fire by a Catholic soldier in 1624 (Schreiner in Hess. Bl. f. Volkskunde, 12 (1913), 143-146; cf. Current Anthrop. Lit. 2 (1913),

lum Prisco regnante Tarquinio quis veterum scriptorum non loquitur quae sit ab Atto Navio per lituum regionum facta discriptio? Qui cum

 Atto Orell, enom., Beiler, Maller, al., attio B³, atio AB³V, accio H; alibi lectle inter Att- et Atti- veries, sed formom Att- ubique adhibuimus.

2. discriptio Halm, descriptio CO.

113) are among the many and varied instances of this sort; cf. The Chicago Tribune, 30 May, 1914, 7, for the preservation in a fire of a room containing religious emblems. Plut. Pyrrk. 3 throws light on the attitude toward such miracles: λέγεται δὲ τοῦ ποδὸς ἐκείνου (i.e., of Pyrrhus) τόν μείζονα δάκτυλον έχειν δύναμιν θείαν. ώστε μετά την τελευτην τοῦ λοιποθ σώματος κατακαέντος άπαθή και άθικτον ύπο του πυρός edocofira. A connection may well exist between the instances cited and the often described rite of the ordeal of fire-walking, so far as in either case escape from harm may constitute a testimony to the sanctity or purity of the thing or person spared. For fire-walking in general cf. Lang, Magic and Religion (1901), 270-294 (Greek and Roman cases pp. 288-289); Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 877, n. 11; Frazer, Golden Bough, 11, 3 ed. (1913), 1-20 (Greek and Roman cases pp. 14-15); Hopkins in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 6 (1914), 30-31. For the taking of an image through the fire, analogous to the unintended passage of such through a conflagration described above, cf. Frazer, op. cit. 4-5; 23-24.

In his reply in 2, 80 Cicero considers this story and the next as fabellae commenticiae; but contrast N.D. 3, 14: quibus ego credo, nec possum Atti Navi quem commemorabas lituum contemnere.

1. Prisco . . . Tarquinio: so most accounts. But N.D. 2, 9 speaks of Attus as an augur employed by Tullus Hostilius. Plasberg (on N.D. 2, 9) considers this a slip of the memory, mentioning other errors of Cicero as to names (e.g., 2, 63; 2, 82), and points out that in N.D. 2, 9 Cicero has further confused the story by the words ad investigandum suem regiones vineae terminavit, instead of ad inv. uvam; Pais (Storia di Roma, 1 (1898); 315, n. 5) gives reasons for the confusion.

1. quis veterum scriptorum: story is told, entire or in part, by many authors. Bardt, Die Legende von dem Augur Attus Navius (1883), cites the following passages: 2, 80; N.D. 2, 9; 3, 14; Rep. 2, 36; Leg. 2, 33; Liv. 1, 36, 3-6; Dion. Hal. 3, 70-72; Val. Max. 1, 4, 1 (Nepotian.); Plin. N.H. 34, 21-22; 34, 29; Flor. 1, 1, 5, 2-4; Fest. p. 169M.; Auct. de Vir. ill. 6, 7; to which add Apul. de Deo Socr. 7; Lact. Inst. 2, 6, 8; Jordanes, Rom. 1, 99; Zonar. 7, 8. Doubtless Cicero may have read the story in various authors, but for the present account that he consulted more than one there is no need to suppose. Bardt, who has studied in detail the different versions, considers the source used by Cicero as the oldest (op. cit. 7), and Zingler (De Cic. Historico Quaest. (1900), 25) would find that source in the auguralis disciplina of Appius Claudius (see 1, 28, n. (scriptum habetis) supra); yet cf. Harless (De Fabiis et Aufidiis (1853), 36), who suggests Fabius Pictor or others as the source. In the attempt to follow the story further back Bardt (op. cit. 9-10) thinks it has no augural origin but is the invention of the ciceroni of the Forum to explain the puteal and some statue of Attus standing near it, while Pais (op. cit. 315; cf. 1, 33, n. (defossam) infra) considers it of comparatively late sacerdotal origin, and makes an unconvincing comparison with the story of Epimenides and the loss of his flock (Theopompus, fr. 69, in F. H.G. 1, 288).

2. Atto: a Sabine praenomen, with a byform Attius, the MSS. varying between the two in many of the places in which the name appears. The name is equivalent to the Latin Appius; cf. Klebs in P.-W. s.v. Attus (1896), 2259. For the name Navius cf. Schulze, Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen (1904), 197.



propter paupertatem sues puer pasceret, una ex iis amissa vovisse dicitur si recuperasset uvam se deo daturum quae maxima esset in vinea; itaque sue inventa ad meridiem spectans in vinea media dicitur constitisse,

[143]2f. qui. etc.: the first incident, probably on account of its slighter public interest, appears in few accounts; cf. 1, 32, n. (Allum); N.D. 2, 9: an Alli Navi lituus ille quo ad investigandum suem regiones vineae terminavit contemnendus est? crederem nisi eius augurio rex Hostilius maxima bella gessisset (cf. also the n. on Prisco . . . Tarquinio above); Dion. Hal. 3, 70 (who tells the story at great length): mems aby mathe eyevers xwelov ebtenes γεωργών, ό τά τε άλλα συνειργάζετο παις de d Népios . . . Kal tas os efedabrur **Μ**οσκεν. άποκοιμηθείς δέ ποτε και μετά την Etyepour oby edplorum runds rûm bûm . . . έλθων έπι την καλιάδα την έν τώ χωρίω καθιδρυμένην ήρώων ήξίου τούς ήρωας συνεξευρείν αθτώ τάς δς, γενομένου δέ τούτου θύσειν αύτοις ύπέσχετο του μέγιστου τών έκ του χωρίου βοτρύων. εδρών δέ μετ' όλίγον τὰς δς έβούλετο μέν αποδούναι τοις ήρωσι την εύχην, έν απορία δὲ ἦν πολλή τὸν μέγιστον οὐ δυνάμενος έξευρεῖν βότρυν. άδημονών δ' έπὶ τῷ πράγματι τοὺς θεούς ήξιου δι' οιωνών φανερόν αθτώ ποιήσαι τό ζητούμενον. Επειτ' Επελθόν αύτζι κατά δαίμονα διχή νέμειν τον άμπελωνα, θάτερα μέν αύτοθ λαμβάνειν εκ δεξιάς, θάτερα δ' εξ άριστεράς, ξπειτ' ὑπέρ ἐκατέρου τῶν μερῶν τοὺς παρακειμένους οιωνούς έσκόπει, φανέντων δ' έπί θατέρου μέρους δρείθων, οίων αύτος έβούλετο, πάλιν exervo dixfi difiper to xwolor kal toos doribas διέκρινε τούς παραγινομένους κατά τὸ αυτό. ταύτη χρώμενος τή διαιρέσει τών τόπων καί τήν δσχάτην ὑπὸ των ὁρνίθων ἀποδειχθεῖσαν ἄμπελον ύπελθών εθρίσκει βότρυος άπιστόν τι χρήμα και αύτον φέρων έπι την καλιάδα των ηρώων όρθται πρός τοῦ πατρός, κτλ. His father, seeing his gift of augury, took him to the city and had him taught the art.

- 1. una: plural in the account of Dionysius.
- 2. uvam: on grapes as votive offerings cf. Rouse, Greek Volive Offernigs (1902), 221; 304.
- 2. deo: Dionysius speaks of heroes rather than a god. Deo is probably here

not indefinite (since the offering could hardly have been promised or paid to an indefinite deity) but refers to some particular god, perhaps Mercury, whom Cicero is unable or disinclined to mention.

3. ad meridiem: cf. Fest. p. 339 M.: Varro lib. V epistolicarum quaestionum ait: a decrum sede cum in meridiem spectes, ad sinistram sunt parte<s> mundi exorientes, ad dexteram occidentes; factum arbitror ut sinistra meliora auspicia quam dextra esse existimentur; Varr. L.L. 7, 7: templi partes quattuor dicuntur, sinistra ab oriente, dextra ab occasu, antica ad meridiem, postica ad septentrionem; Paul. ex Fest. p. 220 M. It will be noted that Dionysius makes Attus divide the heaven into but two parts each time, Cicero into four; that in Dionysius the birds each time select the favorable side and in Cicero each time reject the three unfavorable quarters; thus the two opposite methods attain the same end (cf. Bardt, op. cit. 9). Dionysius has evidently adapted the Roman story in so far as its augural details are concerned to the methods of augury more familiar to the Greeks, and the differences in his account may be accordingly disregarded. More difficult is the question of orientation in Cicero's account. for chiefly upon it and the passages quoted from Varro and Festus depends our evidence for an augur's having faced south in his observations; cf. Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Augures (1896), 2340-2342. In the famous account in Liv. 1, 18, 7, and in Servius (Aen. 2, 693) and Isidore (Etym. 15, 4, 7), the augur faces east. For theories of Regell and Valeton attempting to reconcile these orientations see Wissowa, I.c., and, more satisfactorily, the view of Körte (in Röm. Mittheilungen, 20 (1905), 361, n.) that facing south belonged to the Etruscan rite, facing east to the Roman. Körte notes the orientation of Etruscan temples (and the consequent facing of cumque in quattuor partis vineam divisisset trisque partis aves abdixissent, quarta parte quae erat reliqua in regiones distributa, mirabili magnitudine uvam, ut scriptum videmus, invenit. Qua re celebrata cum vicini omnes ad eum de rebus suis referrent, erat in magno nomine et gloria. 32. Ex quo

2. regiones Lembinus (ex une cedice), regione C, Christ.

their gods) to the south, and in Liv. *l.c.* distinguishes between the south-facing position of the king (as representative of the god?) and the east-facing pose of the augur. Cf. also 1, 12, n. (a lacea).

[144]3. spectams: with a suggestion, at least, of augural language; cf. the augural use of the term spectio (Fest. p. 333 M.; etc.). On augury as applied to vineyards and country districts see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4 (1882), 191-194, and the passage quoted by him from Cic. Leg. 2, 21.

[144]3. constitisse: the posture in augury is often represented as a seated one; cf. Liv. 1, 18, 7: augur . . . sedem capit; Serv. Aen. 9, 4: secundum augures 'sedere' est augurium captare; namque post designatas caeli partes a sedentibus captantur auguria; but cf. id., Aen. 6, 197: ad captanda auguria post preces inmobiles vel sedere vel stare consueverant. For sitting during augury among the Greeks cf. Soph. Ant. 999; Eur. Bacch. 347. A seated augur is perhaps shown in a Roman relief described in C.I.L. VI, 22219 and the works there cited.

1. in quattuor partis: the fourfold division of the heaven which here appears bears many resemblances to the surveying division by means of the cardo and decumanus, which was itself, according to Varro (ap. Frontin. de Limit. in Corp. Agrimens. Rom. ed. Thulin, 1, 1, pp. 10-11; cf. Hyginus, Constit. Limit. in the same work, 1, 1, p. 130), derived from the Etrusca disciplina; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4 (1882), 18. Traces of an eightfold or a sixteen-fold division (cf. 2, 42 infra) are not free from the suspicion of astrological influence; cf. Thulin, Die Götter des Martianus Capella u. die Bronzeleber von Piacenza (1906), who treats of the meaning of the 16 regions in Mart.

Cap. 1, 41-61; Boll in Wock. f. kl. Philol. 30 (1913), 123-124. On the augural divisions in general see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4, 187-189; Valeton in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 275 ff.; 20 (1892), 370 ff.; 381 ff.; Dorigny in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Templum, 108. Pais (Ancient Italy, tr. by Curtis (1908), 315, and n. 2) sees in this division of the vineyard only the ordinary method of arranging vineyards with two main alleys, one north and south, the other east and west, and compares the analogies drawn by Hehn-Schrader, Kulturpflanzen u. Hausthiere, 8 ed. (1911), 71, from similar modern practices in Colchis and Armenia. A suggestion of this is perhaps to be seen in Virg. Georg. 2, 277-278. If we assume such a division here we may imagine Attus as standing at the intersection of these main alleys which themselves readily formed for him the four regions described, and the subsequent subdivisions might easily have been formed by side alleys parallel to the main ones.

1. abdixissent: an augural term, found only here, but corresponding to addico; cf. Liv. 1, 36, 3: nisi ares addixissent; 1, 55, 3; 22, 42, 8; 27, 16, 15; Fest. p. 241 M.; Tac. Ann. 2, 14; Sen. Dial. 10, 13, 8; Auct. de Vir. ill. 3, 1.

3. ut scriptum videmus: cf. 1, 72; Fin. 4, 15; Ac. 2, 129; de Sen. 69; N.D. 1, 72: ut videmus in scriptis; Off. 2, 25: ut scriptum legimus; al.

4. referrent: often used of bringing a matter to a diviner for interpretation; cf. 1, 79; 2, 62; 2, 115; 2, 145; N.D. 2, 10. It is used absolutely in 1, 32; 1, 122; Leg. 3, 42; de Or. 3, 133; 3, 134.

4f. ex quo factum est ut: cf. 1, 81: ex quo factum ut; 1, 129: ex quo fit ut; and so in N.D. 1, 101; Rep. 1, 67; Fin. 3, 64;

factum est ut eum ad se rex Priscus arcesseret. Cuius cum temptaret scientiam auguratus, dixit ei cogitare se quiddam; id possetne fieri consuluit. Ille augurio acto posse respondit. Tarquinius autem dixit se cogitasse cotem novacula posse praecidi. Tum Attum iussisse experiri.

Tusc. 3, 19; 4, 19; Off. 1, 21; 1, 64; de Sen. 72.

1. Priscus: cf. 1, 31, n. (Prisco . . . Tarquinio).

1. cum temptaret: the motive for this test Cicero does not give, but other authors supply one; cf. Liv. 1, 36, 2-4: Tarquinius equitem maxime suis deesse viribus ratus, ad Ramnes Titienses Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit suoque insignes relinquere. nomine. id quia inaugurato Romulus fecerat negare Attus Navius, inclitus ea tempestate augur, neque mutari neque novum constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse. ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem, ut ferunt, 'agedum,' inquit, 'divine tu, inaugura fierine possit quod nunc ego mente concipio.' cum ille in augurio rem expertus profecto futuram dixisset, 'atqui hoc animo agitavi,' inquit, 'te novacula cotem discissurum; cape haec el perage quid aves tuae fieri posse portenderunt.' tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse colem ferunt. This same motive appears in the versions of Dionysius, Valerius Maximus, Festus, Florus, the Auct. de Vir. ill., and Lactantius, and is recognised by Cicero himself in Rep. 2, 36, probably following a different source. In our passage it appears as though Tarquin were here testing Attus before making him an official augur—cuius . . . scientiam auguratus—and there is here no indication that Tarquin had any contempt for the art as such. If Zingler's theory (De Cic. Historico Quaest. (1900), 25) be correct that Appius Claudius is here Cicero's source. it is not surprising that no mention is found of the king's scepticism as to the art. The whole story was well adapted to justify the abuse of augural powers by the optimates of Cicero's time.

For such testing of prophets or oracles before they were accorded credence cf. the famous story of Croesus and Delphi (Hdt. 1, 47-49; Luc. Charon, 11; Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 1463), the tests made by Tiberius (Tac. Ann. 6, 21; cf. 1, 132, n. (qui sibi, etc.) infra), and that of Persian magi before the birth of Sapor II (Agath. Hist. 4, 25). See also Plut. de Def. Orac. 45.

3. augurio acto: a technical phrase; cf. Off. 3, 66: cum in arce augurium augures acturi essent; Varr. L.L. 6, 42: augures augurium agere dicuntur, quom in eo plura dicant quam faciant; Plin. N.H. 18, 14: augurio canario agendo; Serv. Aen. 3, 20: auspicari enim cuivis etiam peregre licet; augurium agere nisi in patriis sedibus non licet; Valeton in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 421-423; Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Augures (1896), 2330; id., Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 524, n. 1.

4. Attum: by some (e.g., Thoresen ad h. loc.) taken as object. In Dionysius, however, it is the king who cuts the stone (and so Aug. C.D. 10, 16: quod cotem Tarquinius novacula secuit), and in our passage the ambiguity of this sentence and the indefiniteness of the next leave the agent uncertain. Bardt (op. cit. 10) presents an elaborate scheme showing the gradual reduction in the number of scenes in the story, and the change in tradition from an anonymous cutter of the stone, such as he believes the Ciceronian account shows, to a definite ascription of this miracle to the king, on the one hand, or, in most accounts, to Attus. The latter form of the legend is also shown on a coin of Antoninus Pius (Cohen-Feuardent, Descr. hist. des Monnaies, 2 (1882), 326, and fig.), the reverse of which shows an augur (labelled NAVIVS) on his knees cutting a large stone, and Tarquin standing, with another stone behind him.

For the transition here to indirect discourse cf. 1, 55, n. (iussum esse).

Ita cotem in comitium allatam inspectante et rege et populo novacula esse discissam. Ex eo evenit ut et Tarquinius augure Atto Navio uteretur et populus de suis rebus ad eum referret. 33. Cotem autem illam et novaculam defossam in comitio supraque inpositum puteal accepimus. Nege-

- 1. inspectante: cf. 1, 72; 2, 23.
- 2. ex eo evenit ut: cf. Off. 1, 85: ex quo evenit ut.
- 2. augure . . . uteretur: Attus became, next to Romulus, the especial type of the Roman augur, and, in keeping with his revered character, was described as having, like Aeneas, Latinus, and Romulus, escaped ordinary death; cf. Dion. Hal. 3, 72; Schwegler, Röm. Gesch. 1 (1883), 673, n. 2.
- the explanation of 4. defossam: Schwegler, op. cit. 701-702, has been widely accepted, and is, with some additions, this. In the comitium there was a puteal and by it a sacred fig-tree (Fest. p. 169 M.: ficus quoque in comitio appellatur Navia ab Atto Navio augure), near which was a bronze statue of a man capite velato, still in existence at the time of Dionysius, who in 3, 71 says it stood πρό τοῦ βουλευτηρίου. This statue was called that of Attus Navius. Tradition said that under the sulcal were buried a stone and a razor. The real origin of this buried stone is to be sought in some thunderbolt which had been formally buried. That this was the case may be gathered from Plin. N. H. 15, 77: colitur ficus arbor in foro ipso ac comitio nata, sacra fulguribus ibi conditis. The formal burial of thunderbolts, for which we have much ancient evidence, is discussed in detail by Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1 (1906), 92-107. Amm. Marc. 23, 5, 12 remarks: hoc modo contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere fulgurales pronuntiant libri, and for this reason they were commonly enclosed within a circular curb (putcal). Of such there were at least two in the Forum, namely this and the puteal Scribonianum (Fest. p. 333 M.), the latter shown on coins as an altar within a circular enclosure; cf. Frothingham in Amer. Journ. of Arch. 2 ser. 18 (1914), 314.

Another link in the explanation comes from the scholiast on Pers. 2, 26: in usu fuit ut augures vel aruspices adducti de Etruria certis temporibus fulmina transfigurata in lapides infra terram absconderent, cuius in paratione rei oves immolabantur; hence the ancient etymology of bidental, another term for a spot struck by lightning, discussed by Schol. Pers. 2, 27. Usener, however, in Rhein. Mus. N.F. 60 (1905), 22, thinks the bidens not a sheep but merely the name of a Roman symbol of the thunderbolt. For the association or even the identification of sacred stones with the god of thunder himself cf. Usener, op. cit. 18, and, with a rich collection of material on the 'thunderstone' from various lands and periods, Blinkenberg, The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore (1911), of which pp. 28-31 deal with Italic customs. Blinkenberg finds as the primitive basis for these customs a belief that lightning and thunder were produced by the descent of a stone to earth. This stone and what it struck became taboo, and, in Italy, at least, its remains were carefully sought, collected. and buried. This explanation well accounts for the burial of the whetstone. As for the razor no good explanation has yet been offered. Schwegler, following Hartung (Relig. der Römer. 1 (1836), 127) suggests that it was a piece of steel, buried with the (flint) stone to constitute the two symbols of fire, and that its, original purpose, like that of the stone, was forgotten or misinterpreted. But ancient razors were regularly of bronze (cf. Lafaye in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Novacula), and the use of flint and iron as the means of kindling fire was rare, and that of flint and steel apparently unknown (Morgan in Hars. Stud. in Class. Philol. 1 (1890), 38), so that this explanation fails. Yet that for the whetstone appears in its mus omnia, comburamus annales, ficta haec esse dicamus, quidvis denique potius quam deos res humanas curare fateamur; quid? quod scriptum apud

general outlines so probable as to command acceptance; cf. Pais, Storia di Roma, 1 (1898), 315, n. 3; Petersen in Klio, 8 (1908), 447. As to the possible origin of the whole tale, given three neighboring relics, the ficus Navia, the statue capite velato, and the puteal, see 1, 31, n. (quis peterum scriptorum). The puzzling legend of the ficus Navia having been miraculously transferred to the comitium by Attus Navius (Plin. N.H. 15, 77) is discussed in detail by Petersen in the article cited. For the entire question of such early relics at Rome cf. Pfister, Der Reliquienkult im Altertum, 2 (1912), especially pp. 599; 602.

[147]4. puteal: cf. Dion. Hal. 3, 71: δλίγον δὲ ἄπωθεν αὐτῆς ή τε ἀκόνη κεκρύφθαι λέγεται κατὰ γῆς καὶ τὸ ξυρὸν ὑπὸ βωμῷ τινι καλεῖται δὲ Φρέαρ ὁ τόπος ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων.

[147]4. accepimus: the use of this expression in Cicero is duscussed by Schoenberger, Beispiele aus der Geschichte (1910), 57. It so appears in 1, 34; 1, 92; 1, 111; 1, 122; 1, 130; 2, 80; 2, 98.

[147]4. negemus: cf. 1, 36; N.D. 1, 97. 2ff. scriptum apud te: N.D. 2, 10-11: quos (i.e., P. Scipio Nasica and C. Figulus) cum Ti. Gracchus consul iterum crearet, primus rogator ut eos rettulit ibidem est repente mortuus . . . harus pices introducti responderunt non fuisse iustum comitiorum rozatorem (sc. Gracchum) . . . post autem e provincia litteras ad collegium misit (sc. Gracchus), se, cum legeret libros, recordatum esse vitio sibi tabernaculum captum fuisse [hortos Scipionis], qu cum pomerium postea intrasset habendisenatus causa, in redeundo, cum idem pomerium transiret, suspicari esset oblitus; itaque vitio creatos consules esse. augures rem ad senatum; senatus ut abdicarent consules; abdicaverunt. Mommsen (Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 3 ed. (1887), 103, n. 4) sees no reason to doubt, as did Müller, the reading kortos Scipionis, and supposes the oversight had reference to the crossing of the Petronia

amnis, of which Fest. p. 250 M. says: Petronia amnis est in Tiberim perfluens, quam magistratus auspicato transcunt cum in Campo quid agere volunt; quod genus auspici peremne vocatur (cf. 2, 77 infra). For the story of this incident see also 2. 74 infra; ad Q. Fr. 2, 2, 1: Gracchus augur posteaquam in istam provinciam venit recordatus est quid sibi in campo Martio comitia consulum kabenti contra auspicia accidisset; Plut. Marc. 5: Tißepios our Σεμπρώνιος . . . ἀπέδειξε μέν ὑπατείνων διαδόχους Σκιπίωνα Νασικάν και Γάιον Μάρκιον, ήδη δὲ ἐχόντων αὐτῶν ἐπαρχίας καί στρατεύματα λερατικοίς υπομυήμασιο 😓 τυχών εδρεν ήγνοημένον ύφ' αύτου τι τών πατρίων. Εν δε τοιούτον δταν άρχων επ' δρνισι καθεζόμενος έξω πόλεως οίκον ή σκηνήν μεμισθωμένος δπ' αίτίας τινός άναγκασθή μήπω γεγονότων σημείων βεβαίων ξπανελθείν είς πόλιν, άφείναι χρήν το προμεμισθωμένον οίκημα καί λαβείν έτερον, έξ ου ποιήσεται την θέαν αύθις έξ ὑπαρχής. τοῦτο ελαθεν, ὡς δοικε, τὸν Τιβέριον καί δίς τῷ αὐτῷ χρησάμενος ἀπέδειξε τοὺς είρημένους άνδρας ὑπάτους. ὅστερον δὲ γνοὺς την αμαρτίαν ανήνεγκε πρός την σύγκλητον. ή δέ . . . Εγραψε τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς έπαρχίας απολιπόντες ξπανήλθον els 'Ρώμην ταχύ και κατέθεντο την άρχην. In the account in Val. Max. 1, 1, 3 it is stated that Figulus returned from Gaul and Nasica from Corsica for their abdication. Further cf. Auct. de Vir. ill. 44, 2; Gran. Licin. 28, pp. 8-9 Flemisch (on which see Domaszew ski in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 12 (1909), 69, and n. 1); Fast. Capit. ann. 592 (C.I.L. I, 2 ed., p. 25): P. Cornelius P. f. Cn. n. Scipio Nasica C. Marcius C. f. Q. n. Figulus vilio facti *****abdicarunt. in corum loc. facti sunt P. Cornelius L.f. L.n. Lentulus Cn. Domitius Cn. f. L. n. Ahenobarb. For the general interpretation of the passage cf. Mommsen, l.c.; Domaszewski, l.c.

The abdication of officials declared by augurs or haruspices to be vitio creati is several times attested; cf. Cic. Leg. 2, te est de Ti. Graccho, nonne et augurum et haruspicum conprobat disciplinam? qui cum tabernaculum vitio cepisset inprudens, quod inauspicato pomerium transgressus esset, comitia consulibus rogandis habuit. Nota res est et a te ipso mandata monumentis. Sed et ipse augur Ti. Gracchus auspiciorum auctoritatem confessione errati sui conprobavit, et haruspicum

1. Ti. sulg., tiberio C, et sic plerumque.

- 31: quid magnificentius quam posse (sc. augures) decernere ut magistratu se abdicent consules? and the list of cases in Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 250, n. 5.
- 1. Ti Graecho: Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, twice consul (177, 163 B.C.; cf. 1, 36 infra). This event was in his second consulship when M'. Iuventus Thalna was also consul (Fast. Capit. l.c.).
- 1. augurum et haruspicum: both are mentioned since it was the haruspices who in this case detected the transgression of augural rules.
- 2. tabernaculum . . . cepisset: on this technical phrase cf. Valeton in Mnemos. 18 (1890), 243-246; Paul. ex Fest. p. 46 M.: captus locus dicitur ad sacrificandum legitime constitutus; cf. also Valeton, op. cit. 240; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 531, n. 2.
- 2. vitio: cf. 1, 29, n. (vitio). Varro (L.L. 6, 30) maintains: magistratus vitio creatus nikilo setius magistratus.
- 2. inauspicato: cf. 1, 3, n. (auspicato . . . condidisse).
- 3. pomerium: on the augural significance of this boundary see Valeton in Mnemos. 23 (1895), 72 ff.; 25 (1897), 93 ff.; also Mommsen in Hermes, 10 (1876), 40-50; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 190, n. 3; 225-235; Besnier in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Pomerium; Carter in Amer. Journ. of Arch. 12 (1908), 172-184; id. in Proc. Brit. and Amer. arch. Soc. of Rome, 4 (1908), 129-136; Merrill in Class. Philol. 4 (1909), 420-430; Wide, Pomerium och Pelargikon · (1911); Kent in Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc. 44 (1913), 19-24 (who derives the word from *pro-moiriom), and the works cited by these authors. Most of the numerous questions raised in regard to the

pomerium do not here concern us. The important thing to be noted is that it was the boundary between the regions of the urban and the military auspices, so that, as the account in N.D. 2, 11 shows, the auspices first taken by Gracchus on going out of the city to hold the elections were cancelled by his subsequent entrance into the city. Cicero distinctly says that on his return outside the pomerium he forgot to take the auspices, so that all that was done thereafter was done inauspicato; Plutarch, perhaps not quite understanding this point, insists that he should have taken a second tabernaculum, rather than the same one. Plutarch may have confused the idea with that in Serv. Acn. 2. 178: in constituendo tabernaculo si primum vitio captum esset secundum eligebatur; quod si et secundum vitio captum esset ad primum reverti mos eral.

- 3. comitia consulibus rogandis: cf. Leg. 3, 10: cum populo patribusque agendi ius esto consuli, praetori, magistro populi equitumque eique quem patres prodent consulum rogandorum ergo; Liv. 38, 42, 2: comitia consulibus rogandis fuerunt; cf. 3, 19, 2; 22, 35, 2; 23, 31, 12; also the use of rogator infra.
- 3f. nota res est et: cf. Rep. 2, 63: nota scilicet illa res et celebrata monumentis.
 - 4. a te ipso: cf. 1, 22, n. (poteris).
- 4. mandata monumentis: so in Ac. 1, 3; 2, 2.
- 4. ipse augur: cf. 1, 36; N.D. 2, 11; Liv. 29, 38, 7: (suffectus est) augur Ti. Sempronius Gracchus admodum adulescens, quod tum perrarum in mandandis sacerdotiis erat.
- 5. auctoritatem, etc.: cf. N.D. 2, 11: vir sapientissimus . . . peccatum suum quod celari posset confiteri maluit quam haerere in re publica religionem, consules

disciplinae magna accessit auctoritas, qui recentibus comitiis in senatum introducti negaverunt iustum comitiorum rogatorem fuisse.

XVIII. 34. Iis igitur adsentior qui duo genera divinationum esse dixerunt, unum quod particeps esset artis, alterum quod arte careret. Est enim ars in iis qui novas res coniectura persequuntur, veteres observatione didicerunt. Carent autem arte ii qui non ratione aut coniectura observatis ac notatis signis sed concitatione quadam animi aut soluto liberoque motu futura praesentiunt, quod et somniantibus saepe contingit et non numquam vaticinantibus per furorem, ut Bacis Boeotius, ut Epi-

- 3. iis rulg., his C.
- 5. in iis oulg., in his C.
- 5. persequentur O, persecuntur C.
- 6. arte ii valg., arte hii AV, arte hi BH, sed in B add. altere monu.
- 9. Bacis veig., bacchis A²BV, bacchi A¹, bachus H.

summum imperium statim deponere quam id tenere punctum temporis contra religionem. magna augurum auctoritas; quid? harus picum ars nonne divina?

- 1. accessit auctoritas: cf. de Am. 94.
- 1. recentibus comitiis: cf. 1, 139: recenti re; 2 Verr. 1, 101: recenti negotio.
- 2. introducti: cf. N.D. 2, 10-11: haruspices introducti responderunt non fuisse iustum comitiorum rogatorem. tum Gracchus, ut e patre audiebam, incensus ira, 'itane vero? ego non iustus, qui et consul rogavi et augur et auspicato? an vos Tusci ac barbari auspiciorum populi Romani ius tenetis et interpretes esse comitiorum potestis?' Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 109, for the dislike of the Roman augur for being corrected by an Etruscan haruspex; also 1, 36, n. (haruspices convocavit).
- 2. rogatorem: one must distinguish in the use of this word between the magistrate presiding over the whole election, as here, and an election clerk (as the rogator centuriae of 1, 75, and the primus rogator of N.D. 2, 10), the latter meaning being the more frequent; cf. Mayor on N.D. 2, 10.
- 3. iis igitur: the argument is resumed from the middle of 1, 12, the intervening sections having been occupied with instances intended to justify the

Stoic insistence on eventa as opposed to the search for causes.

- 3. duo genera divinationum: cf. 1, 12. The plural of divinatio occurs also in 1, 78; 1, 90; 1, 93; though usually, even with the word genera, the singular is employed.
 - 5. novas res: cf. 2, 50.
 - 6. carent . . . arte: cf. 1, 70.
- 6. ratione: possibly the mantic use of analogy, or, more likely, scientific prediction of effects based on a knowledge of their causes, as opposed to mantic prediction based on supposed concomitants or signs of their causes; cf. 1, 29, n. (non causas adferunt).
- 7. concitatione: cf. 1, 80; 2, 27. The two methods of natural divination are here contrasted: concitatione . . . animi and soluto liberoque motu. For similar antitheses of these cf. 1, 128; Tusc. 5, 43: tam gravibus concitationibus . . . quem vacuum, solutum, liberum videris, hunc dubitabis beatum dicere?
- 7f. soluto liberoque motu: cf. 1, 4, n. (soluto et libero); 1, 113.
- 8. quod somniantibus . . . contingit: cf. 1, 113; 1, 115; 1, 129.
- 8f. contingit . . . vaticinantibus . . . ut Bacis: for such anacolutha in Cicero cf. Plasberg on *Parad*. 44; also 1, 72 infra.
 - 9. per furorem: cf. 1, 126.

menides Cres, ut Sibylla Erythraea. Cuius generis oracla etiam habenda

1. Sibyila Erythraea O_r sibulla erythraea V_r sibulla aeritraea (aerythraea corr.) A_r sibullae (sibyilae corr.) aerythraea B_r sibillae sythraea H_r .

[150]9. ut Bacis, etc.: Creutzer well compares Aristid. Oral. 45, 12 (vol. 2, p. 13 Dind.): δσοι δ' αδ καὶ καθάπαξ ὑποδύντες θεῷ καὶ τέχνης οὐδὲ μικρὸν μετασχόντες οὐ μόνον τοῦς ἐφ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦς ὕστερον πολλὰ δὰ καὶ θαυμάσια προεῦπον, οἰον εἰ βούλει, Βάκις, Σίβυλλα, ἔτεροι μετὰ τούτων, εἰ δὲ μὰ πολλοί, καὶ τοῦτ' ὅστιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγον τὰ γὰρ μέγιστα ὑπεὰφωγε τοὺς πολλούς τἰς οῦτω τεχνίτης τοῦ κακῶς λίγειν ὑστὶν ὅστις καὶ τούτους κακίσκων ἄν:

[150]9. Bacis: like the word Sibyl (1. 4. n. (Sibyllinis . . . sersibus) supra), this word had an appellative sense; cf. [Arist.] Probl. 20, 1, p. 954 a 36. Its derivation is uncertain; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 105, n. 3, and Schultz in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Bakis (1884), 2801-2802, derive it from βάζω, 'speak.' Various writers, including Herodotus, Aristophanes, Plato, Pausanias, and Cicero himself, use the word in the singular, but Rohde (Psyche, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 64, n.) thinks it may be a generic rather than an individual appellation. Clem. Strom. 1, 21, p. 333, knows of two, one Boeotian and one Arcadian, whom he places at the head of a long list of xpqσμολόγοι, including Epimenides and the Sibyl, as here. Several other writers, noted by Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 105-106, and Schultz, I.c., name three, the additional one being Attic. On the period of development of these xpm σμολόγοι, from the eighth to the seventh century B.C., see Rohde, op. cit. 2, 63-69. The oracular sayings ascribed to Bacis are collected by Alexandre, Excursus ad Sibyll. Libros (1856), 134-136, and Goettling, Opusc. Acad. (1869), 203-205. The Bocotian is the best known, and was associated with Eleon near Tanagra (cf. Kern in P.-W. s.v. Bakis (1896), 2802). He was especially famous for his prophecies fulfilled at the time of the Persian Wars, as described by Hdt. 8, 20; 8, 77;

8, 96; 9, 43; Paus. 10, 14, 6. His prophetic power was closely connected with nympholepsy; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 106 (who cites Paus. 4, 27, 4; 10, 12, 11); also 1, 80, n. (lymphata).

[150]9f. Epimenides: this man, for a real character undoubtedly lies behind the traditions associated with the name (Rohde, Psyche, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 98, n.), appears to have been a Cretan priest from Cnossus or Phaestus, who at Athens, before the Persian Wars (the exact date is much disputed), perhaps identified himself in name with an old Attic deme-hero Epimenides (Kern in P.-W. s.v. Epimenides (1907), 174), and played a prominent part in a purification of Athens (Rohde. op. cit. 96 ff.; Kern, op. cit. 175; cf. Leg. 2, 28), as a poet and a prophet. For the fragments of his writings see Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 2, 3 ed. (1912), 188-194; for his prophecies cf. Diog. L. 1, 114; Apul. Flor. 15; Schol. Luc. Timon, 6, p. 110 Rabe; Hier. in Titum, pp. 706; 708 Vall. (who ascribes to him a book of oracles); Schultess, De Epimenide Crete (1877), 43 ff. Aristotle says (Rhet. 3, 17, p. 148 a 22 ff.): ἐκεῖνος γὰρ περί τῶν ἐσομένων ούκ έμαντεύετο, άλλά περί τών γεγονότων μὸν ἀδήλων δέ, which perhaps points rather to his profession of purifier than to that of diviner. To his biography there was later added a large mass of legendary material, found in greatest detail in Diog. L. 1, 109 ff. (cf. Diels, op. cit. 2, 185-188), of which the most noted incident was one of his childhood, when, having been sent to tend flocks, he fell asleep and slept in a cave for 50, 57, or 60 years (for this sleep and many parallels, including Hermotimus of Clasomenae and Rip Van Winkle, see Frazer on Paus. 1, 14, 4; Rohde, Psyche, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 91 ff.), being fed by nymphs. He was reputed to have reached great age; cf. Kern, op. cit. 175. For a bibliography of works on Epimenides see

sunt, non ea quae aequatis sortibus ducuntur, sed illa quae instinctu divino adflatuque funduntur; etsi ipsa sors contemnenda non est, si [et] auctoritatem habet vetustatis, ut eae sunt sortes quas e terra editas accepimus; quae tamen ductae ut in rem apte cadant fieri credo posse divinitus.

2. contempenda sulg., contempenda C.

2. si Schwetz, si et C.

Kern, op. cit. 178; and cf. the account in Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 94; 99-102.

[151]1. Sibylla Erythraea: cf. Lact. Inst. 4, 15, 27: qui Ciceronem Varronemque legerit aliosque veteres qui Erythraeam Sibyllam ceterasque commemorant. the Sibyls in general cf. 1, 3, n. (Sibyllinis . . . versibus), and for this Sibyl in particular see also Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 154-157; 167-170; Rohde, Psyche, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 64-67; Buchholz in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Sibylla (1910) 797-798; Corssen in Athen. Mittheilungen, 38 (1913), 1-22, and the literature there cited. Her name was commonly held to be Herophile (sometimes Artemis or Symmachia; cf. Buchholz, op. cit. 798), and Pausanias says (10, 12, 7): Ἐρυθραΐοι δέ, άμφισβητοθσι γάρ τῆς Ἡροφίλης προθυμότατα Έλλφνων, Κώρυκόν τε καλούμενον δρος καί & τῷ δρει σπήλαιον ἀποφαίνουσι, τεχθήναι την 'Ηροφίλην ω αυτώ λέγοντες, Θεοδώρου δέ ξπιχωρίου ποιμένος καὶ νύμφης παίδα είναι. By Aristotle (de mirab. Ausc. 95, p. 838 a 5 ff.) she is identified with the Cumaean Sibyl; for her reputed great age see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 168-169; Rohde, op. cit. 67, n. 1; Buchholz, op. cit. 798. The attitude of Posidonius toward the Sibyl is noted by Geffcken in Hermes, 49 (1914), 338, n. 3. A curious attempt to connect the Sibyl with other forms of divination is found in Phlegon, Macrobii (in Paradoxogr. Gr. 202), who quotes a Sibylline oracle and gives this paraphrase: τῆς μὲν ψυχῆς (i.e., of the Sibyl) κατά τὸν άξρα φερομένης και προσπιπτούσης τοις όπο των ανθρώπων λαλουμένοις παρασκευάσειν τάς γινομένας κληδόνας διά των λόγων, τοῦ δὲ σώματος ἀτάφου γενομένου τά μέν δρνεα των σαρκών φαγόντα την διά της δονιθοσκοπίας μαντείαν διασημαίνειν, τοῦ δὶ

bπολοίπου μέρους els τήν γήν σαπέντος καί τὰ κτήνη φαγόντα τής èκ τής φυομένης πόας τήν Επατοσκοπικήν els βίον elsaξευ τέχνην.

1. non ea quae: cf. 1, 12, n. (sortium).

1. acquatis sortibus ducuntur: the verb applies more exactly to lots than to oracles in the narrower sense of the term; cf. 2, 70; Serv. Aen. 7, 269: sortes mode abusise pro oraculis posuit; nam ducuntur sortes et hic a Fauno oraculum, non sortes acceperat. The phrase acquatis sortibus doubtless means that the lots are so arranged that the mathematical chances in the drawing are equalized, and the notion of the divine inspiration of the consultant most completely reduced to a matter of mere chance.

1. instinctu: cf. 1, 12, n. (instinctu inflatuque).

2. funduntur: cf. 1, 18, n. (funds-bant).

2. si: the MS. reading si et is defended by Christ, who thinks the et due to a correlation which Cicero began but abandoned, and he compares Madvig, 3 ed. of the De Finibus (1876), 785 ff.; see also Baiter and Halm in Fleckeisens Jahrb. 89 (1864), 618.

3. e terra editas: cf. 2, 85.

3. accepimus: frequent in introducing exempla; cf. 1, 92; 1, 111; 1, 122; 1, 130; Schoenberger, Beispiele aus der Geschichte (1911), 57.

4. apte cadant: cf. 2, 83; N.D. 1, 19.

4. divinitus: the whole theory of lots used in divination rested upon the belief that the deity guided the inquirer to the selection of the proper lot, just as to the choice of a suitable victim for sacrifice; cf. 1, 118. See Marcus Cicero's answer in 2, 85-87; and, for the antithesis of divine agency to chance, 2, 67. Also 1, 23, n. (casu).

Quorum omnium interpretes, ut grammatici poetarum, proxime ad eorum quos interpretantur divinationem videntur accedere. 35. Quae est igitur ista calliditas res vetustate robustas calumniando velle pervertere? Non reperio causam. Latet fortasse obscuritate involuta naturae; non enim me deus ista scire sed his tantum modo uti voluit. Utar igitur nec adducar aut in extis totam Etruriam delirare aut eandem gentem in fulgoribus errare aut fallaciter portenta interpretari, cum terrae saepe fremitus, saepe mugitus, saepe motus multa nostrae rei publicae, multa ceteris civitatibus gravia et vera praedixerint. 36. Quid? qui inridetur partus

1. ut grammatici poetarum: cf. the gloss inserted in the text at 1, 116: sunt enim explanatores, ut grammatici poetarum; Oral. 72: grammatici in poetis (sc. solent tractare); de Or. 1, 187; in grammaticis poetarum pertractatio; Suet. de Gram. 4: Nepos . . . ail . . . proprie sic (i.e., litteratos) appellandos poetarum interpretes, qui a Graecis grammatici nominentur. For the whole subject cf. Plat. Ion, pp. 533 ff., and for the comparison of the art of the grammarian to that of the diviner Athen. p. 634c-d: 'Aplorapxos & Ypauματικός δυ μάντιν έκάλει Παναίτιος δ 'Ρόδιος φιλόσοφος, διά τὸ βαδίως καταμαντεύεσθαι τής των ποιημάτων διανοίας. May Cicero's comparison perhaps go back through Posidonius to this saying of Panaetius?

If. proxime . . . accedere: cf. 1, 1: proxime ad deorum vim . . . accedere. For the thought cf. Toy, Introd. to the Hist. of Relig. (1913), 422.

2. divinationem: a difficult use of the word, for which Hottinger proposed to read divinitatem. But the approach of the professional diviners is less to the deity of the gods than to that knowledge of the future as a result of which they send signs to men. And the argument of Hottinger that men are either completely prophetic or not at all so is refuted by such a passage as 1, 63: adpropinquante morte multo est divinior (sc. animus), as well as by the views of demonic divination held by the patristic writers; cf. 1, 64, n. (plenus . . . animorum).

3. calliditas: cf. 1, 105; N.D. 3, 75: istam calliditatem hominibus di ne dedissent; Off. 1, 63: scientia quae est remota ab

iustitia calliditas potius quam sapientia es appellanda.

- 3. vetustate robustas: cf. 2, 114.
- 4. obscuritate involuta naturae: cf. Ac. 1, 15: a rebus occultis et ab ipsa natura involutis; Tim. 1: earum rerum quae a natura involutae videntur; Fin. 5, 51: eorum omnium quae naturae obscuritate occultantur; also 5, 58; Ac. 2, 147.
- 6. adducar: for this use, equivalent to adducar ut rear, and found in Fin. 1, 14; 4, 55; Leg. 2, 6; ad Att. 11, 16, 2; pro Cluent. 104; and for similar brachylogies cf. Madvig on Fin. 1, 14.
- 6. in extis totam Etruriam: cf. 1, 3, n. (harus picum disciplina); 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis).
- 6. delirare: cf. 1, 53; N.D. 1, 92; 1, 94. With the series delirare... errare... fallaciter cf. Off. 1, 94: falli, errare, labi, decipi tam dedecet quam delirare et mente esse captum.
- 6f. in fulgoribus: cf. 1, 92, n. (Etruria).
- 7f. terrae . . . fremitus: cf. 1, 18, n. (se . . . tremefecit).
- 8. mugitus: the Addit. Prosp. Havn.
 p. 299 Mommsen say that just before
 the invasion of Alaric per dies VII
 Romae in foro Pacis terra mugitum dedit
 significans captivitatis exitium quem post
 biennium experta persolvit.
- 8. motus: cf. 1, 18, n. (se . . . treme-fecit); 1, 38, n. (vis illa terrae).
- 8f. nostrae rei publicae . . . ceteris civitatibus: a trace of the division into exempla domestica and exempla externa; cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).

hic mulae nonne, quia fetus extitit in sterilitate naturae, praedictus est

[153]9. quid? qui: for the form of sentence cf. 2, 11.

[153]9f. partus . . . mulae: for the history of mules, mentioned as early as Homer and in the early period coming especially from Ionia and the non-Hellenic parts of Asia Minor, see Keller, Die antike Tierwelt, 1 (1909), 259, and n. 179. The especial Roman market for them was Reate; cf. Plin. N. H. 8, 167; also Varr. R. R. 2, 6, 1. Many ancient writers mention or discuss the sterility of mules; e.g., Alcmaeon ap. Plut. Plac. 5, 14, 1 = Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 104, no. 3; Empedocles ap. Plut. ibid. = Diels, op. cit. 167, no. 82; Democritus ap. Ael. N.A. 12, 16 = Diels, op. cit. 380, no. 151; Arist. H.A. 6, 24, p. 577 b 20; de Anim. Gen. 2, 7, p. 746 b 20; 2, 8, p. 747 a 25 ff.; 3, 1, p. 749 a 10; 3, 4, p. 755 b 18; Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 12; Varr. R.R. 2, 8, 2; Plin. N. H. 8, 173; Plut. de Soll. Animal. 4; Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 1, 2 ed., p. 231, no. 37; C.I.L. IV, 2203(?); Wünsch, Antike Fluchtafeln (1912), 23; Heim, Incantamenta magica (in Jahrb. f. cl. Philol. Suppl. 19 (1893), 488, no. 91; 493, no. 101); Paroemiogr. Gr. 2, 704, no. 70; Schol. Lucian, Vit. Auct. 25, p. 130 Rabe; Schol. Luc. 1, 591; Just. Mart. de Resurrect. 3; Etym. Mag. p. 630, 6; for other late instances cf. Capelli's ed. of Petrarch, de sui ipsius et multorum Ignorantia (1906), 24; 102, n. In certain districts the foaling of mules was considered not uncommon, e.g., Cappadocia (Arist. de mirab. Ausc. 69, p. 835 b 1; Plin. l.c., following Theophrastus), Syria (Arist. H.A. 6, 24, p. 577 b 20), and Africa (Varr. R.R. 2, 1, 27, followed by Columella, 6, 37, 3). Modern cases are cited by Mitchell in Encycl. Brit. 14, 11 ed. (1910), 28; cf. the bibliography by Lloyd-Jones in Journ. of Heredity, 7 (1916), 502; also the sceptical view of Mumford, Breeding of Animals (1917), 251. These cases fall under the general question of the sterility of hybrids (cf. Plin. N. H. 8, 173), not yet completely understood (Mitchell, l.c.), but recognized as varying greatly in degree with different species and under different conditions. Foaling was at least so rare as to become proverbial; cf. Hdt. 3, 151: ἐπεὰν ἡμίονοι τἐκωσι; Suet. Galb. 4: cum mula pepererit; Juv. 13, 66; Otto, Sprickwörter der Römer (1890), 232. In India it was a popular belief that she-mules died if they foaled; cf. Sacred Books of the East, 35, 236, and n. 2.

The theory that the event was ominous is due in part to its unusual occurrence (cf. 2, 49), and in part, perhaps, to the ideas of taboo associated with intermixtures of species; cf. Reinach, Orpheus, Eng. tr. (1909), 145. That the latter cause is at least partly responsible may perhaps be indicated by some cases in which the mule itself (even the male) is ill-omened; cf. Plut. Timol. 26; Polyaen. 5, Timol. 1; Joan. Saresb. Policrat. 1, 13: mulus infaustus est. Columella, 6, 27, remarks: mula pariens discordiam, bonorum interitum, mutationem legum, turpes matronarum partus (sc. significat). Such eminous foaling, though seldom mentioned in Greece (Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube . . . der Griechen (1911), 30 cites only Hdt. 3, 154; 7, 57), is found in Vedic beliefs (Weber in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss. phil.-hist. Kl., 1858, 328), and frequently among the Romans; cf. Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern (1903), 15; to which add: Obseq. 65; App. B.C. 2, 36; Dio Cass. 64, 1; 78, 25; Aug. de Doctr. Christ. 2, 36. See also on this subject Sacred Books of the East, I.c.; Rodd, Customs and Lore of Modern Greece (1892), 159; Dames and Seeman in Folk-Lore, 14 (1903), 136.

Marcus Cicero's answer to this instance is found in 2, 49-50; 2, 61.

1. naturae: the word natura here = alδοῖον, as in 2, 145. So also φύσις in Greek (Ar. Lysistr. 91; Hesych. s.v. ἐσχάραι πυρός; Artemid. Onirocr. 5, 63). Cf. N.D. 2, 128, and Mayor on N.D. 3, 56.

ab haruspicibus incredibilis partus malorum? Quid? Ti. Gracchus P.f., qui bis consul et censor fuit, idemque et summus augur et vir sapiens civisque praestare, nonne, ut C. Gracchus, filius eius, scriptum reliquit, duobus anguibus domi conprehensis haruspices convocavit? qui cum

- 1. Ti. w/g., tibi C.
- 1. P.f. sulg., p. filius C, Publii filius Christ, Boiler.
- 3. C. Gracchus sulg., G. Gracchus C.
- 1. partus malorum: doubtless paronomasia is intended between parius mulas (suggesting parius mularum) and parius malorum. Giese (ad h. loc.) cites other cases from Cicero.
- 2. consul . . . augur: cf. 1, 33, nn. (Ti. Graccho, ipse augur).
- 2f. vir civisque: cf. 1, 29, n. (virum . . . civem). For Cicero's praise of Gracchus the father cf. Off. 2, 43; Fin. 4, 65; de Am. 101; de Or. 1, 38; 1, 211.
- 3. scriptum reliquit: cf. 2, 62: C. Gracchus ad M. Pomponium scripsit duobus anguibus domi conprehensis haruspices a patre convocatos. The remarkable loyalty of this Pomponius to Gracchus is described by Vell. 2, 6, 6; Val. Max. 4, 7, 2; Auct. de Vir. ill. 65, 5. Cf. Plut. Ti. Gracch. 8: δ δ' άδελφὸς αυτού Γάιος έν των βιβλίω γέγραφεν els Νομαντίαν πορευόμενον διά τής Τυρρηνίας τον Τιβέριον και την έρημίαν της χώρας δρώντα καί τούς γεωργούντας ή νέμοντας οίκετας επεισάκτους και βαρβάρους τότε πρώτον έπι νουν βαλέσθαι την μυρίων κακών άρξασαν abroîs roditelar. Whether this work is identical with the one mentioned by Cicero has been much discussed, it being urged, on the one hand, that the phrase ad M. Pomponium suggests a letter while the subject matter of the passage in Plutarch is more appropriate for a political tract, and, on the other, that ad may refer merely to the dedication of the work by C. Gracchus to his friend Pomponius. For a bibliography of the discussion see especially Schanz, Gesch. d. rom. Litt. 1, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 286; Meyer, Kl. Schriften sur Gesch. (1910), 386, n. 2; Riecken, Die Quellen zur Gesch. des Tib. Gracchus (1911), 13-16; Cardinali, Studi Graccani (1912), 6, n. 1; cf. Peter, Hist. Rom. Relig. 1, 2 ed. (1914), 119. For the phrase scriptum reliquit cf. 2, 87; Rep. 1, 36.

4. duobus anguibus: cf. Plut. Ti. Gracck. 1: λέγεται δέ ποτε συλλαβείν αφτόν έπὶ τῆς κλίνης ζεῦγος δρακόντων, τοὸς δὲ μάντεις σκοψαμένους το τέρας άμφω μέν ούκ έαν άνελειν ούδε άφειναι, περί δε θατέρου διαιρείν, ώς δ μέν άρρην τώ Τιβερίω φέροι θάνατον άναιρεθείς, ή δὲ θήλεια τῆ Κορνηλία. τόν ούν Τιβέριον και φιλούντα την γυναίκα και μάλλον αυτώ προσήκειν όντι πρεσβυτέρω τελευτάν ήγούμενον έτι νέας οδοης έκείνης του μέν άρρενα κτείναι των δρακόντων, άφείναι δέ τήν θήλειαν. είτα ύστερον ού πολλώ χρόνω τελευτήσαι δεκαδύο παίδας έκ της Κοργηλίας αύτῷ γεγονότας καταλιπόντα; Val. Max. 4. 6, 1: Ti. Gracchus anguibus domi suae mare < ac > femina deprehensis, certior factus ab aruspice mare dimisso uxori eius, femina ipsi celerem obitum instare, salutarem coniugi polius quam sibi partem augurii seculus marem necari, feminam dimitti iussit sustinuitque in conspectu suo se ipsum interitu serpentis occidi; Auct. de Vir. ill. 57, 4: cum in domo Tiberi duo angues e geniali toro repsissent, responso dato eum de dominis periturum cuius sexus anguis fuisset occisus, amore Corneliae coniugis marem iussit interfici; Plin. N. H. 7, 122: Gracchorum pater anguibus prehensis in domo cum responderetur ipsum victurum alterius sexus interempto, 'immo vero,' inquit, 'meum necate, Cornelia enim iuvenis est et parere adhuc potest.' hoc erat uxori parcere et rei publicae consulere; idque mox consecutum est. Riecken. ob. cit. 15, notes that Plutarch's account is not by him ascribed to C. Gracchus, but merely introduced by the word heyeras, and that it and that of the Auct. de Vir. ill. differ from the others in that the snakes appear on (or from) the bed of Gracchus. not merely in his house. He also thinks that the expression αμφω μέν ούκ έδν άνελεῖν οὐὸὶ ἀφεῖναι was added by Plutarch

respondissent, si marem emisisset, uxori brevi tempore esse moriendum, si

to meet the question found in 2, 62 infra: miror... cur alteram utram emiserit, etc. For the two related accounts he would seek a source in some biographical work. Cf. also Cardinali, op. cit. 29, n. 2.

These snakes, with their exact correspondence to husband and wife, are apparently thought of as containing the genius and the Iuno of Gracchus and Cornelia (Jevons, introd. to his ed. of Plut. Romane Questions (1892), xlviii, and n.; De Marchi, Il Culto privato di Roma antica, 1 (1896), 77-78), and probably have a totemic origin (Jevons, Introd. to the Hist. of Relig. 2 ed. (1902), 186-187). For the genius represented in art in the form of a snake see Birt in Roscher, Ausführ, Lexikon, s.v. Genius (1886), 1624; De Marchi, I.c., and p. 67, tav. III. Such snakes were frequently kept by Romans in the house; cf. Plin. N. H. 29, 72: anguis Aesculapius Epidauro Romam advectus est vulgoque pascitur et in domibus, ac nisi incendiis semina exurerentur non esset fecunditati corum resistere in orbe terrarum; Sen. de Ira, 2, 31, 6 (for similar cases in Greece see 2, 135; Suid. s.v. 'Hρακλείδης Εύφρονος). Harm to such pets might be interpreted as premonitory of harm to the owner; cf. Suet. Tib. 72: rediit . . . ostento territus. erat ei in oblectamentis serpens draco quem ex consuctudine manu sua cibaturus cum consumplum a formicis invenissel, monitus est ut vim multitudinis caveret. rediens ergo propere Campaniam Asturae in languorem incidit; also perhaps cf. Obseq. 58; Tac. Ann. 11, 11, 5; Suet. Ner. 6. Instances of the same idea among other nations (a part of the widespread belief in an external soul) are given by Frazer, Golden Bough, 11, 3 ed. (1913), 200-201; 209-210; 212, n.; cf. Lawson, Modern Greek Folklore and ancient Greek Religion (1910), 259-260: 328.

Although there here appears to be the idea of sympathy between man and genius,

as already stated, it should also be noted that snakes were, in general, considered as ominous animals, on account of their appearance from the earth (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1 (1879), 147; 2 (1880), 254 (on the Pytho); Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 3 (1907), 10; Gruppe in Burs. Jahresb. 37 (1908), 378; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 82-91; also 1, 72, n. (ab infima ara) infra) and their connection with the spirits of the dead (Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, 2 ed. (1908), 325-331; Frazer, op. cit. 5, 3 ed. (1914), 82-88). For their general ominous character see 1, 72; 1, 79; 2, 62; 2, 66; Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 467-469; Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere (1888), 182 ff.; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 807, n. 2. For the ill-luck of seeing snakes mating cf. Frazer on Paus. 9, 19, 3; its effect upon Tiresias is noted by Eustath. Od. 10, 41-42; Schol. Lycophr. 682-683; Apollod. Bibl. 3, 6, 7; Phleg. Mirab. 4.

A third belief is that in the ominous character of the appearance in a house or temple of an animal not naturally coming indoors; cf. Skeat, Malay Magic (1900), 534-535; Halliday, op. cit. 167, n. 1. This was known by the special name of olsoomowuche (cf. Schol. A Hom. Il. 2, 308: έστι δέ σθμα μέν το παρά τόπον γινόμενον, ώς μέλισσαι ή πτηνοί μύρμηκες & οίκφ, κτλ.; Suid. s.v. οίωνισμα . . . τὸ δὲ οίκοσκοπικόν, δταν τά & τῷ οἰκφ συμβαίνοντα· οίον el & τή στέγη έφάνη γαλή ή δφις . . . τόδε προμηνύει δ συνέγραψε Ξενοκράτης; Cramer. Anecd. Oxon. 4, 241). For further instances see Theophr. Char. 16; Apollod. Bibl. 1, 9, 15, 2; Plaut. Amphitr. 1107 ff.; Ter. Phorm. 707; Zonar. 7, 11; and the cases of snakes entering temples collected by Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern (1903), 16; Schwartz, Menschen u. Tiere im Aberglaube (1888), 43-44.

feminam, ipsi, aequius esse censuit se maturam oppetere mortem quam P. Africani filiam adulescentem; feminam emisit, ipse paucis post diebus est mortuus. XIX. Inrideamus haruspices, vanos, futtiles esse dicamus, quorumque disciplinam et sapientissimus vir et eventus ac res conprobavit contemnamus, condemnemus etiam Babylonem et eos qui e Caucaso caeli signa servantes numeris [et motibus] stellarum cursus persequuntur, con-

- 3. futtiles Maller, futiles C, Christ, futtilis Baiter.
- contemnamus, condemnemus Vakien, Maller, contemnamus B, contempnamus AHV, contemnamus, contemnamus Christ, Bailer.
- 6. [et motibus] stellarum cursus Christ (qui et motibus loco eius quod est et motus ex 2, 17 ab eodem interpolatere additum esse putat a quo illo loco ex hoc et cursus adiacium est), Baiter, Thoresen, et motibus stellarum cursus C, et motus stellarum cursusque O cum Goerensio, stellarum cursus et motus Davies, et modis stellarum cursus Polster, Maller, ex motibus stellarum barum cursus Allen.
- [155]4. haruspices convocavit: the opinion held by Gracchus of the haruspices had apparently improved since (and perhaps as a result of) his experience with them narrated in 1, 33. For the consultation of haruspices in similar cases cf. 1, 79.
- [156]1. emississet: the implication is that the one not allowed to go was to be killed; if the male snake were killed it would typify or foreshadow the death of Gracchus himself.
- 1. maturam . . . mortem: his age and the date of his death are unknown. But he was already admodum adulescens in 204 B.C. (Liv. 29, 38, 7), was married ca. 183 (Polyb. 31, 27, 2 ff.), and had twelve children (Plut. Ti. Gracck. 1; Sen. ad Helv. 16, 6; Plin. N.H. 7, 57). The number of years, then, between his adulescentia and that of Cornelia, which might equal the approximate difference between their ages, was perhaps about twenty one (204-183). Davies suggested for maturam the emendation maturum, but the change seems unnecessary.
- 2. Africani: the question was not merely one of the relative standing of the Sempronii and the Cornelii but also concerned the daughter of so famous a man as Africanus.
- 3. inrideamus: for the sarcastic expression cf. 1, 33, n. (negemus).
- 3. vanos: cf. 1, 37; Fin. 3, 38: quis non odit sordidos, vanos, leves, futtiles?
- 3. futtiles: for the spelling cf. Brambach, Hilfsbüchlein f. lat. Rechtschreibung, 3 ed. (1884), 39.

- 5. condemnemus: this word, early lost through the influence of the preceding and similar contemnamus, must, with Vahlen (Rhein. Mus. N.F. 27 (1872), 186), be supplied from and because of its occurrence below. For such repetition of a word with an enforcing inquam cf. 1, 105; Fin. 2, 72.
- 5. Babylonem et: from a comparison with 2, 97 Christ thinks these works an interpolation and Baiter brackets them, while Hottinger suggests Babylonios, eos.
- 5. e Caucaso: Thoresen (ad h. loc.) well suggests that this is not the Caucasus proper but the range called Paropamisus (or Parapamisus), the modern Hindu Kush, of which Arrian (Anab. 5, 5, 3) says: κατά δὲ Βακτρίου: συμβάλλων τῷ Παραπαμίσφ δρα δ δὲ Καύκασον ἐκάλουν οὶ 'Αλεξάνδρφ ξυστρατεύσαντει Μακεδόνει; cf. Polyb. 10, 48, 4; 11, 34, 11; Strab. 11, pp. 505-506; 511. That this is the sense in which Cicero uses the name is further suggested by Tusc. 2, 52: Calanus Indus, indoctus ac barbarus, in radicibus Caucasi natus.
- 5. caeli signa: cf. Non. p. 402 M.: M. Tullius in Hortensio: caeli signorum admirabilem ordinem.
- 6. servantes: cf. Virg. Aen. 6, 338: dum sidera servat. Although this passage deals with astrology there is doubtless a suggestion of the technical use of this word by the augurs, as in 1, 107; 1, 130; 2, 74; Serv. Aen. 6, 198: servare . . . et de caelo et de avibus verbo augurum dicitur.
- 6. numeris [et motibus]: cf. 2, 17; Tusc. 5, 10: ab antiqua philosophia . . .

demnemus, inquam, hos aut stultitiae aut vanitatis aut inpudentiae, qui quadringenta septuaginta milia annorum, ut ipsi dicunt, monumentis conprehensa continent, et mentiri iudicemus nec saeculorum reliquorum iudicium quod de ipsis futurum sit pertimescere. 37. Age, barbari vani atque fallaces; num etiam Graiorum historia mentita est? Quae Croeso Pythius Apollo, ut de naturali divinatione dicam, quae Atheniensibus,

1. inpudentiae Christ, Baiter, Müller, impudentiae Lambinus, inprudentiae (vel imp-) C.

numeri motusque tractabantur et unde omnia orerentur; Tim. 33: ceterorum autem siderum ambitus ignorantes homines... neque nomen appellant neque inter se numero commetiuntur. On the strength of such passages as these it is likely that the phrase et motibus has been intruded into the text. The words look, however, surprisingly like a corruption of ex montibus (matibus), which may well have been a marginal gloss on e Caucaso, later inserted in the wrong place in the line.

1. stultitiae, etc.: cf. 1, 132: levitate, vanitate, malitia exclusa.

2. quadringenta: cf. 2, 97; also 1, 2, n. (ultimis). This tradition was due to Berosus, but differs in its exact numbers in the different accounts based on his, as noted by Bouché-Leclercq, (L'Astrologie grecque (1899), 39, n. 1), there being mention of 480, 000 years (Jul. Afric. Chronogr. fr. 1, quoted in note on 1, 2 (longinquitate temporum), overlooked by Bouché-Leclercq), 473, 000 (Diod. 2, 31, 9; cf. 19, 55, 8), and 432, 000 (Syncell. in F. H.G. 2, 499). Epigenes of Byzantium raised the number to 720,000 (Plin. N. H. 7, 193: Epigenes apud Babylonios DCCXX annorum observationes siderum coctilibus laterculis inscriptas docet, gravis auctor in primis; qui minimum, Berosus et Critodemus CCCCXC; cf. Müller in F. H.G. 2, 510, n. 22), and Simplicius (ad Arist. de Caelo, p. 475 b) to 1,440,000.

Our passage is quoted by Lact. Inst. 7, 14, 4: Chaldaeos, qui ut Cicero tradit in libro de divinatione primo, quadringenta septuaginta milia annorum monumentis conprehensa se habere delirant.

4. barbari: the argument has wandered. In 1, 34 it appeared as though Quintus were about to give a series of

illustrations of natural divination, beginning with prophecy (Bacis, Epimenides, the Sibyl), and passing to dreams and oracles. But sections 35-36 represent an injection of instances of artificial divination (properly belonging at 1, 72 ff.), after which, at this point, he resumes, not in the order of dreams and oracles (as in 1, 34), but in the reverse, 37-38 dealing with oracles, 39-63 with dreams, and 64-69 with prophecy again.

The relatively small space given to oracles and the fact that the examples are all Greek is, of course, due to the lack of such among the Romans. The following series of persons and states represented as consulting Delphi is probably (by Cicero's source) made up from Herodotus.

5. Croeso: on the testing of Delphi by Croesus cf. 1, 32, n. (cum temptaret). Hdt. 1, 46-53; 1, 55; 1, 85; 1, 90-91 deals with Delphic predictions to Croesus, for which see also Xen. Cyrop. 7, 2, 15-26. One of these oracles is quoted in 2, 115 infra. The presents given by Croesus to Delphi are described by Hdt. 1, 50-51; Diod. 16, 56, 6; Lucian, Charon, 11. The last mentioned passage characterizes Croesus as φιλόμαντις . . . άνηρ έκτόπως, and Tertullian says (ad Nat. 2, 17): liberalem cultorem suum Croesum ambiguis sortibus fallendo perdidit (sc. Apollo). Croesus consulted many other oracles as well as Delphi; cf. Hdt. 1, 46. The relation of other kings of Lydia to Delphi is discussed by Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 3 (1880), 119, n. 5.

6. naturali divinatione: cf. 1, 110; 1, 127; 2, 70.

6. Atheniensibus: many such are recorded, e.g., Leg. 2, 40; Hdt. 5, 89;

quae Lacedaemoniis, quae Tegeatis, quae Argivis, quae Corinthiis responderit, quis ignorat? Collegit innumerabilia oracula Chrysippus nec ullum sine locuplete auctore atque teste; quae, quia nota tibi sunt, relinquo; defendo unum hoc: numquam illud oraclum Delphis tam celebre et tam clarum fuisset neque tantis donis refertum omnium populorum a'que regum, nisi omnis aetas oraclorum illorum veritatem esset experta. 38. Idem iam diu non facit. Ut igitur nunc minore gloria est, quia minus

1. Tegeatis Turnebus, taygetis V, thaygetis A, targetis B, tagreatis B.

7. minore CO, in minore Devies, Christ, Maller.

- 1. Lacedaemoniis: cf. 1, 95-96; Hdt. 1, 66-67; 7, 220; 8, 114; F. H.G. 1, 398; 2, 110; 3, 603; Bouché-Leclercq, l.c.
- Tegeatis: Hdt. 1, 66-67 contains oracular references to Tegea, and is perhaps what is in Cicero's mind.
- 1. Argivis: cf. Hdt. 6, 18; 6, 77; 7, 148; Bouché-Leclercq, l.c.
- 1. Corinthiis: cf. Hdt. 5, 92; Plut. amat. Narrat. 2.
- 2. quis ignorat: cf. Fin. 4, 64; Off. 2, 19.
- 2. collegit: in his book on oracles; cf. 1, 6, n. (de oraclis).
- 3. locuplete auctore: cf. 2, 119; Rep. 1, 16; Off. 3, 100.
- 3. teste: cf. Off. 3, 10: testis locuples Posidonius; 3, 105.
- 3. quia nota tibi sunt: cf. 1, 123; N.D. 1, 113; Rep. 1, 66; Fin. 3, 6; de Am.
- 4. oraclum: here of the oracular seat, but repeated, somewhat awkwardly, a little below, in the sense of the oracular utterance.
- 4f. celebre . . . clarum: cf. Accius, trag. 521 Ribbeck.
- 5. donis: cf. Strab. 9, p. 419:
 ώλιγώρηται δ' Ικανώς και τὸ Ιερόν, πρότερον δ' ὁπερβαλλόντως (sc. ἐτιμήθη). δηλοῦσι δ' οῖ τε θησαυροί οῦς καὶ δῆμοι καὶ δυνάσται κατεσκώσσαν, εἰς οῦς καὶ χρήματα ἀνετίθωτο καθιερωμένα καὶ ἔργα τῶν ἀρίστων δημιουργῶν, κτλ.; Justin, 24, 6, 10: multa igitur ibi et opulenta regum ac populorum visuntur munera, quaeque magnificentia sui redden-

tium vota gratam voluntatem et deorum responsa manifestant. For the wealth of Delphi, a constant temptation to plunderers (as in 1, 81), cf. Paus. 1, 9, 3; Athen. 6, p. 231. The votives are also enumerated by Pausanias in detail (10, 8, 1—10, 19, 3); of the offerings of the Lydian kings little remained in his time (10, 16, 1).

7. iam diu non facit: cf. 2, 116-117. So Orosius says (6, 15, 11): Ap. Claudius Censorinus (in the time of Pompey) iam abolitam Pythici oraculi fidem voluit experiri, and he tells of the response which he received. In 6, 15, 12 he remarks: cur ergo longe ante imperium Caesaris nativitatemque Christi, sicul ipsorum auctores attestantur, abolita fuerat Pythici oraculi fides? abolita autem ideo quia contempta, etc. For the feebleness of all the oracles during the late republic and early empire (ascribed at times by Christian writers to the fear of the resident demons for Christ, for Christians, or for the sign of the cross, the neighboring graves of martyrs, etc.), see Wolff, De novissima Oraculorum Aetate (1854), 52 ff.; Jaeger, De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaperint (1910), 52, n. 1. So Strabo remarks (7, p. 327): ἐκλέλοιπε δέ πως και το μαντείον το εν Δωδώνη καθάπερ τάλλα; 17, p. 813: τοίς άρχαίοις μάλλον ήν έν τιμή καί ή μαντική καθόλου και τά χρηστήρια, νυνί δ' όλιγωρία κατέχει πολλή, τῶν 'Ρωμαίων άρκουμένων τοις Σιβύλλης χρησμοίς και τοις Τυρρηνικοίς θεοπροπίοις διά τε σπλάγχνων και δρνιθείας καὶ διοσημιών. διόπερ καὶ τὸ ἐν "Αμμωνι σχεδόν τι έκλέλειπται χρηστήριον, πρότερον δὲ ἐτετί-

^{7, 140-143; 7, 189;} F. H.G. 1, 545; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 3, 101.

oraculorum veritas excellit, sic tum nisi summa veritate in tanta gloria non fuisset. Potest autem vis illa terrae, quae mentem Pythiae divino

рито; Luc. 5, 111-114: non ullo saecula dono / nostra carent maiore deum, quam Delphica sedes / quod siluit, postquam reges timuere futura / et superos vetuere loqui; Juv. 6, 554-556: credent a fonte relatum / Hammonis, quoniam Delphis oracula cessant / et genus kumanum damnat caligo futuri. Yet there was a revival under Trajan and Hadrian (Wolff, I.c.; Jaeger, I.c.), followed by another decline with the growing influence of Christianity. A sporadic revival came under Julian; cf. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. 3, 18; Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. 3, 16; Amm. Marc. 22, 12, 8: Iulianus novam consilii viam ingressus est, vanas fatidicas Castalii recludere cogitans fontis, quem obstruxisse Caesar dicitur Hadrianus mole saxorum ingenti, veritus ne (ut ipse praecinentibus aquis capessendam rem publicam conperit) etiam alii similia docerentur. The final closing came under Theodosius. Wolff gives for the various oracles the last dates at which they are known to have been consulted. Cf. also the material in van Dale, De Oraculis (1700), 425-559, on the duration and cessation of the oracles. The classic ancient work on the subject is, of course, Plut. de Defectu Oraculorum. From Porphyry Eusebius (Pr. Ev. 5, 16, p. 204 d) quotes: Πυθώον δ' ούκ έστιν άναρρωσαι λάλον όμφήν: / ήδη γάρ δολιχοίσιν άμαυρωθείσα χρόνοισιν / βέβληται κληίδας άμαντεύτοιο σωπής.

[159]7. minore gloria: Allen (ad h. loc.) compares de Or. 2, 75: eius nomen erat magna apud omnis gloria.

2. potest: explanations offered for the failure of oracles are: (1) the wickedness of men, from whom this divine favor had been withdrawn (Plut. de Def. Orac. 7; Schol. Lucan. 5, 133); (2) depopulation of the neighborhood of the oracles, such that the gods were unwilling to waste their favors where there were none to receive (Plut. op. cit. 8); (3) the failure of the Pythia to go to the proper spot for inspira-

tion (Plut. cur Pyth. 17); (4) cessation of prophetic exhalations from the earth (as here and in 2, 117; Plut. cur Pyth. 17; de Def. Orac. 42; 48; 50-51); (5) the closing of the prophetic cavern at the time of the attack by Brennus (Schol. Lucan. 5, 133); (6) absence of the god from his oracular seat (ibid.; cf. Claud. de sext. Cons. Honorii, 25-29); (7) departure of resident demons through whose agency prophecies had been given (Plut. de Def. Orac. 15; 38; Schol. Lucan. 5, 133; and so, probably, most of the Christian writers; cf. note on iam diu non facit supra); (8) the sufficiency for present mantic purposes of the Sibylline Books (Strab. 17, p. 813; Schol. Lucan. 5, 133), etc.

2. vis illa terrae: Aeschylus well speaks (Eum. 2) of την πρωτόμαντιν Γαΐαν, and upon the chthonic character of large parts of divination emphasis is very properly laid. This appears in various ways. such as in distinct earth oracles, of Gaea, etc. (Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 251-260; Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 3 (1907), 9 ff.); in divination at sacred springs, in which the drinking of the water by the priestess or consultant brings about a direct relation with the chthonic power (Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 116-144 for instances); in omens from snakes or other chthonic animals (cf. 1, 36, n. (duobus anguibus) supra); in earthquakes and other movements of the ground (cf. 1, 18, n. (se . . . tremefecit); 1, 35, n. (mugitus), etc.); in the mantic importance attached to contact with the earth, as in incubation (cf. 1, 96, n. (excubabant) infra); and in other manners. Cf. 1, 79; 1, 115; 2, 117.

The method in which this vis terrae was thought to affect the mind of the Delphic priestess may be best gathered from Strab. 9, p. 419: φασὶ δ' εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον ἄντρον κοῖλον κατὰ βάθους οὐ μάλα εὐρύστομον, ἀναφέρεσθαι δ' ἔξ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικόν, ὑπερκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ στομίου

adflatu concitabat, evanuisse vetustate, ut quosdam evanuisse et exaruisse amnes aut in alium cursum contortos et deflexos videmus. Sed ut vis acciderit; magna enim quaestio est; modo maneat id, quod negari non potest, nisi omnem historiam perverterimus, multis saeclis verax fuisse id oraculum.

XX. 39. Sed omittamus oracula; veniamus ad somnia. De quibus disputans Chrysippus multis et minutis somniis colligendis facit idem quod

7. idem V3. isdem ABV1H.

τρίποδα ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' δν τὴν Πυθίαν ἀναβαίνουσαν δεχομένην τὸ πνεθμα ἀποθεσπίζειν ἔμμετρά τε καὶ ἄμετρα ἐντείνειν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰς μέτρον ποιητάς τινας ὑπουργοῦντας τῷ ἰερῷ; cf. Arist. de Mund. 4, p. 395 b 26-29; Diod. 16, 26; Plin. N. H. 2, 208; Justin, 24, 6, 9. For a late theory (commonly mentioned by Christian writers) as to how the divine afflatus affected the priestess see Fehrle, Kultische Keuschheil im Allertum (1910), 7-8.

But Wilamowitz (in Hermes, 38 (1903), 579) suggested that the whole tradition was fabulous, and this subject has been developed in detail by Oppé (in Journ. of Hellen. Stud. 24 (1904), 214-238), who shows that the literary evidence for the mephitic chasm is late and untrustworthy, and that the geological evidence is quite against it, for the temple rests, not upon a volcanic soil nor even upon a cavernous limestone, but upon a schist free from such cracks (of which, moreover, excavations at Delphi have shown no trace). From such a soil no mephitic odors could be expected, and Oppé suggests (pp. 237-238) that this part of the tradition was circulated by Aristotle and Ephorus. For acceptance, and some criticism of Oppé's view, see Hoefer in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Pythios (1907), 3382-3383; Gruppe in Burs. Jahresb. 137 (1908), 243-244; Nilsson in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 12 (1909), 578; Jaeger, De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint (1910), 40, n. 1; cf. Farnell in Encycl. Brit. 20, 11 ed. (1911), 143. Heidel in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol. 22 (1911), 125, n. 7 is not convinced.

[160]2f. mentem . . . eoncitabat: cf. 1 128; 2, 127; also 1, 66.

[160]2f. divino adflatu: cf. 1, 12, n. (instinctu inflatuque); Hiller von Gaertringen in P.-W. s.v. Delphoi (1901), 2533.

1. evanuisse vetustate: cf. the answer in 2, 117.

1f. ut quosdam . . . amnes: this comparison is found also in Plut. de Def. Orac. 5: The Bountlan Evera xonotholon πολύφωνον ούσαν έν τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις νθν ξπιλέλοιπε κομιδή καθάπερ νάματα, καὶ πολύς έπεσχηκε μαντικής αυχμός; id. 8: νῦν δὲ τούναντίον έδει θαυμάζειν τον θεόν, εί περιώρα τήν μαντικήν άγρήστως δίκην δδατος άπορρέουσαν; id. 43: λιμνών τε γάρ γεγόνασι και ποταμών, έτι δὲ πλείονες ναμάτων θερμών δπου μέν έκλείψεις και φθοραί παντάπασιν, δπου δ' οίον άποδράσεις και καταδύσεις είτα πάλιν ήκει διά χρόνων επιφαινόμενα τοῦς αυτοῦς τόποις 4 πλησίον ὑπορρέοντα; cf. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 5, 16, p. 205c. And for such disappearance of rivers cf. Arist. Meteor. 1, 14, p. 351 b 2; Hier. Comm. in Abacuc, 2, p. 648 Vall. In many cases in Greece it was due to volcanic causes as well as perhaps to increasing dryness of climate.

3. magna enim quaestio est: cf. 1, 117; N.D. 2, 52; Fin. 2, 34; Tusc. 1, 23; Off. 3, 70.

6. somnia: on this subject cf. 1, 60-63, and notes; 1, 96, n. (excubabant); Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 277-329. The classification of dreams by the ancients is treated by Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 299 ff.; Deubner, De Incubatione (1900), 1-4; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 930, n. 2.

✓ Antipater ea conquirens quae Antiphontis interpretatione explicata declarant illa quidem acumen interpretis, sed exemplis grandioribus decuit uti. Dionysi mater, eius qui Syracosiorum tyrannus fuit, ut scriptum apud Philistum est, et doctum hominem et diligentem et aequalem

3. Dionysii C, Maller.

[161]7. Chrysippus: cf. 1, 6, n. (uno de somniis).

1. Antipater: cf. 1, 6, n. (duo Anti-pater).

1. Antiphontis: on Antiphon, the Athenian sophist, a contemporary of Socrates, see Sauppe, De Antiphonte Sophista (1867) = Ausgew. Schriften (1896), 508-526, especially pp. 524-526 for his work on dreams (cf. 1, 116; 2, 144), which is mentioned by several other writers; cf. Wolff, ed. of Porphyr. de Phil. ex Orac. haur. (1856), 59-60; Sauppe, op. cit. 525; Gruppe, op. cit. 2, 1472, n. 3; to which add Tert. de Anim. 46; Fulg. Myth. 1, 13; also cf. Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 2, 3 ed. (1912), 305-306. Bouché-Leclercq (op. cit. 2 (1880), 84) well suggests that such popularizing treatises as this probably tended to spread the knowledge of divination and at the same time to prevent it from becoming the monopoly of specialists.

2. illa quidem: this pleonastic use of ille, usually accompanied by quidem, and often followed by sed, is most fully discussed by Samuelson in Eranos, 8 (1908), 49-76; cf. also Lejay in Res. Crit. N.S. 68 (1909), 397-399. It is a usage infrequent outside Cicero and apparently unknown before him. Few instances have been found later than his time. Another case occurs in this work (2, 16), and in Cicero's other works abundant material is to be found.

- 2. acumen: cf. 2, 145.
- 2. exemplis grandioribus: cf. Ov. Tr. 1, 3, 25: si licet exemplis in parvis grandibus uti.
- 3. Dionysi: the First; born ca. 430 B.c., began to reign in 406/5, and reigned for 38 years (N.D. 3, 81; Tusc. 5, 57). His father was Hermocrates; the name of his

mother is not known. For stories about him cf. 1, 73; N.D. 3, 81-84; Tusc. 5, 57-63.

- 3. mater: cf. 2, 136.
- 3. tyrannus: cf. Tusc. 5, 57: tyrannus Syracusanorum fuit Dionysius. The illegitimacy of his power is also noted by Cicero in N.D. 3, 84.
- 4. Philistum: Plut. Nic. 19 calls him Φίλιστος, άνηρ Συρακόσιος, and Suid. s.v. Φίλισκος Says: 4 Φίλιστος, Συρακούσιος Ιστορικός. ήν δέ συγγενής Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου Σικελίας, και &ν τή πρός Καρχηδονίους νανμαχία ετελεύτησε . . . Εγραψε Σικελικά (δστι δέ τά πρός Έλληνας αύτοις πραχθέντα διαφόρως), και γενεαλογίαν, περί Φοινίκης, και άλλα τινά περί τθε νήσου Σικελίας; id. s.v. Φίλιστος Ναυκρατίτης ή Συρακούσιος, 'Αρχωνίδου υίος . . . συνέταξε δε Τέχνην βητορικήν, Αίγυπτιακά & βιβλίοις ιβ', Σικελικά & βιβλίοις ια' . . . περί Διονυσίου τοῦ τυράννου βιβλία 5', 47\lambda. In the two preceding entries there is evidently some confusion. A further account of his life is found in Plut. Dio, 11: Φίλιστον, άνδρα και πεπαιδευμένον περί λόγους και τυραννικών ήθων έμπειρότατον, ώς άντιταγμα πρός Πλάτωνα και φιλοσοφίαν exervor efortes. à yap on Phiotos et apxils te τή τυραννίδι καθισταμένη προθυμότατον ξαυτόν παρέσχε, και την άκραν διεφύλαξε φρουραρχών έπι πολύν χρόνον. ήν δέ λόγος ώς και τη μητρί πλησιάζοι τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου Διονυσίου, τοῦ τυράννου μή παντάπασιν άγνοοθντος. Later Dionysius banished him and he went to Adria, δπου και δοκεί τά πλείστα συνθείναι τες Ιστορίας σχολάζων, ου γάρ έπανήλθε του πρεσβυτέρου ζώντος, άλλα μετά την έκείνου τελευτήν, ώσπερ είρηται, κατήγαγεν αυτόν δ πρός Δίωνα τῶν άλλων φθόνος, κτλ. For other details see Giambelli in Rivista di Filologia, 17 (1888), 243-245; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Gesch. d. gr. Litt. 1, 5 ed. (1908), 496-497. Of his works Diodorus speaks (13, 103, 3):

temporum illorum, cum praegnans hunc ipsum Dionysium alvo contineret, somniavit se peperisse Satyriscum. Huic interpretes portentorum, qui Galeotae tum in Sicilia nominabantur, responderunt, ut ait Philistus, eum

2. Satyriscum O, Müller, Saturiscum C, Christ, Bailer.

3. Galeotae 'seius cedez,' teste Ursino, galeatae H, galleatae ABV.

τών δὲ συγγραφέων Φίλιστος τὴν πρώτην σύνταξιν των Σικελικών els τούτον τον ένιαυτον κατέστροφεν, els την 'Δκράγαντος άλωσιν, έν βίβλοις έπτα διελθών χρόνον έτων πλείω των δατακοσίων, της δε δευτέρας συντάξεως την μέν άρχην άπο <της> της προτέρας τελευτης πεποίηται, γέγραφε δὲ βίβλους τέσσαρας; cf. 15, 89, 3: Φίλιστος δὲ τὰ περί Διονύσιον τον νεώτερον ώδε κατέστροφε, διελθών έτη πέντε èν βίβλοις δυσίν. Of his style Cicero remarks (ad Q. Fr. 2, 11 (13), 4): Siculus ille capitalis, creber, acutus, brevis, paene pusillus Thucydides, sed utros eius habueris libros—duo enim sunt corpora—an utrosque nescio. me magis de Dionysio delectat. ipse est enim veterator magnus et perfamiliaris Philisto; de Or. 2, 57: consecutus est Syracusius Philistus, qui cum Dionysi tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historia scribenda maximeque Thucydidem est, sicul mihi videlur, imitatus; cf. Brut. 66; 294; Quintil. 10, 1, 74. For the fragments see Müller, F. H.G. 1, 185-192; cf. also 1, 73 and 2, 67 infra.

[162]4 f. aequalem temporum illorum: cf. Vell. 1, 7, 1: huius temporis aequalis.

1f. praegnans . . . somniavit: cf. Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 7: tutioris somni mater eiusdem Dionysi. quae cum eum conceptum utero haberet, parere visa est Salyriscum consultoque prodigiorum interprete clarissimum ac potentissimum Grai sanguinis futurum certo cum eventu cognovit. The dreams of pregnant women in regard to the children to be born (the reverse, in a way, of the theory of prenatal influence) are not infrequently mentioned; e.g., 1, 121; Nic. Damasc. in F. H.G. 3, 399 (of the mother of Cyrus); Hdt. 6, 131; Plut. Pericl. 3 (of the mother of Pericles bearing a lion); 1, 42, n. (mater, etc.) infra (Hecuba bearing the firebrand); 1, 46 (the mother of Phalaris); Artemid. Onirocr. 1, 18; 1, 20; 4, 67; 4, 83; Philostr. Vit. Apollon. 1, 4 (the mother of Apollonius dreams of bearing Proteus): Fulgent. Virgil. Continent, p. 754 St.; Phocas, Vit. Virg. p. 38 Diehl: Philargyrius in Ecl. procem.; 3, 61 (of Virgil's mother); Gruppe, Gr. Myth. s. Relig. 2 (1906), 866, n. 1 (for the mother of Alexander bearing a snake); Lamprid. Commod. 1, 3-4 (the mother of Commodus dreams of bearing snakes); cf. Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 14, 1 (of the mother of Alexander Severus); also The Spectator, no. 1 (1710); Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 70, n. 2. Sometimes the dream is not that of the mother but of the father (Artemid. Onirocr. 5, 8; Evagr. Hist. Eccl. 5, 21), or even of a slave of a pregnant woman (Artemid. Onirocr. 5, 85).

For other dreams about Dionysius see Aeschin. Fals. Leg. 10; Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 6; Tert. de Anim. 46; Phot. Lex. s.v. lepelas brunor; Paroemiogr. Gr. 1, 421, no. 25; Oxyrhynch. Pap. 7, 88 and 98 (fr. 9).

2. Satyriscum: cf. 1, 23, n. (Panisci). Artemidorus says (Onisocr. 2, 37): δ δὲ χορὸς δ περί τὸν Διόνυσον, οἶον Βάκχοι καὶ Βάκχαι καὶ Βασσάραι καὶ Σάτυροι καὶ Πῶνες καὶ δσα ἄλλα ἐστὶν δμοια ὀνόματα καὶ ὁμοῦ πάντες καὶ ἰδία ἔκαστος μεγάλας ταραχὰς καὶ κινδύνους καὶ περιβοήσεις σημαίνουσι πλήν τοῦ Σειληνοῦ.

3. Galeotae: also called Galeoi. Ael. V. H. 12, 46 mentions them in connection with Dionysius (cf. 1, 73, n. (facta coniectura) infra), and Hesych. s.v. Γαλεοί says: μάντεις. οδτοι κατά τὴν Σικελίαν Φκησαν. και γένος τι, ῶς φασι Φανόδημος (F. H.G. 1, 369, 23) και 'Ρίνθων Ταραντίνος (Com. Gr. Frag. 188, 17 Kaibel); Steph. Byz. s.v. Γαλεώται: 80νος εν Σικελία ή εν τή 'Αττική, άπο Γαλεώτου υίοῦ 'Απόλλωνος και Θεμιστοῦς (cf. Clem. Strom. 1, 21, p. 134 Stählin), τής θυγατρος Ζαβίου, τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν 'Τπερβορέων, ὡς εἰρήσεται εν τῷ περί Τελμησσοῦ. τινὲς δὲ δτι Γαλεώται μάντεων είδος

quem illa peperisset clarissimum Graeciae diuturna cum fortuna fore. 40. Num te ad fabulas revoco vel nostrorum vel Graecorum poetarum? Narrat enim et apud Ennium Vestalis illa:

Et cita cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen,

4. et cita ABV1, Vaklen, excita HV2O, Baiter, eccita Klots, Christ, Maller.

Σικελών. γαλεός δέ και δ άσκαλαβώτης . . . και "Αρχιππος Ίχθύσιν "τι λέγεις σύ; μάντεις είσι γάρ θαλάττιοι; γαλεοί γε πάντων μάντεων σοφώτατοι." φασί δὲ τὸν Γαλεώτην ἐξ Υπερβορέων Τελμησσόν <δέ έκ . . . έλθειν> οίς ξχρησεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν Δωδώνη τὸν μὰν ἐπὶ άνατολάς του δ' έπι δυσμάς πλείν . . . Γαλεώτης οδν έν Σικελία και Τελμησσός έν Καρία ήλθεν (cf. 1, 91 infra), Ενθα 'Απόλλωνος Τελμησσίου lepbr; id. s.v. Τβλαι τρείς πόλεις Σικελίας, ή μείζων ής οί πολίται Τβλαΐοι < Meyapeis >, ή μικρά ής οί πολίται Υβλαίοι Γαλεώται [Meyapeîs], κτλ. Thuc. 6, 82 also mentions Hybla Geleatis; cf. Paus. 5, 23, 6: al δε ήσαν εν Σικελία πόλεις al Τβλαι < ή μέν > Γερεάτις ἐπίκλησιν, τὴν δὲ . . .ή δέ κώμη τε Καταναίων ή Γερεάτις και Ιερόν σφισιν Υβλαίας έστι θεού, παρά Σικελιωτών έχον τιμάς, παρά τούτων δὲ κομισθήναι τὸ άγαλμα ès 'Ολυμπίαν ήγοθμαι (cf. Wolff, ed. of Porphyr. de Phil. ex Orac. haur. (1856), 200-201). τεράτων γάρ σφᾶς καὶ έννηνίων Φίλιστος ὁ Αρχομενίδου φησίν εξηγητάς είναι και μάλιστα εύσεβεία των έν Σικελία βαρβάρων προσκεῖσθαι. See Kjellberg in P.-W. s.v. Galeoi (1910), 592; Ciaceri, Culti e miti nella Storia dell' antica Sicilia (1911), 15-23; Pareti, Studi Siciliani ed Italioti (1911), 331-347.

The origin of the name Galeotae has been much disputed. It is very likely not Greek, though attempts have been made to connect it with yakes and yakes in the sense of 'lizard,' and to infer (what the literary evidence does not indicate) that their method of divination was by the observation of lizards; cf. Wolff, op. cit. 201-202 (who would trace this divination by lizards to Olympia, on the authority of Paus. 6, 2, 4-5); Kjellberg, op. cit. 593. The attempt to assume an eponymous Galeus is too similar to other such explanations of the names of

seers (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 55-59), while that of Ciaceri (op. cit. 18) to connect the name with the word $\gamma t p p a$ seems unsuccessful. For the power of divination as inherited in a family or. clan see also 1, 91; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 79-81.

[163]3. responderunt: in accounts of the answers of interpreters formal mention of the putting of the question is often omitted; the dream or portent itself seems to constitute a question demanding an answer: e.g., 1, 37; 1, 98; 2, 66.

- 1. clarissimum Graeciae: an unusual idiom; cf. pro Rabir. 23: virum unum totius Graeciae facile doctissimum.
- 2. fabulas . . . vel nostrorum vel Graecorum: cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).
- 3. et: according to Madvig, 3 ed. of de Finibus (1876), 791, this is intended to be correlative with another et introducing the quotation in 1, 42, but the second member of the correlation is forgotten; cf. 1, 63, n. (nam et); 1, 111, n. (nam et); 1, 121: mittit et signa, etc.
- 3. apud Ennium: Ann. 1, 35-51
 Vahlen. For the way in which Cicero in his accounts of the foundation of Rome follows Ennius see Zingler, De Cicerons Historico Quaest. (1900), 9, n. 2; also 1, 107 infra, and for Cicero's quotations from Ennius see Schollmeyer, Quid Cic. de Poetis Roman. iudicaverit (1884), 3-5; Zillinger, Cic. u. d. altrom. Dichter (1911), 97-124.
- 3. Vestalis: that is, Ilia. Similar situations of a woman representing her dream to her sister are found in Apollon. Rhod. 3, 636 ff.; Virg. Aen. 4, 8 ff.
- 3. illa: on the use of this word in introducing exempla see Schoenberger, Beispiele aus der Geschichte (1911), 58-59; also 1, 42; 1, 80; 1, 114; 1, 131, n. (ille).



Talia tum memorat lacrimans exterrita somno: "Eurydica prognata, pater quam noster amavit, Vires vitaque corpus meum nunc deserit omne. Nam me visus homo pulcher per amoena salicta

Colonna's emendation to *Ilia*, though palaeographically easy, is unnecessary.

[164]4. anus attulit artubus: note the alliterations in this passage: prognata pater, vires vita, pulcher per, ripas raptare, corde capessere, voce videtur, fluvio fortuna, conspectu corde cupitus, multa manus, caeli caerula, voce vocabam; also in the next: mentis metu, sumptus suspirantibus, postulat petens, sortes somnium, Apollo puerum primus Priamo, temperaret tollere; cf. 1, 17, n. (aetheris aeterni).

[164]4. anus: probably an older Vestal, perhaps the Virgo Vestalis Maxima. On the duration of service of the Vestals (Tac. Ann. 2, 86 speaks of 57 years in one case) cf. Giannelli, Il Sacerdosio delle Vestali Romane (1913), 57-59. Against the views that the anus is the nurse of Ilia, or that soror was applied by Vestals to one another as in later times by nuns (so Roos, Symb. exeg.-crit. ad M. T. Cic. de Div. (1799), 9) may be set the definite expression prognata. Here the Vestals are probably thought of as the daughters of the monarch.

[164]4. artubus: for the failure of the final s to make position cf. corpus, just below; 1, 41: ecfatus, somnus; 1, 66, n. (virginalis modestia); 1, 114: versibus; Orat. 161: quin etiam, quod iam subrusticum videtur, olim autem politius, eorum verborum, quorum eaedem erant postremae duae litterae quae sunt in 'optumus,' postremam litteram detrahebant, nisi vocalis insequebatur. ita non erat ea offensio in versibus quam nunc fugiunt poetae novi.

[164]4. lumen: cf. 1, 79, n. (lumine).

- 1. talia, etc.: cf. Virg. Aen. 3, 344: talia fundebat lacrimans.
- 2. Eurydica: cf. Paus. 10, 26, 1: Δέσχως δὲ καὶ ἔτη τὰ Κύπρια διδόασιν Εύρυδίκην γυναῖκα Alvela; Serv. Aen. 777: secundum Ennium referetur inter deos

cum Aenea: dicit namque Iliam fuisse filiam Aeneae. quod si est, Aeneas avus est Romuli; Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 273: Naevius et Ennius Aeneas ex filia nepotem Romulum conditorem urbis tradunt; Pascal in Rivista di Filologia, 25 (1897), 94.

- 3. descrit: for the singular verb Giese compares Tusc. 3, 5: cum . . . corpora et natura valeat.
- 4. nam me, etc.: cf. Ov. Tr. 2, 259-260: sumpserit Annales—nihil est hirsutius illis—/ facta sit unde parens Ilia, nempe leget. The story is also told in detail by Ov. Fast. 3, 9 ff.
- 4. homo pulcher: Mars; cf. Liv. 1. 4, 2: Martem incertae stirpis patrem nuncupat; Virg. Aen. 1, 273-274; regina sacerdos / Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem. His beauty is probably a divine attribute, as in the account in Dion. Hal. 1, 77: τετάρτω δ' δστερον έτει τήν Ίλιαν έλθουσαν els lepòv άλσος "Apeos σδατος άγνοθ κομιδής ένεκα 🗳 πρός τάς θυσίας έμελλε χρήσεσθαι, βιάζεται τις & τΟ τεμένα. τούτον δέ τινες μέν άποφαίνουσι τών μνηστήρων ένα γενέσθαι έρωντα τής παιδίσκης, ol δέ αθτόν 'Αμόλιον . . . οι δέ πλείστοι μυθολογούσι του δαίμονος είδωλον, ου το χωρίον ήν . . . όψιν δὲ ήν τὸ είδωλον είχε θαυμασιωτέραν μακρφ δή τι κατά μέγεθος και κάλλος άνθρώπων, κτλ. So in 1, 44 the flock is eximia pulchritudine; cf. 1, 52; pulchritudine eximia feminam; 1, 53: egregia facie iuvenem; Liv. 21, 22, 6: iuvenem divina specie; Chron. Pasch. p. 330 D: arhp res τέλειος, εὐσχήμων; and many other examples are collected by Deubner, De Incubatione (1900), 12-13.

Divine apparitions were also remarkable for their great stature; cf. Morley, Greek and Roman Ghost Stories (1912), 72 ff.; Suet. Iul. 32. So also in dreams, as in Liv. 8, 6, 9; Tac. Hist. 4, 83; Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 1; Deubner, op. cit. 12; Merrill on Plin. Ep. 7, 27, 2.

- Y Et ripas raptare locosque novos; ita sola Postilla, germana soror, errare videbar Tardaque vestigare et quaerere te neque posse Corde capessere; semita nulla pedem stabilibat.
- 41. Exin compellare pater me voce videtur
 His verbis: 'O gnata, tibi sunt ante gerendae
 Aerumnae, post ex fluvio fortuna resistet.'
 Haec ecfatus pater, germana, repente recessit,
 Nec sese dedit in conspectum corde cupitus,
 Quamquam multa manus ad caeli caerula templa
- 6. o gnata exc. Pith., cognata AB, cognita HV.
- 7-8. versus acrumnae, etc. et hace ociatus, etc. isverse ordine in codd. leguntur.
- 8. ecfatus Müller, effatus V2O, Vahlen, efatus AV1, fatus H, pater effatus B, sed in ras.
- [165]4. salicta: cf. Ov. Fast. 3, 17-18: dum sedet, umbrosae salices volucresque canorae / fecerunt somnos et leve murmur aquae; also Virg. Aen. 6, 638: devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta; and, for locosque novos, see Virg. Aen. 1, 306-307.
- 1. ripas: cf. Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 26: παρ' αίγιαλῷ ἀποπατεῖν . . . καὶ παρὰ ποταμῷ . . . λυσιτελὶς δν.
- 1. locos: for the masculine plural cf. 1, 93.
- 1f. sola, etc.: Virg. Aen. 4, 465-468: agit ipse furentem / in somnis ferus Aeneas; semperque relinqui / sola sibi semper longam incomitata videtur / ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra.
 - 2. postilla: cf. 1, 42.
- 2. germans: so Dido, just after the passage quoted, in Aen. 4, 478, addresses her sister Anna.
- 3. tarda: cf. the use of languida in Ov. Fast. 3, 25.
- 4. stabilibat: for stabiliebat; cf. 1, 65: praesagibat; Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausfuhr. Gram. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 724-725 for many examples from old Latin. For the word cf. 1, 108.
- 7. ex fluvio: cf. Liv. 1, 4, 3-6; Dion. Hal. 1, 78-79; Plut. Rom. 2. The reason for placing the twins in the river is given by Dion. Hal. 1, 78: χρήσθαι τῷ νόμφ αελεύοντι τὴν μὲν αἰσχύνασαν τὸ σῶμα ῥάβδοις κίκισθεῖσαν ἀποθανεῖν, τὸ δὲ γεννηθὲν εἰς τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βάλλεσθαι ῥεῦθρον.
 - 7. resistet: a rare use, here equiva-

- lent to resurget, and apparently paralleled only by pro Mur. 84: nihil est . . . ubi lapsi resistamus.
- 8. ecfatus: cf. 1, 81: ecfatam; 1, 106: ecfantem. For such cases of ecf- (more often assimilated to eff-) see Kühner-Holzweissig, op. cit. 1, 930. The word is archaic, according to de Or. 3, 153.
- 8. recessit: Thoresen compares Virg. Aen. 2, 790-793: haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volentem / dicere deseruit tenuisque recessit in auras. / ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum, / ter frustra comprensa manus effugit imago, etc.
- 10. multa: an adverbial use found also in Virg. Georg. 4, 301: multa reluctanti; Aen. 3, 610: multa moratus; 5, 869: multa gemens; cf. the use of πολλά in Greek, e.g., Hom. Il. 1, 35; 6, 458; Od. 13, 277; Apollon. Rhod. 1, 248-250: al δὲ γυναῖκει / πολλά μάλ' άθανάτοισιν ἐς αἰθὲρα χεῖρας ἄειρον / εὐχόμεναι.
- 10. caeli caerula templa: cf. Enn. Ann. 65-66 Vahlen: unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli / templa; 541: contremuit templum magnum Iovis altitonantis; Sc. 196: O magna templa caelitum commixta stellis splendidis; 380: qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit. The expression may perhaps be modelled after Aesch. Pers. 365: κνέφας δὲ τέμενος αlθέρος λάβη, but is more probably derived from the augural use of the word templum; cf. Müller-Deecke, Die Etrusker, 2, 2 ed. (1877), 129. For the imitation of the

Tendebam lacrumans et blanda voce vocabam. Vix aegro tum corde meo me somnus reliquit."

XXI. 42. Haec, etiamsi ficta sunt a poeta, non absunt tamen a consuetudine somniorum. Sit sane etiam illud commenticium quo Priamus est conturbatus, quia

. mater gravida parere ex se ardentem facem

5-6. quia mater O, quia extra versum posuit Ribbeck.
6. ex addidit Bückeler.

expression by other authors cf. Wreschniok, De Cicerone Lucretioque Enni Imitatoribus (1907), 41.

1. lacrumans: cf. Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 60: δακρύειν καὶ δδύρεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ νεκρῷ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλῳ ψτινιοῦν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ λυπεῖσθαι χαρὰν ἐπὶ τινι καὶ ἡδονὴν ἐπὶ κατορθώματι ἐσομένην προαγορεύει (and he gives a fanciful reason therefor); Astrampsychus, Onirocr. p. 5 Rigalt.: κλαίων καθ' ὕπνους πανχαρὴς πάντως ἔση. Perhaps the real principle is that dreams are interpreted by their opposites, for which cf. Plin. Ep. 1, 18, 2; Lucan, 7, 21-22, and schol.; Tylor, Primitive Culture, 1 (Am. ed. 1874), 121-122.

1. blanda voce: cf. Virg. Aen. 1, 670-671: blandisque moratur / vocibus.

4. commenticium: cf. 2, 113.

5. quia: Zillinger (Cicero u. d. altröm. Dichter (1911), 109, n. 4) treats this word as the beginning of the first line of the quotation, which otherwise is deficient one syllable, and thinks that after the expression illud commenticium quo Priamus est conturbatus there is no place, in the prose, for a causal clause. But there is nothing impossible in the use of two different kinds of causal expression. and in 1, 29; 1, 131 (and perhaps in 1, 107) we have good parallels for the omission of a word or two at the beginning of a verse which would probably, if included, have disturbed the course of the sentence in which the quotation is inserted.

6. mater, etc.: there is no clear attribution of these lines by Cicero, but they have been commonly assigned to the Alexander of Ennius; cf. Ribbeck, Trag. Rom. Frag. 3 ed. (1897), 273; also id., Die röm. Trag. (1875), 81-94 (with a dis-

cussion of the plot of the play); they are included by Vahlen as Sc. 35-46. That Ennius wrote an Alexander is well attested; see Vahlen's ed., l.c. His play was probably based on the Alexandros of Euripides; cf. Varr. L.L. 7, 82. For other quotations from the Alexander of Ennius see 1, 66-67; 1, 114.

Pind. fr. Paean. 8, 30 (Oxyrhynck. Pap. 5, 65): δδοξε δὲ τεκείν πυρφόρον Έρινυν; Eur. Tr. 920-922: δεύτερον δ' ἀπώλεσε / Τροίαν τε κάμ' ο πρέσβυς ου κτανών βρέφος, / δαλού πικρόν μίμημ', 'Αλέξανδρόν ποτε; cf. Schol. Eur. Andr. 294; Hygin. Fab. 91: Priamus, Laomedontis filius, cum complures liberos haberet ex concubitu Hecubae, Cissei sive Dymantis filiae, uxor eius praegnans in quiete vidit se facem ardentem parere, ex qua serpentes plurimos exisse. id visum omnibus coniectoribus cum narratum esset, imperant quicquid pareret necaret, ne id patriae exitio foret. postquam Hecuba peperit Alexandrum datur interficiendus; quem satellites misericordia exposuerunt; Apollod. Bibl. 3, 12, 5, 2-4: γεναται δὲ αὐτή πρώτος μὲν "Εκτωρ" δευτέρου δὲ γεννασθαι μέλλοντος βρέφους έδοξεν 'Εκάβη καθ' ύπαρ δαλόν τεκείν διάπυρον, τούτον δε πασαν ξπινέμεσθαι τήν πόλιν καὶ καίειν. μαθών δὲ Πρίαμος παρ' Έκάβης τον δνειρον, Αίσακον τον υίον μετεπεμφατο ήν γαρ ονειροκρίτης . . . ούτος είπων της πατρίδος γενέσθαι τον παίδα άπώλειαν, εκθείναι τό βρέφος εκέλευσε. Πρίαμος δέ, ώς έγεντήθη το βρέφος, δίδωσιν έκθειναι οίκετη κομίσοντι els "Ιδην; Dict. Cret. 3, 26: Hecubam fetu eo gravidam facem per quietem edidisse visam, cuius ignibus conflagravisse Idam, ac mox continuante flamma deorum delubra concremari, omnemque demum ad cineres collapsam civitatem, Visa est in somnis Hecuba; quo facto pater Rex ipse Priamus somnio mentis metu Perculsus curis sumptus suspirantibus Exsacrificabat hostiis balantibus. Tum coniecturam postulat pacem petens, Ut se edoceret obsecrans Apollinem

- Quo sese vertant tantae sortes somnium. Ibi ex oraclo voce divina edidit Apollo, puerum, primus Priamo qui foret Postilla natus, temperaret tollere; Eum esse exitium Troiae, pestem Pergamo.
- 43. Sint haec, ut dixi, somnia fabularum, hisque adiungatur etiam Aeneae

1. visa est C, visast Mäller.

intactis inviolatisque Antenoris et Anchisae domibus, quae denuntiata cum ad perniciem publicam spectare aruspices praecinerent, internecandum editum partum placuisse, sed Hecubam more femineae miserationis, clam alendum pastoribus in Idam tradidisse; Virg. Aen. 7, 320; 10, 704-705; Ov. Her. 17, 237-240: fax quoque me terret quam se peperisse cruentam / ante diem partus est tua visa parens, / et valum timeo monitus, quos igne Pelasgo / Ilion arsurum praemonuisse ferunt; Schol. A Hom. Il. 3, 325; 12, 93; Tryphiod. 379-380; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 1 (1906), 665, n. 7; Türk in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Paris (1909), 1582-1585. For such dreams see 1, 39, n. (praegnans . . . somniavit); and for the further appearance of this torch 1, 67, n. (fax).

- 1. visa est: for the omission of sibi cf.
 1, 46: matrem Phalaridis . . . visam esse
 videre in somnis.
- 2. mentis: perhaps used with perculsus on the analogy of the locative animi with such words as confusus, incertus, turbidus, etc. (Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 446-447); or, more probably, depending upon metu. The emendations mentem (by Lambinus) and mortis (by Bothe) are unnecessary.
- 3. sumptus: for the simple verb used in the sense of consumo cf. Plaut. M. G. 673; Trin. 411; 414.

- 4. exsacrificabat: only here; cf. the Greek διοθύσμαι in the sense of the Latin expio (Stephanus, Thes. Gr. Ling. s.v. διοθύω).
- 4. balantibus: that is, sheep. The word is used as an adjective in Juv. 13, 233; as a noun in Lucr. 2, 369; Virg. Georg. 1, 272; 3, 457. For the rhyme cf. 1, 20, n. (monebant . . . ferebant . . . iubebant . . . vereri . . . teneri).
- 5. coniecturam: applied to the interpretation of signs, and, specifically, of dreams, in 1, 58; 2, 129; 2, 144; 2, 147. Cf. the use of coniector.
- 5. pacem petens: for this formula in prayers cf. Appel, De Romanorum Precationibus (1909), 121.
 - 8. ibi: temporal.
- 10. temperaret: for this verb (-case-ret) with the infinitive cf. Plaut. Poen. 22; 33; 1036; Gell. 4, 9, 5; 16, 19, 11.
- 10. tollere: used by Cicero in this sense in Rep. 2, 4.
- 12. fabularum: cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).
- 12f. Aeneae somnium: cf. Diod. 7, 5, 4-5: περί δὲ τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης Φάβιος δ τὰς 'Ρωμαίων πράξεις ἀναγράψας ἄλλως μεμυθολόγηκε, φησί γὰρ Αίνεία γενέσθαι λόγιον, τετράπουν αὐτῷ καθηγήσεσθαι πρὸς κτίσιν πόλεως μέλλοντος δ' αὐτοῦ θύειν ὖν ἔγκυον τῷ χρώματι λευκὴν ἐκφυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ διωχθῆναι πρός τινα λόφον πρὸς ῷ κομισθεῖσαν τεκεῖν τριάκοντα χοίρους. τὸν δὲ Αίνείαν τό τε

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M. TVLLI CICERONIS DE DIVINATIONE LIBER PRIMVS

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somnium quod nimirum in Fabi Pictoris Graecis annalibus eius modi est ut omnia quae ab Aenea gesta sunt quaeque illi acciderunt ea fuerint quae ei secundum quietem visa sunt.

XXII. Sed propiora videamus. Cuiusnam modi est Superbi Tarquini somnium de quo in Bruto Acci loquitur ipse?

- nimirum in Dederick, Peter, numerum C, nostri Herts, Müller, Numeri Sigonius et O, in veterrumis Pläss, inclusum van den Bergh; del. von Gutschmid.
 - 4. propiora sulg., propriora ABV, propria II, Beiter.
 - 4. Tarquinii C, Maller.
 - 5. Acci Comercrius (Accii), accius ABV, ectius H, Attii O, Atti Christ.

παράδοξον θαυμάσαντα καὶ τὸ λόγιον άνανεούμενον ἐπιχειρήσαι μὲν οίκίσαι τὸν τόπον, ἰδόντα δὲ κατὰ τὸν ὅπνον δψιν ἐναργῶς διακωλύουσαν καὶ συμβουλεύουσαν μετὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη κτίζειν δσοσπερ ὁ τῶν τεχθέντων ἀριθμὸς ἔν, ἀποστήναι τῆς προθέσεως; Dion. Hal. 1, 56. A dream of Aeneas is also described by Virg. Aen. 3, 147-171.

1. nimirum in: the MSS. here clearly read numerum, which was by Sigonius changed to Numeri, a suggestion which has been rather generally replaced by the nostri of Hertz (Philol.-klin. Streifzug (1849), 33). But Plüss (in Fleckeis. Jahrb. 99 (1869), 239-242) objects that this contrasts, not Greek and Roman exempla, as is customary, but Greek and Roman sources, and accordingly proposes in veterrumis, contrasting Fabius's Greek and his Latin annales (see the next note). Other conjectures are inclusum of van den Bergh (De antiq. Annal. Script. (1859), 33); nimirum in of Dederich (Quaest. philol. (1852), 3-5). Von Gutschmid (Kl. Schr. 5 (1894), 513) thinks numerum was expanded from N which was itself written by dittography after the final n of in, and he would accordingly delete the word numerum, while Wachsmuth (according to Bader, De Diodori Rerum Roman. Auctoribus (1890), 32, n. 38) suspected that nimirum Fabi was a gloss (yet Fabius is apparently cited by ancient writers by his nomen rather than by his praenomen). For a good review of the question see Peter, Hist. Rom. Reliq. 1, 2 ed. (1914), lxxix, n. 1, who accepts the reading nimirum in.

1. Fabi Pictoris Graecis annalibus: cf. Dion. Hal. 1, 6: 'Ρωμαίων δσοι τά παλαιά έργα τής πόλεως Έλληνική διαλέκτω συνέγραψαν, ὢν είσι πρεσβύτατοι Κόιντός τε Φάβιος καί Λεύκιος Κίγκιος, άμφότεροι κατά τούς Φοινικικούς άκμάσαντες πολέμους. On the contents and date of this work see Schanz, Gesch. d. röm. Litt. 1, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 232; Peter, op. cit. lxxii ff. But several passages cite Latin words or phrases from the works of Pictor (Schanz, op. cit. 233; Peter, op. cit. lxxvii ff.), from which it appears that he wrote Latin annals as well, with which Cicero is doubtless here contrasting his Graecis annalibus. Different views as to the relation of the Latin to the Greek work are summarized by von Gutschmid, op. cit. 512-517; Schanz, op. cit. 233-234; Peter, op. cit. lxxx ff. The fragments are found in Peter, op. cit. 5-39; cf. 1, 55 infra; and for the use of Fabius by Cicero cf. Zingler, De Cicerone Historico Quaest. (1900), 10.

- 3. secundum quietem: cf. 1, 48; 1, 53, n. (in quiete); 2, 124; 2, 126; 2, 135.
 4. propiora: cf. 2, 22; also 1, 29, n.
- 4. propiora: cf. 2, 22; also 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).
- 4. Superbi Tarquini: for the order cf. Axtell in Class. Philol. 10 (1915), 395, and n. 4. In de Am. 28 Cicero uses the reverse order. For another instance in which Cicero employs now one order and now another cf. Axtell, op. cit. 396, n. 5.
- 5. Bruto: the two praetextae of Accius are the Aeneadae sive Decius and the Brutus, and of the latter the two chief fragments are those that follow, which, with others, are to be found in Ribbeck,

- 44. Quoniam quieti corpus nocturno inpetu Dedi sopore placans artus languidos, Visust in somnis pastor ad me appellere Pecus lanigerum eximia pulchritudine; Duos consanguineos arietes inde eligi Praeclarioremque alterum immolare me;
- visust Lombinus (visu'st), uisus est H, uisum est ABV (visum est . . . pastorem O), visus'st vulg., Baiter.
 4-5. Versus pecus . . . pulchritudine et duos . . . eligi inverso ordine leguntur in C, rectum ordinem restituit
 Muretus.

Trag. Rom. Frag. 3 ed. (1897), 328-331; English verse translation of this fragment in Bennett, Across the Years (1917), 52-53. This play evidently dealt with the period of the downfall of the Tarquin dynasty. Camerarius suggested that it was perhaps produced at the expense of Brutus as city praetor at the Ludi Apollinares, 6 July, 44 B.C.; cf. Phil. 1, 36: nisi forte Accio tum plaudi et sexagesimo post anno palmam dari, non Bruto putabatis, qui ludis suis ita caruit ut in illo apparatissimo spectaculo studium populus Romanus tribueret absenti, desiderium liberatoris sui perpetuo plausu et clamore leniret. If this be the case, these two passages of verse may have been inserted by Cicero, like certain other portions, after the death of Caesar, when the play had been freshly recalled to his mind. The use of the word redeamus in 1, 46 recognizes this passage as a digression. For a list of Cicero's quotations from Accius see Zillinger, Cicero u. d. altröm. Dichter (1911), 131-140.

[169]5. Acci: that the name is to be spelled Accius rather than Attius is indicated by the weight of MS. evidence as summarized by Müller in his edition of Lucilius (1872), 320.

- 1. quoniam: Thoresen (ad h. loc.) well compares Fest. p. 261 M. (more complete in Paul. p. 260 M.): quoniam significat non solum id quod quia, sed etiam quod postquam; hac de causa quod Graecum bre utriusque significationem obtinet. See also Plaut. Trin. 112; 149; Virg. Georg. 4, 437; etc.
- 1. inpetu: cf. N.D. 2, 97: impetum caeli (see Mayor's note); Lucr. 5, 200: caeli . . . impetus ingens; Virg. Aen. 2, 8-

- 9: nox umida caelo / praecipitat; 2, 250: ruit Oceano nox; Ov. Met. 9, 486: nox . . . praeceps (cf. 2, 70-73); Min. Fel. Oct. 5, 10: quibus . . . rerum omnium impetus volutatur.
- 3. pastor: should we here and in similar cases spell the word paastor? For the spelling reforms of Accius cf. Schanz, Gesch. d. röm. Litt. 1, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 183. This very word appears with doubled vowel (paastores) on the milestone of Popilius (C.I.L. I, 551=X, 6950=Dessau 23).
- 4. pecus lanigerum: cf. Virg. Georg. 3, 287: lanigeros . . . greges. The significance of the dream is made more clear by Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 12: δοικε δὲ τὰ πρόβατα ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ ποιμένι . . . ἄριστον οὖν καὶ ἰδια ἔχειν πολλὰ πρόβατα . . . μάλιστα τοῖς δχλου προΐστασθαι βουλομένοις καὶ σοφισταῖς καὶ διδασκάλοις. ἔτι δὲ καὶ κριὸν πρὸς δεσπότην ἐστὶ ληπτέον καὶ πρὸς ἄρχοντα καὶ βασιλέα κρείεν γὰρ τὸ ἄρχειν ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοί.
- 4. eximia pulchritudine: cf. 1, 40, n. (homo pulcher).
- 5. duos . . . eligi: there is here a shift from the construction with visus to dependence upon an implied visum est. For the form duos cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausführ. Gram. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 635; and for the synizesis of the word id. 1, 149.
- 6. praeclariorem: this typifies the brother of Brutus; cf. Liv. 1, 56, 7: is (sc. L. Iunius Brutus) cum primores civitatis in quibus fratrem suum ab avunculo interfectum audisset, neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus esse ubi in iure parum praesidii

Deinde eius germanum cornibus conitier, In me arietare, eoque ictu me ad casum dari; Exin prostratum terra, graviter saucium, Resupinum in caelo contueri maximum ac Mirificum facinus: dextrorsum orbem flammeum Radiatum solis liquier cursu novo.

6. liquier cod. Balliolensis teste Davisio, linquier C, sed H corr. m. 1 ex linquere.

esset, ergo ex industria factus ad imitationem stultitiae cum se suaque praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuit cognomen, etc.; Dion. Hal. 4, 68: ἐπεὶ δὲ Τύλλιον άποκτείνας Ταρκύνιος σύν άλλοις άνδράσι πολλοίς και άγαθοίς και τον έκείνου πατέρα διεχρήσατο άφανει θανάτω δι' οὐδὲν μέν άδικημα, τοῦ δὲ πλούτου προαχθείς eis ξπιθυμίαν . . . και σύν αύτώ τὸν πρεσβύτερον υίον εύγενες τι φρόνημα διαφαίνοντα και το μή τιμωρήσαι τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἄν ὑπομείναντα, νεός ών δ Βρούτος . . . ἐπεχείρησε ποιήσαι πάντων φρονιμώτατον, κτλ.; Val. Max. 7, 2, 1: cum a rege Tarquinio avunculo suo omnem nobilitatis indolem excerpi interque ceteros etiam fratrem suum, quod vegetioris ingenii erat, interfectum animadverteret, obtusi se cordis esse simulavit eaque fallacia maximas virtutes suas texit; for a comparison of Brutus and Hamlet see Frazer, Golden Bough, 2, 3 ed. (1911), 291, and n. 4.

1. cornibus conitier: for dreams of being butted or gored by animals cf. Diod. 22, 7, 1: δτι Φιντίας δ Φιντιάδος κτίστωρ, 'Ακράγαντος τύραννος, είδεν δναρ δηλοῦν τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν, δν άγριον κυνηγούντος δρμήσαι κατ' αύτοῦ τὴν δν καὶ τὴν πλευράν αύτοῦ τοῖς όδουσι πατάξαι και διελάσαντα την πληγήν kreivai; Chron. Pasch. pp. 330-331 P. (the chamberlain of King Anastasius speaking): θεασάμην ταύτη τη νυκτί ότι ώς Ισταμαι έναντίον τοῦ ὑμετέρου κράτους, ὅπισθέν μου έλθων χοίρος μέγας δραξάμενος τῷ στόματι τὴν άρχην της χλαμύδος μου καί τινάξας κατήγαγέ με είς τὸ εδαφος, και άνηλισκέ με κατεσθίων και πατων. An interpreter explains this dream as portending the end of the king's power. The king soon afterward fell ill, sal άστραπής γενομένης και βροντής μεγάλης πάνυ θροηθείς άπεδωκεν τὸ πνεθμα.

- 2. ad casum dari: Thoresen (ad h. loc.) compares the phrase (Liv. 31, 37, 9; al.): ad terram datus.
- 3. prostratum terra: for the omission of the preposition cf. Val. Flacc. 6, 508: latis prosternitur arris.
- 3. graviter saucium: so graviter aegrum in 1, 53; Tusc. 2, 61.
- 5. dextrorsum: from the insistence on the miraculous nature of this event (cursu novo), we must probably understand it of the sun going in a reversed course. The orientation of the observer is not clear; perhaps the king is thought of as facing north, as a homo Graecus (according to the view of Bothe), or perhaps the right and left of the stage (as Thoresen, edition, p. 221, suggests) may have given to the spectators a clue which we lack. On this subject see Valeton in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 316-317; also 1, 12, n. (a laeva) supra.
- 6. radiatum: cf. the verse in de Or. 3, 162: oculis postremum lumen radiatum rape.
- 6. liquier: for real eclipses as the precursors of the death of rulers cf. Boll in P.-W. s.v. Finsternisse (1909), 2336-2337; also 1, 18, n. (abdidit) supra, to which add the omens from eclipses before the capture of Babylon (Xen. Anab. 3, 4, 8), and those to Cleombrotus (Hdt. 9, 10), Pelopidas (Plut. Pelop. 31), Hannibal (Zonar. 9, 14), before the death of Caesar (Dio Cass. 45, 17), to Nero (id. 61, 16), Gordian III (Jul. Capit. Gordiani, 23, 2), and the case narrated by Bede (Hist. Eccl. 5, 24) of the year 664. Other cases will be found in Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern (1903), 7.

45. Eius igitur somni a coniectoribus quae sit interpretatio facta videamus:

Rex, quae in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident, Quaeque agunt vigilantes agitantque, ea si cui in somno accidunt Minus mirandum est; di rem tantam haud temere inproviso offerunt.

Proin vide ne quem tu esse hebetem deputes aeque ac pecus Is sapientia munitum pectus egregie gerat Teque regno expellat; nam id quod de sole ostentumst tibi Populo commutationem rerum portendit fore

- 1. somnii C, Maller.
- 5. minus mirandum est; di rem tantam Christ, minus mirandum est sed in re tanta CO, minus mirum est, sed di rem tantam Ribbeck cum Neukirchio, Baiter.
 - 8. egregie Bothe, Ribbeck, egregium C, vulg.

Dreams of eclipses are discussed by Artemid. Onirocr. 1, 2: ήλίου δέ και σελήνης και των άλλων άστρων άφανισμόν ή τελείαν έκλευ/υ γής τε και θαλάσσης άκόσμους άνατροπάς πάθη μέν προαγορεύειν κοσμικά, καλείσθαι δὲ κυρίως δνείρατα κοσμικά; 2, 36: ήλιος άφανιζόμενος πάσι πονηρός πλήν τών λανθάνειν πειρωμένων και τά άπορρητα έργαζομένων; Achmet, Onirocr. 167: δ ήλιος έν προσώποις βασιλέως κρίνεται άπαραλλάκτως, και ή σελήνη els πρόσωπον τοῦ άπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δεντέρου έξουσιαστοῦ; and the rest of the chapter has much on this subject. For the connection of the sun and sovereignty cf. 1, 46; Hdt. 8, 137; Frazer, Golden Bough, 4, 3 ed. (1911), 73; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 48, and n. 1.

- 3. usurpant: cf. Lucr. 4, 975-977: cum iam destiterunt ea sensibus usurpare, / relicuas tamen esse vias in mente patentis, / qua possint eadem rerum simulacra venire.
- 4. quaeque agunt vigilantes: cf. 2, 128; 2, 140; Hdt. 7, 16: πεπλανήσθαι αὐταὶ μάλιστα ἐώθασι αὶ δψιες τῶν ὁνειράτων τά τις ἡμέρης φροντίζει; Ps.-Hipp. de Insomn. 88: ἡ ψυχὴ παραμένει ἐν τοῖσιν ἡμερινοῖσι βουλεύμασιν; Arist. de Insomn. 3; Chalcid. in Tim. (F.P.G. 2, 234); Menand. 734-735 K.: ὰ γὰρ μεθ' ἡμέραν τις ἐσπούδασε / ταῦτ' εἰδε νύκτωρ; Ter. Andr. 971-972: num ille somniat / ea quae vigilans voluit; Lucr. 4, 962-966: et quo quisque fere studio devinctus adhaeret / aut quibus in rebus multum sumus ante morati / atque in ea

ratione fuit contenta magis mens, / in somnis eadem plerumque videmur obire; / causidici causas agere et componere leges. etc.; Petron. fr. 30 Bücheler: somnia quae mentes ludunt volitantibus umbris / non delubra deum nec ab aethere numina mittunt, / sed sibi quisque facit. nam cum prostrata sopore / urguet membra quies et mens sine pondere ludit, / quicquid luce fuit tenebris agit. oppida bello / qui quatit et flammis miserandas eruit urbes / tela videl versasque acies et funera regum, etc.; Sen. Oct. 740-742: quaecumque mentis agitat intentus vigor / ea per quietem sacer et arcanus refert / veloxque sensus; Claud. de sext. Cons. Honorii, praef. 1 ff.: omnia quae sensu volvuntur vota diurno / pectore sopito reddit amica quies. / venator defessa toro cum membra reponit / mens tamen ad silvas et sua lustra redit. / iudicibus lites, aurigae somnia currus / vanaque nocturnis meta cavetur equis, etc.; cf. several other passages cited by Preston in Class. Philol. 9 (1914), 201. See also Freud, Die Traumdeutung, 2 ed. (1909), 3-6, for a review of ancient and modern views.

- 4. ea si cui in somno ac-: best read ea si cui in somno ac- in spite of the rarity of elided -ui.
- 5. di, etc.: note the abrupt transition from the ordinary non-prophetic dream to the interpretation of this highly ominous one.

Perpropinquam. Haec bene verruncent populo. Nam quod ad dexteram

Cepit cursum ab laeva signum praepotens, pulcherrume Auguratum est rem Romanam publicam summam fore.

XXIII. 46. Age nunc ad externa redeamus. Matrem Phalaridis scribit Ponticus Heraclides, doctus vir, auditor et discipulus Platonis, visam esse videre in somnis simulacra deorum quae ipsa domi consecravisset; ex iis Mercurium e patera quam dextera manu teneret sanguinem visum esse fundere; qui cum terram attigisset refervescere videretur, sic ut tota domus sanguine redundaret. Quod matris somnium inmanis fili crudelitas con-

[172]7. hebetem: cf. 1, 44, n. (praeclariorem).

[172]7. aeque ac pecus: with reference to his cognomen Brutus.

[172]8. sapientia munitum: cf. de Am. 30: ut quisque maxime virtute et sapientia sic munitus est; Lucr. 2, 8, and Munro's note; Hor. Carm. 3, 28, 4: munitae . . . sapientiae.

1. perpropinquam: semel dictum.

1. bene verruncent: cf. Non. p. 185 M.: verruncent, id est vertant. Accius Aeneadis aut Decio (= Trag. Rom. Frag. 3 ed., 326, no. 4); te sancte venerans precibus, invicte, invoco, / portenta ut populo, patriae verruncent bene. Pacuvius Periboea (= Trag. Rom. Frag. 131, no. 17): precor veniam petens, / ut quae egi, ago, <vel> axim, verruncent bene; Paul. ex Fest. p. 373 M.: verruncent vertant; Liv. 29, 27, 2: precor . . . uti . . . ea miki, populo plebique Romanae . . . bene verruncent. On the derivation of the word see Walde, Lat. elym. Wörterbuck, 2 ed. (1910), 72, s.v. averrunco; and for the use of such propitiatory phrases cf. 1, 102, n. (quod bonum, etc.).

5. externa: cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).

5. redeamus: cf. 1, 43, n. (Bruto). Zingler (De Cic. Historico Quaest. (1900), 23-24) notes the constant alternation of

Greek and Roman exempla (1, 48: redeamus ad somnia; 1, 52: veniamus nunc, si placet, ad somnia philosophorum (sc. Graecorum); 1, 55: quid ego Graecorum? nescio quo modo me magis nostra delectant; 1, 97: ad nostra iam redeo; 1, 109: ut unde huc digressa est eodem redeat oratio), and thinks that Cicero alternated between the use of a Greek source and a Roman, the latter being Appius Claudius Pulcher; cf. 1, 28, n. (scriptum habetis).

5. matrem: mentioned again in 2, 136; her name is unknown. That of the father of Phalaris was Leodamas; cf. Tzetz. Chil. 1, 643-645; 12, 453-454.

6. Ponticus Heraclides: for his life and works see the testimonia collected by Voss, De Heraclidis Pontici Vita et Scriptis (1896), 5-7. Among his writings were one περί χρηστηρίων and one called προοπτικόν (Diog. L. 6, 88), to the latter of which Voss (op. cit. 87) would assign the fragment here quoted and that in 1, 130.

6. doctus vir: cf. Tusc. 5, 8: ut scribit auditor Platonis Ponticus Heraclides, vir doctus in primis; Leg. 3, 14: Heraclidesque Ponticus profectus ab eodem Platone; N.D. 1, 34: ex eadem Platonis schola Ponticus Heraclides. His philosophical affinities were, however, Peripatetic; cf. Diog. L. 5, 86: και τὰ Πλάτωνος Εγηλώκει και υστερον ήκουσεν 'Αριστοτέλους.

7. videre in somnis: cf. 1, 39, n. (praegnans . . . somniavit).

^{1.} perpropinquam Turnebus, perpropinqua ABV (et H, teste Deitere).

^{7.} ipsa domi Marsus, ipsa phalaris (phalaridis B^1) domi C, ipse Phalaris domi Davies.

^{10.} fili C, Maller.

probavit. Quid ego quae magi Cyro illi principi interpretati sint ex Dinonis Persicis proferam? Nam cum dormienti ei sol ad pedes visus esset, ter eum scribit frustra adpetivisse manibus, cum se convolvens sol elaberetur et abiret; ei magos dixisse, quod genus sapientium et doctorum habebatur in

1. Dinonis Persicis Gulielmus, dinonis persicis libris B1, dinonisi (dionisii H) persicis libris AB2HV.

[173]7. simulacra . . . consecravisset: cf. N.D. 3, 61; Cic. ap. Lact. Inst. 1, 20.

[173]8. Mercurium e patera: on representations of divinities holding paterae see Pottier in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Phiala, who considers it an emblem of felicity, recalling the offerings of wine, milk, etc., presented to them. With Mercury this posture is rare, the prochus as a sign of his attendance upon the gods being more frequent (Scherer in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Hermes (1889), 2420), but one possible case is found in Reinach, Répertoire de la Statuaire gr. et rom. 4(1910), 83, no. 8; cf. also 1, 54, n. (in somnis) infra. The sight of Hermes in dreams, according to Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 37, although to men of certain definite occupations a good omen, τοίς δε λοιποίς άκαταστασίας και θορύβους προαγορεύει.

[173]8. sanguinem: cf. Artemid. Onirocr.
3, 63: δ τι ἄν οὖν δρῶσιν ἢ πάσχουσι (sc. ἀνδριάντεs) τὰ αὐτὰ τοὺς ἡγουμένους τῆς πόλεως δρᾶσαι ἢ παθεῖν προσημαίνουσιν.
For the ominous significance of blood cf. 1, 67; 1, 98, and nn.; 1, 99; 2, 58.

[173]9. qui . . . videretur: the subjunctive used where the infinitive might be expected (since qui = et eum); cf. Mayor's note on N.D. 1, 12.

[173]10 f. somnium . . . conprobavit: cf. 1, 50.

[173]10. crudelitas: his cruelty became proverbial; cf. Otto, Sprichwörter der Römer (1890), 277-278. Cicero also mentions it in Rep. 1, 44: crudelissimus ille Phalaris; Off. 3, 29: Phalarim, crudelem tyrannum et inmanem; 2 Verr. 5, 145.

1. principi: perhaps applied to him as the first of his dynasty, in the same way in which Cicero often employs it of the founder of a philosophic school. In 2, 136, referring to this passage, he is called Cyri superioris.

If. Dinonis Persicis: this work was in at least three συντάξεις, each of several books; cf. Müller, F.H.G. 2 (1848), 88; Schwartz in P.-W. s.v. Dinon (1903), 654. The fragments are found in F.H.G. 2, 88-94, and no less than four of them (nos. 5; 8; 9; 10) deal with the magi.

2. proferam: cf. 2, 34; 2, 49; 2, 112; 2, 136.

2. sol: cf. 1, 44, n. (liquier); Achmet, Onirocr. 167: ἐὰν ίδη τις ὅτι ἐπλησίασε τῷ ήλιακῷ δίσκῳ ή ότι κατέσχεν αὐτὸν εὐρήσει χαρὰν έκ του βασιλέως άναλόγως της έγγυτητος. γυνή έαν ίδη τουτο αύγουστα γεννήσεται. It is possible that the name Cyrus is connected with the dream, for Strabo says (15, p. 729): έστι δὲ καὶ Κῦρος ποταμός διά της κοίλης καλουμένης Περσίδος βέων . . . οδ μετέλαβε τὸ δνομα βασιλεύς άντι 'Αγραδάτου μετονομασθείς Κύρος, and to the fact that Cyrus was not his original name Herodotus (1, 113-114) bears witness. But different is the explanation of Plut. Artax. 1: δ μέν ούν Κύρος άπό του παλαιού τούνομα έσχεν, έκεινω δε άπο τοῦ ήλιου γενέσθαι φασί Κύρον γάρ καλείν Πέρσας τόν ήλιον ό δὲ 'Αρτοξέρξης 'Αρσίκας πρότερον έκαλεῖτο καίτοι Δείνων φησίν δτι 'Οάρσης. It is not impossible that Dino, cited at the end of this passage, may have been the authority for the first part as well, and may have given this etymology in connection with the story which is here quoted from him. For the real derivation of Kupos see Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuck (1904), 474, s.v. karav-: "Die Perser sollen in dem Namen die Bedeutung 'Sonne' gefunden haben; s. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuck (1895), 168; Grundriss der iran. Philol. 2, 417, wo a(lt)n(ordisch) hyrr

Persis, ex triplici adpetitione solis triginta annos Cyrum regnaturum esse portendi. Quod ita contigit; nam ad septuagesimum pervenit, cum quadraginta natus annos regnare coepisset. 47. Est profecto quiddam etiam in barbaris gentibus praesentiens atque divinans, siquidem ad mortem proficiscens Callanus Indus, cum inscenderet in rogum ardentem, 'O

'Feuer' verglichen wird; . . . vielleicht nichtiranischer Name."

[174]4. magos: the word is taken by the Greek from the Persian, but as to its etymology in that language there is great doubt, cf. Bartholomae, op. cit. 1111, s.v. magav-; also the works cited by Tavenner, Studies in Magic from Latin Literature (1916), 1, n. 3. Apuleius remarks (Apol. 25): nam si, quod ego apud plurimos lego, Persarum lingua magus est qui nostra sacerdos; cf. Hdt. 1, 132: ἀνευ γὰρ δὴ μάγου οδ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι; Philostr. Epist. Apollon. 17: μάγους όνομάζουσι τοὺς θείους οἱ Πέρσαι.

Originally only a tribe (Hdt. 1, 101), and still in the time of Ammianus (23, 6, 32 ff.) appearing as such, the magi had, like the tribe of Levi, an especially religious development and retained the priesthood within their own ranks, like the later Parsees (cf. How and Wells on Hdt. I.c.), becoming a priestly caste, to which frequent reference is found in classical authors (for the passages see especially Abt, Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura (1908), 106-107; Tavenner, op. cit. 1, and n. 5; and for references to their leading figure, Zoroaster, cf. Jackson, Zoroaster (1899), passim), where the magi are described as expert in astrology and divination in general (Tavenner, op. cit. 2; to which add 1, 90-91 infra; Ael. V.H. 2, 17; Diog. L. prooem. 6-7; 11; Amm. Marc. 26, 6, 33; Hier. in Dan. p. 627 Vallarsi). Herodotus frequently speaks of them as consulted for the interpretation of dreams (e.g., 1, 107; 1, 108; 1, 120). Various Greeks were said by tradition to have visited them in search of wisdom (cf. Jackson, op. cit. 90; append. 5), e.g., Pythagoras (Fin. 5, 87; Diog. L. 8, 3), Democritus (Diog. L. 9, 34-35; Orig. c. Haeres. 1, 13), Pyrrho (Diog. L. 9, 61), and Apollonius of Tyana (Philostr. Vit. A pollon. 1, 26); Plato was prevented from so doing, according to Diog. L. 3, 6-7. From the fifth century on the word μάγος was used by the Greeks in the sense of 'trickster,' and by the time of Plato and Euripides in its later meaning of 'magician'; cf. Abt, op. cit. 108 ff.; Tavenner, op. cit. 2.

[174]4f. quod genus . . . in Persis: Hottinger and Baiter hold this clause to be a gloss.

- 1. triginta: by what principle the three adpetitiones corresponded to decades rather than to years (as did the number of the sparrows in 1, 72 (see note) and 2, 63) is not explained; cf. the objection raised to such interpretations by Marcus Cicero in 2, 65.
- 2. quod ita contigit: so 1, 47; cf. 1, 52. Thoresen (on 2, 21) regards ita as pleonastic, but it is really justified by the insistence on the exact fulfilment of the prediction.
- 2. ad septuagesimum: accounts of the death of Cyrus vary a good deal. Ps.-Luc. Macrob. 14: Κῦρος δὲ δ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς δ παλαιὸς . . . ἐκατοντούτης γενόμενος . . . ἐτελεὐτα τὸν βίον. In the number of years of his reign Justin, 1, 8, 14 and Phot. Bibl. 72 agree with Cicero, but Hdt. 1, 214, says: Κῦρος τελευτῷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα, and Sulp. Sev. Chron. 2, 9, 5 says: Cyrus uno et triginta annis rerum potitus est.
- 3. est profecto quiddam: cf. N.D. 2, 16: est igitur profecto deus; 2, 162: est enim profecto divinatio; de Sen. 43: esse profecto aliquid; Plaut. Capt. 313: est profecto deus; also 1, 122 infra.
- 4. barbaris: cf. 1, 90. In his use of this term Cicero, though knowing the

praeclarum discessum,' inquit, 'e vita, cum, ut Herculi contigit, mortali

Greek usage (Rep. 1, 58), seems to divide men into three classes: Greeks, Romans, and barbarians; cf. 1, 84: si Graeci, si barbari, si maiores etiam nostri; 2, 82: nobis . . . Graiis et barbaris. In Tusc. 2, 52 he speaks of Callanus Indus, indoctus ac barbarus; cf. 5, 77.

[175]4. praesentions: on presentiments of death cf. 1, 63, n. (adpropinguante morte).

[175]5. Callanus: on the derivation of the name Plut. Alex. 65 says: ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Σφίνης ἐπεὶ δὲ κατ' Ἰνδικήν γλῶτταν τῷ καλὲ προσαγορεύων ἀντὶ τοῦ χαίρειν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἡσπάζετο Καλανὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ώνομάσθη. This greeting is thought to have been probably the epic form of address in India, kalyāŋa, 'good,' transliterated into Greek with one λ, but into Latin, in most instances, as Callanus.

Callanus attached himself to the army of Alexander at Taxila (Arr. Anab. 7, 3, 2 ff.; Plut. Alex. 65), being regarded by his fellow sages as a renegade for so doing (Arr. Anab. 7, 2, 4; Strab. 15, p. 718; Orig. c. Haeres. 1, 24). On the return of the army to Persia (& τῷ καλλίστω προαστείω της Βαβυλώνος, according to Ael. V. H. 5, 6; & Πασαργάδαις, according to Strab. 15, p. 717) he fell ill (Arr. Anab. 7, 3, 1), and insisted upon being burned alive upon a pyre, according to the custom ascribed to his sect; cf. Tusc. 5, 77: cumque ad flammam se adplicaverunt (sc. gymnosophistae) sine gemitu aduruntur; Curt. 8, 9, 32: apud hos occupare fati diem pulchrum et vivos se cremari iubent quibus aut segnis aetas aut incommoda valitudo est. expectatam mortem pro dedecore vitae habent nec ullus corporibus quae senectus solvit honos redditur; inquinari putant ignem nisi qui spirantes recipit; Mela, 3, 65: prudentiores et quibus ars studiumque sapientiae contingit non expectant eam (sc. mortem) sed ingerendo semet ignibus laeti et cum gloria arcessunt; Schol. Lucian, Peregr. 25; Schol. Luc. 3, 240; and see the case in the year 20 B.C. narrated by Dio Cass. 54, 9, 10; cf. Strab. 15, pp. 719-720; Plut. Alex. 69; Clark in Class. Philol. 15 (1920), 14-15.

This story made a great impression upon the historians of Alexander's expedition, and is frequently described; e.g., Tusc. 2, 52; Arr. Anab. 7, 3, 1-6; Ael. V. H. 2, 41; 5, 6; Plut. Alex. 69; Strab. 15, pp. 686; 715-718; Diod. 17, 107; Chares ap. Athen. 10, p. 437a; Lucian, Peregr. 25; 39 (cf. Fugit. 1; 6-7); Solin. 52, 9; Ambros. Εφ. 37, 34; Suid. s.v. Κάλανος; see also the spurious letter to Alexander ascribed to Callanus (Epistologr. Gr. p. 192 Hercher); Ambros. Ep. 37, 35. The account in Val. Max. 1, 8, ext. 10 is perhaps taken from Cicero: Callanus Indus sua sponte se ardenti rogo superiecturus interpellatus ab eo ecquid aut mandaret aut dicere vellet, 'brevi te,' inquit, 'videbo.' nec id sine causa, quia voluntarium eius e vita excessum rapida mors Alexandri subsecuta est. On these various accounts see Becker, Die Brachmanen in der Alexandersage (1889).

The name Callanus seems later to have become a generic one; cf. Suid. s.v. Κάλανος Ἰνδός ἐκ τῶν Βραχμάνων οδιν δὲ πάντα σοφόν οι Ἰνδοι προσαγορεθουσως; cf. Joseph. c. Apion. 1, 22. He also appears as a more or less fabulous type of the oriental sage, e.g., in an astronomical inscription from Miletus (Diels in Sits. Berl. Akad. Wiss. 1904, 1, 108, and n. 1 (in the form Καλλανεύς); cf. Hultzsch in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 36 (1904), 404), and in Athenaeus mechan. (in Poliorcetica, p. 5 Wescher). He is not known to us from Indic sources (Diels, I.c.).

The reason for the insertion of this incident here, interrupting as it does, the account of dreams, is thought by Schiche (De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Div. (1875), 17) to be the preceding oriental reference. Its proper place seems to be in 1, 65.

[175]5. rogum ardentem: according to the usual form of the story the pyre was corpore cremato in lucem animus excesserit!' Cumque Alexander eum rogaret si quid vellet ut diceret, 'Optime,' inquit; 'propediem te videbo.' Quod ita contigit; nam Babylone paucis post diebus Alexander est mortuus. Discedo parumper a somniis, ad quae mox revertar. Qua nocte

not lighted until he had taken his place upon it.

[175]5f. o pracclarum, etc.: this speech seems not to be elsewhere attested. The comparison to Hercules seems a little out of place in the mouth of this Hindu, but is doubtless to be accounted for by the conscious comparison by Alexander of his own deeds to those of Hercules; e.g., in Curt. 3, 10, 5; 4, 2, 3; 8, 5, 8; 8, 5, 11; 8, 10, 1; 8, 11, 2; 9, 2, 29; 9, 4, 21.

in lucem: cf. Porphyr. de Abstin.
 4, 18: αύτοι δὲ οῦτω πρὸς θάνατον διάκεινται ώς τὸν μὲν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνον ὤσπερ ἀναγκαίαν τινά τῆ φύσει λειτουργίαν ἀκουσίως ὑπομὲνειν, σπεύδειν δὲ τὰς ψυχάς ἀπολῦσαι τῶν σωμάτων. καὶ πολλάκις, ὅταν εὖ ἔχειν σκήψωνται, μηδενὸς αὐτοὸς ἐπείγοντος κακοῦ ἐξιασι τοῦ βίου, κτλ.

On the question of suicide see the elaborate discussion of Hirzel in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 11 (1908), 75-104; 243-284; 417-476; who emphasizes (459, n. 1) the spectacular element in the death of Callanus.

For kings, queens, and others committing suicide by fire see Frazer, Golden Bough, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 176-177. Such burning might lead to apotheosis (id. 5, 179-180), and was therefore sought by Empedocles (cf. Wellmann in P.-W. s.v. Empedokles (1905), 2507). So Buddhist monks in China seek to attain Nirvana by a fiery death (Frazer, op. cit. 4, 3 ed. (1912), 42 ff.), and similar forms of suicide appear in Russia (id. 4, 45).

For the phrase in lucem cf. especially Tusc. 1, 43; Sen. Dial. 6, 24, 5; 6, 25, 2.

- 2. si quid vellet: perhaps a favorite question of Alexander to those to whom he condescended; cf. his interview with Diogenes (Arr. Anab. 7, 2, 1: δρόμενος εί του δέοιτο).
- 2. optime: probably the adverb, used in an expression of thanks, with the verb omitted, as in Tusc. 1, 119; Brut. 52;

- cf. Reid on Ac. 1, 25. Possibly, however, it is the vocative, as an attempt to render the greeting Kalé (cf. the note on Callanus above). It is hardly ironical, as Creuzer and other editors have supposed. Moser supposed it to mean 'no, thank you,' as bene is employed in comedy.
- 2. propediem te videbo: cf. Arr. Anab. 7, 18, 6: τοὸς μὲν διλους ἐταίρους ἀσπάζεσθαι αὐτὸν, 'Αλεξάνδρφ δὲ οὐκ ἰθελῆσαι προσελθεῖν ἀσπασόμενον, ἀιλιὰ φὰναι γὰρ ὅτι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι αὐτῷ ἐντυχῶν ἀσπάσεται. καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐν μὲν τῷ τότε ἀμεληθῆναι: ὅστερον δὲ, ἐπειδή ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι 'Αλέξανδρος, ἐς μνήμην ἐλθεῖν τῶν ἀκουσάντων, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆ τελευτῆ ἄρα τῆ 'Αλεξάνδρου ἰθειάσθη; Plut. Alex. 69: αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἔφη μετ' ὁλίγον χρόνον ἐν Βαβυλῶνι δψεσθαι. On predictions of the dying see 1, 63, n. (adpropinguante morte); 1, 64, n. (dixisse).
- 3. paucis post diebus: cf. 1, 68, n. (brevi). The date is probably 13 June, 323; cf. Kaerst in P.-W. s.v. Alexandros (1894), 1434.
- 4. discedo parumper a somniis: Frenzel (in a program of the gymnasium at Eisenach (1828), 19) wished to reject these words or else to place them at the end of 1, 46. But Quintus, by the use of the word discedo, merely recognizes that he is wandering from the subject, and is not warning, as he would do by the use of the future tense, that he is about to make a digression.
- 4. qua nocte: cf. Plut. Alex. 3:

 εγωνήθη δ' οδν 'Αλέξανδρος Ισταμένου μηνός
 'Εκατομβαιώνος, δν Μακεδόνες Λώον καλοθσιν,
 εκτη (356 B.C.), καθ' ήν ήμέραν ό τής 'Εφωσίας
 'Αρτέμιδος ἐνωπρήσθη νεώς: ζι γ' 'Ηγησίας ό
 Μάγνης ἐπιπεφώνηκων ἐπιφώνημα κατασβέσαι
 τὴν πυρκαϊὰν ὑπὸ ψυχρίας δυνάμωνον εἰκότως
 γὰρ ἔφη καταφλεχθήναι τὸν νεών τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος ἀσχολουμένης περί τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου
 μαίωσιν. ὅσοι δὲ τῶν μάγων ἐν 'Εφέσω διατρίβοντες ἔτυχον, τὸ περί τὸν νεών πάθος ἡγούμωνοι

templum Ephesiae Dianae deflagravit, eadem constat ex Olympiade natum esse Alexandrum, atque, ubi lucere coepisset, clamitasse magos pestem ac perniciem Asiae proxuma nocte natam. Haec de Indis et magis. XXIV.48. Redeamus ad somnia. Hannibalem Coelius scribit cum columnam

πάθους έτερου σημείον είναι, διέθεον τὰ πρόσωπα τυπτόμενοι και βοώντες άτην άμα και συμφοράν μεγάλην τῆ 'Δσία τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην τετοκέναι. The rest of this account gives other events synchronized with his birth. Cf. Justin, 12, 16, 4-6; Solin. 40, 4. Cicero also tells the story in N.D. 2, 69: concinneque, ut multa, Timaeus qui cum in historia dixisset qua nocte natus Alexander esset eadem Dianae Ephesiae templum deflagravisse, adiunxit minime id esse mirandum quod Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adesse voluisset, afuisset domo; cf. Arnob. 6, 23. Whether Cicero's source in these two accounts was really Timaeus has been doubted; cf. Plaumann in P.-W. s.v. Herostratos (1913), 1146; but see below.

There were several temples of Artemis succeeding one another at Ephesus, the details and remains of which are discussed by Bürchner in P.-W. s.v. Ephesos (1905), 2806-2813, and in the Forschungen in Ephesos of the Austrian Archaeological Institute (1 (1906); 2 (1912)). The one here mentioned was the temple of Chirocrates (Strab. 14, p. 641), and it was set on fire by Herostratus to win a name for himself; cf. the passages cited by Plaumann, op. cit. 1145; Cibber, Rick. III, 3, 1: The aspiring youth that fired the Ephesian dome / Oullives in fame the pious fool that rais'd it. Burning had been the fate of previous temples there; cf. Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 1618 = 398 B.C.: templum rursus Epkesi incensum.

The date of the birth of Alexander is commonly put at 6 Hecatomb., 356, following Plut. Alex. 3, but from Arr. Anab. 7, 28, 1, it appears that it should perhaps be placed in the autumn of that year. Plutarch's account also synchronizes certain other events with this birth (cf. Kaerst in P.-W. s.v. Alexandros (1894), 1412), and this might indicate Timaeus as a source, since his fondness for synchron-

ism is well known; cf. Wachsmuth, Einleitung in das Stud. d. alt. Gesch. (1895), 552.

- 1. Olympiade: for her other names cf. Plut. cur Pythia, 14.
- magos: Reinach in Rev. Epigr. N.S. 2 (1914), 321, n. 1, remarks that there could here be no question of magi, but rather of galli and other such priests; yet—in spite of Plut. Alex. 3—it is by no means certain that the magi are by Cicero thought of as being at Ephesus or as drawing their omens from the fire, and the words haec de Indis et magis seem to show that Cicero has the magi definitely in mind. Indeed it is quite likely that the conclusions of these diviners were astrological, and drawn from a conjunction of planets at this time; cf. Kritzinger, Der Stern der Weisen (1911), 70-71, who notes other conjunctions at the birth of Christ and at that of Mohammed, as well as that at the birth of Horace (Carm. 2, 17, 22-23), and observes (p. 97) that in oriental thought such conjunctions are believed to herald the birth of great rulers. See also Usener, Vorträge u. Aufsälze (1907), 184; 1, 18, n. (concursus) supra; Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 13, 5 (for a stella primae magnitudinis seen at the birth of that emperor). For the dreams of Olympias before the birth of Alexander see Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 866, n. 1.
- 2f. pestem ac perniciem: this alliterative phrase is proverbial; for other instances see Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (1890), 277.
- 3. perniciem Asiae: so Diod. 19, 2, 3 says the oracle foretold of Agathocles μεγάλων άτυχημάτων ό γενηθείς αίτιος έσται Καρχηδονίοις και πάση Σικελία. For the various ways in which details of the stories of the birth of Alexander were repeated in the Roman empire, especially in the case of Alexander Severus, see Lamprid.

auream, quae esset in fano Iunonis Laciniae, auferre vellet, dubitaretque utrum ea solida esset an extrinsecus inaurata, perterebravisse, cumque 1. Laciniae Marsus, lucine B (sed ne ex corr.), luciae ABV.

Alex. Sev. 13, 1-14, 6; Christ, Gesch. d. gr. Litt. 4 ed. (1905), 850, n. 5.

[178]4. redeamus: cf. 1, 47.

[178]4. Coelius: L. Coelius Antipater; on his life and work see Peter, Hist. Rom. Reliq. 2 ed. (1914), ccxi-ccxxxvii. For the probability that Cicero here uses Coelius, if not through the medium of Appius Claudius (1, 28, n. (scriptum habetis) supra), at least in the abridgement by Brutus, see Zingler, De Cic. Historico Quaest. (1900), 24-25; Schanz, Gesch. d. röm. Litt. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 368; Laurand in Mus. Belge, 15 (1911), 10, n. 1. This fragment is found in Peter, op. cit. 169-170 (from Book V of Coelius).

[178]4f. columnam auream: Liv. 24, 3, 6: magni igitur fructus ex eo pecore capti, columnaque inde aurea solida facta et sacrata est.

1. fano Iunonis Laciniae: about six miles southeast of Croton (Nissen Ital. Landeskunde, 2, 2 ed. (1902), 943), on the promunturium Lacinium. The temple was conspicuous from the sea and the place is still known as Capocolonna (Abatino in Mél. d' Arch. et d' Hist. 23 (1903), 353); for excavations see Notis. degli Scavi, 1911, Suppl. (1912), 77-124. The ruins were badly plundered about 1520 for buildings in Cotrone, and only a single column now remains standing (figured in Abatino, op. cit. 356). Hera had dispossessed a former native divinity, and her temple was much frequented and decorated with works of art; cf. de Inv. 2, 1: Crotoniatae quondam, cum florerent omnibus copiis et in Italia cum primis beati numerarentur, templum Iunonis quod religiosissime colebant egregiis picturis locupletare voluerunt. itaque Heracleoten Zeuxin . . . adhibuerunt, etc.; Arist. de mirab. Ausc. 96, p. 838 a 15 ff.; Athen. 12, p. 541 a; App. B. C. 5, 133: τὸ leoòr Ήρας πλουτοῦν ἀναθήμασιν; also Liv. 24, 3, 6: inclitumque templum divitiis etiam, non tantum sanctitate fuit; Strab. 6, p. 261; Müller, Geogr. Gr. 1, 22.

1. auferre vellet: this incident is not elsewhere told, but of Hannibal's stay near the temple we have other evidence: Polyb. 3, 33, 17-18; 3, 56, 4 (who had seen a bronze inscription set up there by Hannibal); Liv. 28, 46, 16: propter Iunonis Laciniae templum aestatem (205 B. C.) Hannibal egit, ibique aram condidit dedicavilque cum ingenti rerum ab se gestarum titulo, Punicis Graecisque litteris insculpto. This rich temple in a lonely situation was especially exposed to thefts. O. Fulvius Flaccus carried its marble tiles to Rome (Liv. 42, 3, 2-3; Val. Max. 1, 1, 20, who says that Flaccus was subsequently troubled by mental disturbance; cf. Lact. Inst. 2, 7, 16); the pirates plundered it before they were checked by Pompey (Plut. Pomp. 24); and Sextus Pompey stripped it of its votives (App. B. C. 5, 133). With such vandalism Liv. (42, 3, 6) contrasts the restraint of Pyrrhus and Hannibal.

For a similar case of a divinity threatening a temple robber in a dream cf. App. Mith. 27. Other accounts of temple-robbery-all too common an occurrence—are found in 1, 54; 1, 81; N.D. 3, 83-84, and Mayor's notes; Val. Max. 1, 1, 20 ff.; also Plat. Leg. 9, pp. 853-856; Polyb. 9, 34, 8 ff.; App. Samn. 12; Illyr. 5; Syr. 66; Diod. 16, 61; Plut. Pomp. 24; Lucull. 13; Aetia Gr. 47; de Garrul. 14; Strab. 9, p. 420; 14, p. 641; 16, p. 744; Juv. 13, 150-151, and schol.; Suet. Iul. 54; Ael. V. H. 11, 5; Lucian, Phal. 1, 6; 2, 2; Icaromenip. 24; Toxar. 28; Iupit. Confut. 9; 25; Deor. Concil. 12; Timon, 9; Arnob. 6, 20-23; Justin, 39, 2, 5-6; cf. Artemid. Onirocr. 3, 3. Strabo well remarks (9, p. 420): ἐπίφθονος δ'ῶν δ πλούτος δυσφύλακτός έστι κάν lepds ή. The punishments among the Greeks for such acts are discussed by Schömann, Gr.

solidam invenisset, statuisset tollere; ei secundum quietem visam esse Iunonem praedicere ne id faceret, minarique si fecisset se curaturam ut eum quoque oculum quo bene videret amitteret, idque ab homine acuto non esse neglectum; itaque ex eo auro quod exterebratum esset buculam curasse faciendam et eam in summa columna conlocavisse. 49. Hoc

Allert. 2, 3 ed. (1873), 159. See also, 1, 54, n. (Arium pagum) infra.

[179]1. dubitaretque: cf. the doubt of Brennus as to the gold statues at Delphi; Polyaen. 7, 35, 2.

1. secundum quietem: cf. 1, 43, n. (secundum quietem); Apul. de Deo. Socr. 7: horum (sc. daemonum) enim munus atque cura est ut Hannibali somnia orbitatem oculi comminarentur.

2. praedicere ne: cf. Nep. Them. 7, 3: praedixit ut; Caes. B.C. 3, 92, 1.

3. eum quoque oculum: his left eye. Nep. Hann. 4, 2-3: per Ligures Apenninum transiit petens Etruriam. hoc in itinere adeo gravi morbo afficitur oculorum ut postea numquam dextro aeque bene usus sit; cf. Polyb. 3, 79, 12; Liv. 22, 2, 10; Juv. 10, 158, and schol.; etc. For divine displeasure vented in the form of blindness see the tradition concerning Appius Claudius Caecus (Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Claudius (1899), 2681).

3. homine acuto: in N.D. 3, 83 the same expression is applied to Dionysius, the successful temple-robber. In Off. 1, 108 Cicero calls Hannibal callidus. The phrase homo acutus is especially frequent in Cicero as applied to philosophers; cf. Merguet, Lexikon s. d. philos. Schr. 1, 36.

4. buculam: probably a translation of βοίδιος. Of such statues of cows the most famous was that of Myron; cf. 2 Verr. 4, 135; Plin. N. H. 34, 57; Anthol. Pal. 9, 713-742; 9, 793-798; Auson. Epigr. 68-75. The cow is often associated with Hera; cf. Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 1(1906), 183, and n. 12; 466, and n. 3, who cites the metamorphosis of Hera into a cow (Ov. Met. 5, 330-331), the epithet βοῶπις (Hom. Il. 1, 551; al.),

the herd sacred to her at Nemea (Hypoth. 3 Pind. Nem.: βοων . . . at ήσαν Ήρας lepal—that at the temple of Juno Lacinia Liv. 24, 3, 4 says was omnis generis . . . pecus), and the offering of white cows to her at Mycenae (Sen. Agam. 364-365); also the abundant material collected by Cook, Zeus, 1 (1914), 444-447. For votive bulls, cows, etc., at the Argive Heraeum see Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings (1902), 298, and n. 11. Cf. also Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 1 (1896), 243. The figure of a bull on a pedestal is found on coins of Selinus (cf. Head, Historia Numorum, 2 ed. (1911), 168), but it cannot properly be connected wth our passage, as Moser in the Additamenta to his edition, p. 691, has tried to do. Reinach (in Neapolis, 2 (1915), 242-243) remarks that the goddess of the Lacinian Cape may herself have been originally worshipped in the form of a cow, and Professor Oldfather suggests to me the appropriateness of such a form for a goddess of Italia which is itself possibly cognate with vitulus; but cf. Walde, Lat. etym. W örterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 395.

5. in summa columna: the column, then, was evidently free-standing, and not a part of the structure of the temple. This is a good case of the dedication exvisu; cf. 1, 16, n. (ex somnio). This dream (or the next) is referred to in 2, 136.

5. hoe: Müller (F. H. G. 3, 100) believes the preceding incident to be from Coelius, and thinks that the following dream may be from the same source. No doubt hoe and haee often refer to what has gone before (e.g., 1, 42; 1, 43; 1, 58; 1, 122; etc.), but they may also anticipate what follows (as in 1, 37; 1, 55; etc.), and

item in Sileni, quem Coelius sequitur, Graeca historia est (is autem diligentissume res Hannibalis persecutus est): Hannibalem, cum cepisset Saguntum, visum esse in somnis a Iove in deorum concilium vocari; quo cum venisset Iovem imperavisse ut Italiae bellum inferret, ducemque ei unum e concilio datum, quo illum utentem cum exercitu progredi coepisse;

1. item Lambinus, idem CO, sed A'H isdem.

in the present instance the accusative and infinitive that follow leave no doubt that hoc is anticipatory. Possibly Coelius got both dreams from Silenus, since they appear here in such close connection.

1. Sileni: of Calacte (Athen. 12, p. 542a). Nep. Hann. 13, 3: huius belli gesta multi memoriae prodiderunt, sed ex his duo, qui cum eo (sc. Hannibale) in castris fuerunt simulque vixerunt quamdiu fortuna passa est, Silenus et Sosilus Lacedaemonius. In addition to his work on the war with Hannibal he wrote one called Σικελικά. For the fragments of his books see Müller, F. H. G. 3, 100-101. See also Bujack, De Sileno Scriptore Hannibalis (1859).

2. Hannibalem: cf. Liv. 21, 22, 6-9: ibi (near the Ebro River) fama est in quiete visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum; proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se deflecteret oculos. pavidum primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem secutum; deinde cura ingenii' humani, cum quidnam id esset quod respicere vetitus esset agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequivisse; tum vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri ac post insequi cum fragore caeli nimbum. tum quae moles ea quidre prodigii esset quaerentem audisse vastitatem Italiae esse; pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse; Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 1: Hannibalis quoque ut detestandum Romano sanguine ita certae praedictionis somnium cuius non vigiliae tantum sed etiam ipsa quies hostilis imperio nostro fuit; hausit enim proposito et volis suis convenientem imaginem existimavitque missum sibi ab Iove mortali specie excelsiorem iuvenem invadendae Italiae ducem. etc., the rest of the account being similar to that of Livy. Cf. also Sil. Ital. 3, 163-214, of which lines 180-182 may be here quoted: fer gressus agiles mecum et comitare vocantem; / respexisse veto-monet hoc pater ille deorum- / victorem ante altae statuam te moenia Romae; and 204-207: bella vides optata tibi, te maxima bella, / te strages nemorum, te moto turbida caelo / tempestas caedesque virum magnaeque ruinae / Idaei generis lacrimosaque fata secuntur; Dio Cass. ap. Zonar. 8, 22: τω δ' 'Αννίβα . . . δψις δνείρου έφάνη. Εδοξε γάρ ποτε τούς θεούς έν έκκλησία καθημένους μεταπέμψασθαί τε αθτόν και στρατεθσαι ότι τάχιστα els την 'Ιταλίαν προστάξαι και λαβείν παρ' αύτων της όδου ήγεμόνα, και άμεταστρεπτί υπ' αύτου κελευσθήναι έπεσθαι μεταστραφήναι δέ καί ίδεῖν χειμώνα μέγαν χωρούντα καί δράκοντα αύτῷ ἐπακολουθοῦντα ἀμήχανον, καὶ θαυμάσαι έρέσθαι τε τόν άγωγόν τι ταῦτα είεν και τόν είπειν "ω 'Αννίβα, ταθτα συμπορθήσοντά σοι τήν 'Ιταλίαν ξρχεται.''

3. in deorum concilium: cf. Off. 3, 25: in concilio caelestium; N. D. 1, 18: ex deorum concilio (and the parallels in Mayor's note); Quintil. 11, 1, 24: in carminibus utinam pepercisset (sc. Cicero) quae non desierunt carpere maligni . . . Iovem illum a quo in concilium deorum advocatur (see 1, 17, n. (de consulatu) supra) . . . quae sibi ille secutus quaedam Graecorum exempla permiserat. Norden, Ennius u. Vergilius (1915), 118, n. 1, derives Cicero's use of this motive in his poem on his consulship from his reading of Coelius; and he suggests (id. 117-118) that in Polyb. 3, 47, 8 there is an unfavorable criticism of Silenus for introducing such a feature into serious historical writing.

tum ei ducem illum praecepisse ne respiceret; illum autem id diutius

[181]5. unum e concilio: according to Sil. Ital. 3, 168-169 it was Mercury: iamque per humentem noctis Cyllenius umbram / aligero lapsu portabat iussa parentis; cf. 3, 180: fer gressus agiles mecum et comitare vocantem.

1. ne respiceret: this prohibition appears in many rites; cf. Aesch. Cho. 98-99: καθάρμαθ' ώς τις ἐκπέμψας πάλιν/ δικούσα τεύχος, άστρόφοισιν δμμασιν (and see the schol.); Soph. O. C. 490 (after prayer to the Eumenides): ἐπειτ' ἀφέρπειν вотрофоз (see Hom. Od. 5, 348-350; 10, 528); Theocr. 24, 91-94: ήρι δὲ συλλέξασα κόνιν πυρός άμφιπόλων τις / ριψάτω εἶν μάλα πάσαν ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο φέροισα, / ρωγάδας ès πέτρας, ὑπερούριον αψ δὲ νέεσθαι / άστρεπτος; Virg. Ecl. 8, 102-103: fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, rivoque fluenti / transque cabut iace. nec respexeris (see Eur. Androm. 293); Ov. Fast. 5, 439 (of the Lemuria): hoc novies dicit nec respicit; 6, 164 (of the festival of Carna): quique adsint sacris respicere illa vetat; Plin. N. H. 21, 176; 29, 91; Plut. de Def. Orac. 15; Marc. Emp. 1, 54.

Turning back when one had started upon a journey or a new task, or had abandoned an old and entered upon a new course of life might be considered ill-omened; cf. Abbott, Macedonian Folk-Lore (1903), 105 (where it is said to be unlucky to go back after leaving the house, with which cf. 1 Kings, 13, 9); Gen. 19, 17: "He said 'Escape for thy life; look not behind thee neither stay thou in all the plain'"; 19, 26: "But his wife looked back from behind him and she became a pillar of salt"; so in Ov. Met. 8, 696 ff. Philemon and Baucis do not look back until well away from the scene of destruction; Luke, 17, 31-32: καὶ ὁ ἐν ἀγρῷ ὁμοίως μή ἐπιστρεψάτω els τὰ ὀπίσω. μνημονεύετε της γυναικός Λώτ; id. 9, 62: οὐδείς ἐπιβαλών τήν χείρα έπ' άροτον και βλέπων είς τα όπίσω εθθετός έστιν τη βασιλεία του θωυ; [Joann. Damasc.] Barlaam et Ioasaph, 127: άκολουθήσεις αυτώ (SC. Χριστώ) άμεταστρεπτί; and the same idea is found in Plat. Leg. 9, p. 854c: δεῖ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια πάντα άνδρα τιμάν τάς δέ των κακών συνουσίας φεθγε άμεταστρεπτί. See also the story of Orpheus and Eurydice: Virg. Georg. 4, 486-491: redditaque Eurydice superas veniebat ad auras, / pone sequens (namque hanc dederat Proserpina legem), / cum subita incautum dementia cepit amantem, / ignoscenda quidem, scirent si ignoscere Manes; / restitit, Eurydicenque suam, iam luce sub ipsa, / immemor, heul victusque animi respexit, etc.; Boeth. Cons. 3, 12, 52-58: vos haec fabula respicit / quicumque in superum diem / mentem ducere quaeritis; / nam qui Tartareum in specus / victus lumina flexerit / quidquid praecipuum trahit / perdit dum videt inseros.

A clue to the interpretation of some, at least, of these customs is found in the prescription of Pythagoras as given by Iambl. Protrept. 21: ἀποδημῶν τῆς οἰκίας μή ἐπιστρέφου. Έρινύες γάρ μετέρχονται; cf. Hippolyt. Refut. 6, 26: Πυθαγόρας οδυ και τούτων των λόγων γενόμενος μαθητής, έν οίς λέγει δι' αίνιγμάτων . . . ἐκ τῆς ίδίης, έαν αποδημής, μη έπιστρέφου el δè μή, Έρινθες Δίκης ἐπίκουροί σε μετελεύσονται ίδιην καλεί τὸ σῶμα, Έρινύας δὲ τὰ πάθη, κτλ.; Plut. de Lib. educ. 17: μη ἐπιστρέφεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς δρους έλθόντας, τουτέστι μέλλοντας άποθνήσκειν και τον δρον του βίου πλησίον δυτα ορώντας φέρειν εύκόλως και μή άθυμεῖν; Diog. L. 8, 17; Porphyr. Vit. Pyth. 42; Hier. adv. Rufin. 3, 39: cum profectus fueris, inquit, ne redeas; id est, post mortem vitam istam ne desideres. In these cases, in spite of the later allegorizings, one can perhaps still see the underlying fear of confronting evil or chthonic spirits, as in the first passage quoted from Ovid, and in the Eurydice story, where Eurydice continues to be a spirit until reaching the upper world. So the scholiast on Ar. Av. 1492 says: οί έντυγχάνοντες νυκτός ήρωσι διεστρέφον <το > τ às byes; and for other instances of this belief, from widely different cultures, see Dorsey in 3 Ann. Rep. of U. S. Bureau of Ethnology (1884), 369; Frazer in Folk-Lore, 1 (1890), 155; the facere non potuisse elatumque cupiditate respexisse; tum visam beluam vastam et immanem circumplicatam serpentibus, quacumque incederet omnia arbusta, virgulta, tecta pervertere, et eum admiratum quaesisse de deo quodnam illud esset tale monstrum; et deum respondisse vastitatem esse Italiae, praecepisseque ut pergeret protinus, quid retro atque a tergo fieret ne laboraret. 50. Apud Agathoclem scriptum in historia est

important note of Rohde, Psyche, 2, 3 ed. (1903), 85, n. 2; and the material collected by Samter in Beilage s. Allgem. Zeitung, 1903, no. 116, 347; id., Geburt, Hochseit, w. Tod (1911), 147-150; also Frazer, Caldan Bank 2, 2 ed. (1911)

5. praecepisseque cod. Salisb., praecepissetque C.

Golden Bough, 3, 3 ed. (1911), 157; Janiewitsch in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 14 (1911), 317; Rose in Class. Rev. 28 (1914), 262; "Aeron" in Folk-Lore, 25 (1914), 372.

[182]1. id: refers to the negative phrase, ne respiceret.

1. facere: cf. 1, 127.

1f. beluam vastam et immanem: cf. Rep. 2, 67: immani et vastae insidens beluae; Ac. 2, 108: ut feram et immanem beluam; Tusc. 4, 45: ut taetram et immanem beluam. As to the significance of such a dream cf. Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 64: φάρμακον θανάσιμον τὰ αύτὰ τῷ θανάτῳ σημαίνει. όμοίως * * καὶ περὶ τῶν κνωδάλων καί κινωπέτων θηρίων, δσα ταχέως άναιρεί. Does the great beast entwined with serpents perhaps suggest the winding course of Hannibal in his Italian campaigns. destroying all with which he came in contact? Perhaps the practical purpose typified by the dream was this, that his course should be determined without any attempt to keep open a long and vulnerable line of communications and of retreat. It is tempting to find a reminiscence of this hydra-like beast in the speech of Hannibal after the battle of the Metaurus as expressed by Horace, Carm. 4, 4, 61 ff.: non hydra secto corpore firmior / vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem, etc.; (cf. Rutil. 1, 128-130), although the editors of Horace commonly refer that passage to a remark of Cineas to King Pyrrhus; cf. Plut. Pyrrk. 19; Flor. 1, 18. Professor Oldfather suggests that the original motif of this story of Hannibal perhaps was that the conquest of Italy would have been complete, had Hannibal not looked back, while as it was his success was only partial; cf. the story of Joash in 2 Kings, 13, 15 ff.

2. circumplicatam serpentibus: cf. 1, 79; 2, 62.

5. pergeret protinus: cf. ad Q. Fr. 1, 3, 4: protinus pergas.

Agathoclem: not the Ionic historian (of Cyzicus or Babylon), who would have had no natural occasion to tell this story, but an historian of Sicily; cf. Schwartz in P.-W. s.v. Agathokles (1894), 759, no. 25; Schol. Apollon. Rhod. 4, 761: 'Δγαθοκλής & τοις υπομπήμασι περί των χαλκείων τοῦ Ἡφαίστου Ιστορών, φησί κατά Σικελίαν δύο είναι νήσους, κτλ. It is perhaps this Agathocles who was the Stoic successor of Zenodotus; cf. Suid. s.v. IIroleμαΐος γραμματικός. We need not resort to the ingenious theory of Schiche (De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Div. (1875), 18; cf. Heeringa, Quaest. ad Cic. de Div. Libros (1906), 16) that Cicero confused Agathocles the subject of the history in question with Agathocles the historian. for this view still leaves the scholium to Apollonius to be explained. The fragments are to be found in Müller, F. H. G. 4, 290.

6. scriptum in historia est: cf. Diod. 20, 29, 3: τοῦ μάντως εἰρηκότος αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἐπίσκεψω τῶν ἰερῶν ὅτι τἢ μετὰ ταὐτην ἡμέρα πάντως ἐν Συρακούσσαις δειπνήσει; id. 20, 30, 2: οὶ δὲ Συρακότοι . . . τὰν 'Αμίλκαν παρέδοσαν τοῖς βουλομένοις λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτοῦ τιμωρίαν ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ μάντεως φωνῆς, δε ἔφησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν εἰς Συρακούσσας δειπνήσειν, τοῦ

Hamilcarem Karthaginiensem, cum oppugnaret Syracusas, visum esse audire vocem se postridie cenaturum Syracusis; cum autem is dies inluxisset, magnam seditionem in castris eius inter Poenos et Siculos milites esse factam; quod cum sensissent Syracusani inproviso eos in castra inrupisse, Hamilcaremque ab iis vivum esse sublatum. Ita res somnium conprobavit. Plena exemplorum est historia, tum referta vita communis. 51. At vero P. Decius ille Q. f., qui primus e Deciis consul fuit, cum esset tribu-

- 1. Karthaginiensem wlg., Kartaginensem H, cartaginiensem AV, carthaginensem B.
- 7. Q.f. Davies, Müller (Q.F.), aliique, Quinti filius codd., vulg.

δαιμονίου παραγαγόντος τάληθές; Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 8: at Karthaginiensium dux Hamilcar, cum obsideret Syracusas, inter somnum exaudisse vocem credidit nuntiantem futurum ut proximo die in ea urbe cenaret. laetus igitur perinde ac divinitus promissa victoria exercitum pugnae conparabat. in quo inter Siculos et Poenos orta dissensione, castris eius Syracusani subita inruptione oppressis, ipsum intra moenia sua vinctum pertraxerunt. ita magis spe quam somnio deceptus cenavit Syracusis captivus, non, ut animo praesumpserat, victor.

- 1. Hamilcarem: son of Gisco. The date of this occurrence is 309 B.C.
- 1f. visum esse audire: in a dream, as is clear from Valerius Maximus, and from the phrases postridie and cum . . . dies inluxisset; also from 2, 136: somnia . . . matris Dionysi, Poeni Hamilcaris, etc.
 - 5f. conprobavit: cf. 1, 46.
- 6. plena exemplorum: cf. 1, 16: horum quidem plena vita est; Tusc. 5, 79: plena vita exemplorum est; Leg. 2, 33: exemplorum . . . plena res publica; Off. 3, 47; N. D. 3, 69.
- 6. vita communis: cf. 1, 86; 2, 86; N. D. 3, 69; al.
- 7. Decius ille: for the use of ille in introducing exempla cf. Schoenberger, Beispiele aus der Geschichte (1911), 58-59; and for the Decii as Roman examples of patriotism cf. Litchfield in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol. 25 (1914), 48, n. 4.

The regulations in regard to devotion are given by Liv. 8, 10, 11-12: licere consuli dictatorique et praetori, cum legiones hostium devoverat, non utique se sed quem

velit ex legione Romana scripta civem devovere. si is homo qui devotus est moritur probe factum videri; ni moritur tum signum septem pedes altum aut maius in terram defodi et piaculum hostiam caedi; and the formula of the devotio in 8, 9, 4-8: Decius consul M. Valerium magna voce inclamat: "deorum," inquit, "o be. M. Valeri, opus est; agedum pontifex publicus populi Romani praei verba quibus me pro legionibus devoveam." pontifex eum togam praelexiam sumere iussil et velato capite manu subter togam ad mentum exserta super telum subiectum pedibus stantem sic dicere: "Iane, Iuppiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, divi Novensiles, di Indigetes, divi quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque, diique manes, vos precor veneror veniam peto seroque ut populo Romano Quiritium vim victoriamque prosperetis hostesque populi Romani Quiritium terrore, formidine, morteque adficialis. sicut verbis nuncupavi ita pro re publica Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum deis manibus Tellurique devoveo." haec ita precatus lictores ire ad T. Manlium iubet matureque collegae se devolum pro exercitu nuntiare. ipse incinclus cinclu Gabino armalus in equum insilivit ac se in medios hostes inmisit. conspectus ab utraque acie aliquanto augustior < habitu > humano visus, sicut caelo missus piaculum omnis deorum irae, qui pestem ab suis aversam in hostes ferret, etc.; and for the devotio of the son at Sentinum in 295 B.C. cf. Liv. 10, 28, 12-18: patrem P. Decius nomine compellans: "quid ultra moror," inquit, "familiare nus militum M. Valerio A. Cornelio consulibus a Samnitibusque premeretur

1. A. Cornelio Devies, Boiter, Müller, aliique, sulo codd. (aulio V), Christ.

fatum? datum hoc nostro generi est ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus. iam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas Telluri ac diis manibus dabo." haec locutus M. Livium pontificem . . . praeire iussit verba quibus se legionesque hostium pro exercitu populi Romani Quiritium devoveret. devotus inde eadem precatione eodemque habitu quo pater P. Decius ad Veserim bello Latino se iusserat devoveri, cum secundum sollemnes precationes adiecisset prae se agere sese formidinem ac jugam caedemque ac cruorem, caelestium inferorum iras, contacturum funebribus diris signa tela arma hostium, locumque eundem suae pestis ac Gallorum ac Samnitium fore—haec execratus in se hostesque, qua confertissimum cernebat Gallorum aciem concilat equum, inferensque se ipse infestis telis est interfectus. For other accounts of the deaths of the first two Decii see the collections of Pais, Storia di Roma, 1, 2 ed. (1899), 261, n.; cf. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Devotio (1892), 113-119; Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Decius (1901), 2279-2286; Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Devotio (1903), 277-280; Deubner in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 8, Beiheft (1905), 66-81; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 384-385. Münzer, followed by Deubner, considers the devotio of the second Decius as probably historical and that of the first as a doublet later added to it (op. cit. 2279). The formula of devotion is also preserved in Macrob. Sat. 3, 9, 9-10, on which see Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Devotio, 278-279; cf. N. D. 2, 10; 3, 15; and for an interpretation of the meaning of the details of the rite see especially Deubner, op. cit. 68-78.

Soltau, however, points out (Berl. philol. Wochenschr. 30 (1910), 1461-1464) that neither Livy nor Macrobius imply in the formula any death to the Roman general. While, then, the courageous deaths of the two Decii may very likely

be historic, they were not necessarily due to the fulfilment of a devotio, but, as Cicero says (N. D. 3, 15): consilium illud imperatorium fuit, quod Graeci στρατήγημα appellant, sed eorum imperatorum qui patriae consulerent, vitae non parcerent; rebantur enim fore ut exercitus imperatorem equo incitato se in hostem inmittentem persequeretur, id quod evenit. The tradition of the devotio is, however, at least as old as Accius (Aeneadae sive Decius, fr. 11 Ribbeck: patrio exemplo et me dicabo atque animam devoro hostibus), and Soltau conjectures that Ennius, who was fond of relating dreams, may be responsible for the incident of the devotio in this case (on the analogy of Codrus), and that from Ennius the story was taken up by the annalists. At some point in this process the word mecum has been introduced into the formula (Liv. 8, 9, 8; 10, 28, 13). The connection by Vahlen of Enn. Ann. 208-210 with the Decii is somewhat uncertain: cf. Münzer, op. cit. 2285.

For the question of the devotio of the third Decius at Asculum in 279 B.C., see Pais, l.c.; also Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 118; Münzer, l.c. The indications are that this devotio, if it took place, did not lead to the death of Decius. Cicero speaks in Fin. 2, 61 and Tusc. 1, 89 of the devotiones of three Decii, but elsewhere (the passages in Münzer, op. cit. 2281) of only two.

Instances of similar devotion are discussed by Bouché-Leclercq, l.c.; Audollent, Defixionum Tabellae (1904), xxxviii; Mayor on N.D. 3, 15; cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, 9, 3 ed. (1913), "The Scape Goat." The most notable instance was that of Codrus (Tusc. 1, 116), described by many authors, which resulted from the command of an oracle. Note also those of Macaria (Paus. 1, 32, 6; Zenob. 2, 61); Marathus (Plut. Thes. 32); Bombus the Theban (Zenob. 2, 84); Leonidas (Hdt. 7, 220; Justin, 2, 11, 8 ff.); Vibius Accaus (Liv.

noster exercitus, cum pericula proeliorum iniret audacius monereturque ut cautior esset, dixit, quod extat in annalibus, se sibi in somnis visum esse, cum in mediis hostibus versaretur, occidere cum maxuma gloria. Et tum quidem incolumis exercitum obsidione liberavit; post triennium autem, cum consul esset, devovit se et in aciem Latinorum inrupit armatus. Quo eius facto superati sunt et deleti Latini. Cuius mors ita gloriosa fuit ut eandem concupisceret filius. 52. Sed veniamus nunc, si placet, ad somnia philosophorum.

Est apud Platonem Socrates, cum esset in custodia publica, dicens Critoni, suo familiari, sibi post tertium diem esse moriendum; vidisse se in 2. se addidit Maller.

25, 14, 4-5); also the cases from the Roman empire noted by Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 119 (to which add Aur. Vict. 34. 1-5; Jordanes, Get. 40, 209); and the somewhat kindred instances of devotio on the occasion of the appearance of a chasm in the earth, as told of the son of Midas (Apostol. 1, 58b, in Paroemiogr. Gr. 2, 255), and the parallel case of Curtius (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 118). devotion of private citizens in place of kings in Java is discussed by Frazer, Golden Bough, 4, 3 ed. (1912), 53-54. The magic element is ever prominent in the devotio (Deubner, op. cit. 79), and these cases differ from other types largely by the addition of the person of the pronouncer of the charm.

[184]7f. cum...cum: for the repetition Vahlen (Gesamm. philol. Schriften, 1 (1911), 567-568) compares N. D. 2, 6; Parad. 1, 8.

[184]7f. cum esset tribunus militum: in 343 B.C. His holding this office and his deeds in it are described by Liv. 7, 34, 3 ff.

[185]1. premeretur: cf. Liv. 7, 34, 1-2: ab Saticula profectus Cornelius consul exercitum incaute in saltum cava valle pervium circaque insessum ab hoste induxit, nec prius quam recipi tuto signa non poterant inminentem capiti hostem vidit.

- 2. quod extat in annalibus: cf. 1, 100; Rep. 2, 18: id quod Graecorum investigatur annalibus; Tusc. 1, 38.
- 2. in somnis: cf. Liv. 8, 6, 9-10: ibi in quiete utrique consuli eadem dicitur visa species viri maioris quam pro humano

habitu augustiorisque, dicentis ex una acie imperatorem, ex altera exercitum deis manibus matrique Terrae deberi. utrius exercitus imperator legiones hostium superque eas se devovisset, eius populi partisque victoriam fore, etc.; cf. Val. Max. 1, 7, 3; also 2, 136 infra.

- 3. in . . . hostibus versaretur: cf. Off. 1, 81.
- 4. quidem . . . autem : cf. μέν . . . δέ.
- 4. post triennium: cf. 1, 52: post tertium diem. On such phrases see Conrad in Class. Philol. 9 (1914), 78-83; Rolfe in Class. Philol. 10 (1915), 82-84.
- 9. est . . . Socrates . . . dicens: cf. Or. 41: est enim, ut scis, quasi in extrema pagina Phaedri his ipsis verbis loquens Socrates.
- 9. apud Platonem: cf. Plat. Crit. p. 44a-b: ΣΩ. οὐ τοίνυν τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρας οἶμαι αὐτὸ ῆξειν ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐτέρας. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ἔκ τινος ἐνυπνίου δ ἐωρακα ὁλίγον πρότερον ταὐτης τῆς νυκτός καὶ κινδυνεύεις ἐν καιρῷ τινι οὐκ ἐγεῖραι με. ΚΡ. ἦν δὲ δὴ τὶ τὸ ἐνὑπνιον; ΣΩ. ἐδόκει τἰς μοι γυνὴ προσελθοῦσα καλὰ καὶ εὐείδης, λευκά ἰμάτια ἔχουσα, καλἐσαι με καὶ εἰπεῖν ΄ 'Ω Σωκρατες, ῆματί κεν τριτάτω Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιο. ΚΡ. ἄτοπον τὸ ἐνὑπνιον, ὧ Σωκρατες. ΣΩ. ἐναργὰς μὲν οὖν, ὡς γὲ μοι δοκεῖ, ὧ Κρίτων. Cf. Diog. L. 2, 35: ὅναρ δὸξας τινὰ αὐτῷ λὲγειν, ῆματί κεν τριτάτω Φθίην ἐρίβωλον ἴκοιο, πρὸς Αἰσχίνην ἔφη, εἰς τρίτην ἐποθανοῦμαι.
- 9. custodia: in this sense also in Tusc. 1, 71; 1, 118; 2, 48; de Am. 14; Fin. 5, 53.

somnis pulchritudine eximia feminam, quae se nomine appellans diceret Homericum quendam eius modi versum:

Tertia te Phthiae tempestas laeta locabit.

Quod, ut est dictum, sic scribitur contigisse. Xenophon Socraticus (qui vir et quantus!) in ea militia qua cum Cyro minore perfunctus est sua scribit

- 3. Phthiae valg., phithae H, pythlae AV, pythele B.
- 4. ut est V1, est ABV1, eius H.
- 1. pulchritudine eximia: cf. 1, 40, n. (homo pulcher).
- 2. Homericum . . . versum: Il. 9, 362-363 (said by Achilles): el 84 ker εύπλοίην δώη κλυτός έννοσίγαιος / ήματί κε τριτάτω Φθίην ερίβωλον Ικοίμην. The Latin translation is doubtless by Cicero himself; for a list of lines translated by him from Homer and inserted by him in his works see Lange in Diss. philol. Halenses, 4 (1880), 255, n. 66; cf. also 1, 88; 2, 63-64; 2, 82 infra. A different Latin version appears in Chalcidius in Plat. Tim. 252 (in Mullach, F. P. G. 2 (1867), 235): torna luce petes Phthiae praesertilis arva. For dream oracles in verse cf. Artemid. Oniτοςτ. 4, 59: των δὲ ἐν τοῖς δπνοις λεγομένων έπων η ιάμβων η έπιγραμμάτων η άλλων φήσεων τα μέν αύτα παρέχει την απόβασιν, δσα γε αύτοτελή διάνοιαν παρέχει. A large collection of such is found in Wolff's edition of Porphyr. de Phil. ex Orac. haur. (1856), 90-97.

The meaning of the verse as quoted by Socrates has been explained in two different ways: (1) that Φθίην suggests φθί(ν)ων, such puns upon the names of places being, of course, frequent, especially in the ambiguous language of oracles, e.g., the prediction of Cambyses' death at Agbatana (it occurred at a different place of this name than he had supposed; Hdt. 3, 64), the prediction that Cleomenes would take Argos, fulfilled by his taking the grove of Argos (Hdt. 6, 80), the death of Epaminondas, who had been warned against the sea, in a grove called Πέλαγος (Paus. 8, 11, 10), the foretelling of the place of Hannibal's death (Paus. 8, 11, 11-12, and Frazer's note for other passages), the curious story of the consul Petilius and his remark in an attack upon Mt. Letum, hodie ego Letum utique

capiam, which was literally fulfilled (Val. Max. 1, 5, 9), Julian's warning as to the place of his death (Amm. Marc. 23, 3, 9; Chron. Pasch. P. 298, a-b), that of Valens (Amm. Marc. 31, 14, 8-9), of Alexander the Molossian (Strab. 6, p. 256), and the cases cited by Pais, Ancient Italy (Eng. trans., 1908), 108, and n. 1; to which add the case of the death of King Henry IV of England, which was foretold to occur at Jerusalem, but which took place in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster Abbey (Shakesp. 2 Henry IV, Act 4, Sc. 4); or (2) the return to one's home may be interpreted as equivalent to death, as in 1, 53 infra.

- 3. tertia, etc.: note the alliteration of l and l.
- 3. tempestas: equivalent to dies; so Plaut. Most. 18-19: cis hercle paucas tempestates, Tranio, / augebis ruri numerum; but there seems to be no other certain instance in Latin (although perhaps cf. Hor. Sat. 1, 5, 96); probably the usage is archaic.
- 4f. qui vir et quantus: cf. Fin. 2, 67: quos et quantos viros; Leg. 3, 20.
- 5. in ea militia, etc.: an awkward paraphrase for the title of the work (Expeditio Cyri?). And in the sentence we perhaps have, as Thoresen (ad h. loc.) suggests, a mingling of two constructions: (1) in ea militia qua cum Cyro minore perfunctus est, and (2) in expeditione Cyri sua scribit somnia.
- 5. Cyro minore: so called also in de Sen. 59.
- 5. perfunctus est: cf. pro Marc. 31: perfuncta respublica est koc . . . bello.
- 5f. sua scribit somnia: cf. Xen. Anab.
 3, 1, 11-13: μικρόν δ' δτνου λαχών είδεν όναρ.
 Εδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτός πεσεῖν
 εἰς τὴν πατρῷαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τοὐτου λάμπεσθαι

somnia, quorum eventus mirabiles exstiterunt. 53. Mentiri Xenophontem an delirare dicemus? Quid? singulari vir ingenio Aristoteles et paene divino ipsene errat an alios vult errare, cum scribit Eudemum Cyprium, familiarem suum, iter in Macedoniam facientem Pheras venisse, quae erat urbs in Thessalia tum admodum nobilis, ab Alexandro autem tyranno crudeli dominatu tenebatur; in eo igitur oppido ita graviter aegrum Eudemum fuisse ut omnes medici diffiderent; ei visum in quiete egregia facie iuvenem dicere fore ut perbrevi convalesceret, paucisque diebus interiturum Alexandrum tyrannum, ipsum autem Eudemum quinquennio post domum esse rediturum. Atque ita quidem prima statim scribit Aristoteles consecuta, et convaluisse Eudemum, et ab uxoris fratribus interfectum tyrannum; quinto

πάσα, περίφοβος δ' είθὺς άνηγέρθη, και τὸ δυαρ τη μέν έκρινεν άγαθόν, δτι έν πόνοις ών καί κινδύνοις φως μέγα έκ Διός ίδειν έδοξε τή δέ και έφοβείτο, δτι άπο Διός μέν βασιλέως τό δναρ εδόκει αυτώ είναι, κίκλω δε εδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναιτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελθεῖν της βασιλέως, άλλ' εξργοιτο πάντοθεν ὑπό τινων άποριών, όποιόν τι μέν δή έστι τό τοιούτον όναρ ίδειν έξεστι σκοπείν έκ τών συμβάντων μετά τὸ δναρ, κτλ.; 4, 3, 8: Zeropur de brap ideir. Boter er medais δεδέσθαι, αδται δὲ αὐτῷ αὐτόμαται περιρρυήναι, ώστε λυθήναι και διαβαίνειν δπόσον έβούλετο. έπει δε δρθρος ήν, έρχεται πρός τον Χαρίσοφον και λέγει ότι έλπίδας έχει καλώς ξσεσθαι, και διηγείται αὐτῷ τὸ δναρ, κτλ. Cf. also Lucian, Somn. 17: obbe yap Ζενοφών ποτε διηγούμενος τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ώς εδόκει αὐτῷ καίεσθαι ή πατρώα οίκία καὶ τὰ άλλα,-ίστε γάρ-ούκ ύπόκρισιν την όψων ούδ' ώς φλυαρείν έγνωκώς αύτά διεξήει, καί ταθτα εν πολέμφ και άπογνώσει πραγμάτων, περιεστώτων πολεμίων, άλλά τι και χρήσιμον είχεν ή διήγησις.

- 1. mentiri: cf. 1, 37; 1, 79.
- 2. delirare: cf. 1, 35, n. (delirare).
- 2. singulari: cf. Ac. 2, 132: Aristotelen, meo iudicio in philosophia prope singularem; Fin. 3, 6: avunculo tuo, divino ac singulari viro; 2, 97 infra. Thiaucourt (Essai sur les Traités philos. de Cic. (1885), 263) remarks on the appreciation of Aristotle as the sign of a degree of toleration of the views of others characteristic of the encyclopedic Posidonius

rather than of Stoics in general. Cf. the introduction, n. 99.

- 3. scribit: cf. Plut. Dion, 22: συνέπραττον δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν πολλοί καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων, δ τε Κύπριος Εδδημος, els δν 'Αριστοτὲλης ἀποθανόντα τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς διάλογον ἐποίησε. The fragments of this dialogue, the Εδδημος ἡ περὶ ψυχῆς, appear in the Berlin edition of Aristotle, 5, 1479-1483; in Rose's ed. (1886), 44-45. It apparently dealt, like Plato's Phaedo, with the immortality of the soul.
- 5. Alexandro... tyranno crudeli: for passages in which he appears as a type of the cruel ruler see Kaerst in P.-W. s.v. Alexandros (1894), 1409; cf. Off. 2, 25.
- 6. dominatu . . . tenebatur: cf. Off. 2, 2; 2, 81.
- 6. oppido: here of the same place that two lines above was called an urbs; cf. Tyrrell and Purser, Correspond. of Cic. 1, 3 ed. (1904), 366 (on ad Att. 3, 7). In Rep. 1, 41 there seems to be little distinction of meaning: eiusmodi coniunctionem tectorum oppidum vel urbem appellaverunt.
- 7. in quiete: cf. 1, 58; 1, 126; 2, 145; de Am. 14; also 1, 43, n. (secundum quietem) supra.
- 7. egregia facie: cf. 1, 40, n. (homo pulcher).
- 8. perbrevi: cf. ad Fam. 6, 12, 3: id erit perbrevi.
- 8f. interiturum Alexandrum: after a reign of eleven years (Diod. 15, 61, 2) he was killed about the year 359 B.C. (Kaerst, *l.c.*; cf. the next note.

autem anno exeunte, cum esset spes ex illo somnio in Cyprum illum ex Sicilia esse rediturum, proeliantem eum ad Syracusas occidisse; ex quo ita illud somnium esse interpretatum ut cum animus Eudemi e corpore excesserit tum domum revertisse videatur. 54. Adiungamus philosophis doctissimum hominem, poetam quidem divinum, Sophoclem; qui, cum ex aede Herculis

[188]11. ab uxoris fratribus interfectum: cf. Xen. Hell. 6, 4, 35: τοιοῦτος δ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς (sc. 'Αλέξανδρος) αὖ ἀποθνήσκει, αὐτοχειρία μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῶν, βουλῆ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης, κτλ.; Diod. 16, 14, 1: 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Φερῶν τύραννος ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας γυναικὸς Θήβης καὶ τῶν ταύτης ἀδελφῶν Αυκόφρονος καὶ Τισιφόνου ἐδολοφονήθη; also de Inv. 2, 144; Plut. Pelop. 35, who adds a third brother, Pytholaus, to those mentioned by Diodorus; Val. Max. 9, 13, ext. 3.

- 1. ex Sicilia: for his activities as a supporter of Dion see Plut. Dion, 22.
- 2. ad Syracusas: cf. Diod. 16, 36, 5:
 εν δε ταῖς Συρακούσσαις στάσεως γενομένης
 τοῖς Δίωνος φίλοις πρὸς Κάλλιππον οι μεν τοῦ
 Δίωνος φίλοι ἡττηθέντες ἔφυγον εἰς τοὺς
 Δεοντίνους.
- 3. esse interpretatum: cf. Gell. 15, 13, 7: testata itidem et interpretata eadem ratione dixit M. Tullius in primo libro de divinatione, ut 'testor,' 'interpretor'que verba communia videri debeant. The word interpretor is used as a passive in 1, 118; Leg. 2, 29; Sall. Jug. 17, 7; Amm. Marc. 24, 6, 1; and often in patristic Latin. Cf. Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 111; also 1, 87, n. (testata) infra.
- 3. cum animus . . . e corpore excesserit: a frequent phrase in Cicero; cf. 1, 47; 1, 63; and many examples in Merguet, Lexikon z. d. phil. Schriften, 1 (1887), 904.
- 4. domum: cf. [Plat.] Αχίος κ. p. 365b: τὸ κοινὸν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς πάντων θρυλούμενον, παρεπιδημία τίς δοτιν ὁ βίος; Menand. Hypobolim. 2, 9 (vol. 4, 211 Mein.). Conversely, according to Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 49, άποθανεῖν δοκεῖν . . . τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ ξένης δντα eἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐπανάγει καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἀποθανὰν eἰς τὴν γῆν κατατίθεται,

- ήτις έστι κοινή πάντων πατρίς. Lucian, V. H. 2, 34 speaks of dreams that dangyor huas els τàs πατρίδας και τούς οίκειους ἐπεδείκνυον, but says nothing of their significance; Marc. Aurel. 2, 17, 2: δ δὲ βίος πόλεμος καὶ ξένου επιδημία; 2 Cor. 5, 8: εύδοκοθμεν μάλλον έκδημήσαι έκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐνδημήσαι πρὸς τον κύριον; Clem. Strom. 7, 63, 3: φασί γούν τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον θεασάμενον την αύτοῦ γυναίκα άγομένην την έπι θάνατον, ήσθηναι μέν της κλήσεως χάριν και της els olkor άνακομιδης (cf. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 3, 39); Bernard, de Considerat. 5, 1, 2: repatriasse erit hoc: exisse de patria corporum in regionem spirituum; and see the other passages collected by Gataker on Marc. Aurel. 2, 17, 2.
- 4. videatur: with this present tense introduced by interpretatum esse cf. 1, 71: ita divinatum ut . . . videatur. Ernesti's emendation videretur is, accordingly, unnecessary.
- 5. poetam, etc.: the high esteem in which Cicero held Sophocles may be seen from Orat. 4, where he is classed with Homer, Archilochus, and Pindar, the leading Greek representatives of different genera of poetry. Cf. Lange in Diss. philol. Halenses, 4 (1880), 275 ff.
- 5. qui, etc.: cf. Vii. Soph. 12: γέγονε δὲ και θεοφιλής ὁ Σοφοκλής ὡς οἰκ ἄλλος, καθά φησιν 'Ιερώνυμος *** περί τῆς χρυσῆς στεφάνης. ταὐτης γὰρ ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως κλαπείσης κατ' ὅναρ 'Ηρακλῆς ἐδήλωσε Σοφοκλεῖ, λέγων τὴν † μὴ οἰκοῦσαν οἰκίαν ἐν δεξιῷ εἰσιώντι ἐρευνῆσαι, ἔνθα ἐκέκρυπτο. ἐμήνυσε δ' αὐτὴν τῷ δήμω και τάλαντον ἐδέξατο· τοῦτο γὰρ ἢν προκηρυχθέν. λαβών οῦν τὸ τάλαντον ἰερὸν ἰδρύσατο Μηνυτοῦ 'Ηρακλέους; Hesych. s.v. Μηνυτής· 'Ηρακλῆς ἐν 'Λθήναις; Tert. de An. 46: coronam auream cum ex arce Athenaei perdidissent, Sophocles tragicus somniando redinvenit.

patera aurea gravis subrepta esset, in somnis vidit ipsum deum dicentem qui id fecisset. Quod semel ille iterumque neglexit. Ubi idem saepius, ascendit in Arium pagum, detulit rem; Areopagitae conprehendi iubent eum qui a Sophocle erat nominatus; is quaestione adhibita confessus est pateramque rettulit. Quo facto fanum illud Indicis Herculis nominatum est.

XXVI. 55. Sed quid ego Graecorum? nescio quo modo me magis nostra delectant. Omnes hoc historici, Fabii, Gellii, sed proxume Coelius:

- 3. arium pagum BV, ariopagum A, areopagum H.
- 5. rettulit Christ, retulit CO.

[189]5. Herculis: Cicero alone says that the theft was from his temple.

1. patera aurea: for such in temples cf. N.D. 3, 84. It may perhaps have been in the hand of the cult statue; cf. 1, 46, n. (Mercurium e patera).

1. subrepta: on thefts from temples cf. 1, 48, n. (auferre vellet).

1. in somnis: cf. 1, 4, n. (ex... somnio); 1, 16, n. (ex somnio). The appearance of Hercules in dreams is mentioned by Diog. L. 1, 117; Tac. Ann. 12, 13, 3; C.I.L. XI, 1449 = Dessau 7320; and see the cases noted by Peter in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon. s.v. Hercules (1890), 2962.

2. semel... iterumque neglexit: the thrice appearing vision is also found in 1, 55; cf. Artemid. Onirocr. 4, 27: τους πολλάκις δρωμένους όνείρους, εἰ μὲν ἐκ μικρῶν διαστημάτων βλέποιντο, ἀεὶ τὸ αὐτὸ σημαίνειν νόμιζε, τούτου δὲ ἔνεκα δρῶσθαι πολλάκις τοῦ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς προσέχειν καὶ πιστεύειν; Amm. Marc. 21, 2, 2, where a ghost prophesies eadem saepius replicando. See also the repeated dream of Pharaoh in Gen. 41, 1-7; and Walton, Life of Sir Henry Wollon, init.; 1, 55, n. (iterum).

2. ubi: on this use of the word (approaching a causal sense) cf. Lebreton, Etudes sur la Langue . . . de Cic. (1901), 418, n.

3. Arium pagum: cf. Plasberg's reading in N.D. 2, 74: Arii pagi. The act probably falls in the category of lepoσυλία, which was not regularly under the jurisdiction of the Areopagus; cf. Schömann-Lipsius, Der attische Process, 1, 2 ed. (1887), 376, and n. 511; 458-459. It will be noticed that in the account in

the Vita Sophoclis quoted above the information is given not to the Areopagus but to the Ecclesia, and Schömann (op. cit. 1, 376, and n. 512) observes that other evidence from the fifth and fourth centuries points to other courts as competent in such cases; cf. id. 1, 458-459.

4. quaestione adhibita: cf. Off. 3, 39: tormenta quaedam adhibemus.

6. Graecorum: cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius); Tusc. 1, 74: sed haec vetera et a Graecis; Cato autem, etc. On the interruption caused by sections 55-56 cf. Heeringa, Quaest. ad Cic. de Div. Lib. duos pertinentes (1906), 22, and n. 5.

6f. me magis nostra delectant: cf. 2, 8; Tusc. 1, 1 ff.

7. hoc: sc. tradunt; cf. 1, 49, n. (hoc).

7. Fabii, Gellii: the plurals probably mean only "such men as Fabius and Gellius." To be sure, other Fabii are known, such as the one mentioned in Cic. Brut. 81: Ser. Fabius Pictor et iuris et litterarum et antiquitatis bene peritus, and also Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus, consul in 142 B.C.; for whom see Peter, Hist. Rom. Relig. 1, 2 ed. (1914), clxxiv-clxxviii; and Peter (op. cit. 26-28; 113) places our story among the fragments of these, but admits (op. cit. cciv-ccv) that only one Gellius is meant. A similar list, in which the names (including Gellius restored by emendation) occur in the singular, is found in Leg. 1, 6. Important is Dion. Hal. 1, 7: τὰ δ' ἐκ τῶν ίστοριών άναλεξάμενος åς ol πρός αύτών έπαινούμενοι 'Ρωμαίων συνέγραψαν Πόρκιος τε και Κάτων και Φάβιος Μάξιμος και Οθαλέριος δ Αντιεύς και Λικίννιος Μάκερ Αίλιοί τε καί Γέλλιοι και Καλπούρνιοι και έτεροι συχνοί πρός τούτους άνδρες ούκ άφανείς. This

cum bello Latino ludi votivi maxumi primum fierent, civitas ad arma repente est excitata, itaque ludis intermissis instaurativi constituti sunt. Qui ante quam fierent cumque iam populus consedisset, servus per circum,

passage, in connection with ours, some scholars take as an indication of more than one annalist named Gellius (cf. Schanz, Gesch. d. röm. Litt. 1, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 274-275; Peter, op. cit. cciv), but it is more probable that both there and here the plural is rhetorical, and that the reference is to Cn. Gellius, the author of Annales, the fragments of which are in Peter, op. cit. 148-157, this fragment (p. 154) being from Book IV.

[190]7. Coelius: cf. 1, 48, n. (Coelius). Zingler (De Cic. Historico Quaest. (1900), 24-25) points out the inappropriateness of such a story in Coelius's history of the Second Punic War, unless, as he conjectures, it came in a digression on the subject of divination.

1. cum, etc.: cf. 2, 136. The story appears in several authors: Liv. 2, 36, 1 ff.: ludi forte ex instauratione magni parabantur. instaurandi kaec Romae causa fuerat: ludis mane servum quidem pater familiae nondum commisso spectaculo sub furca caesum medio egerat circo. coepti inde ludi velut ea res nihil ad religionem pertinuisset. haud ita multo post Tito Latinio de plebe homini somnium fuit. visus Iuppiter dicere sibi ludis praesultatorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurarentur ii ludi periculum urbi fore; iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus verecundia tamen maiestalis magistratuum timorem vicit ne in ora hominum pro ludibrio abiret. magno illi ea cunctatio stetit; filium namque intra paucos dies amisit. The rest of the story agrees in all important details with Cicero. Dion. Hal. 7, 68: Επειτα ηκέ τις Επί τὸ συνέδριον τής βουλής άρρωστος έπι κλινιδίου κομιζόμενος, Τίτος Λατίνιος δνομα, πρεσβύτερος τε άνήρ καί obolas Ικανής κύριος, αὐτουργός δὲ καὶ τὸν πλείω χρόνον τοῦ βίου ζῶν ἐν άγρῷ. οὖτος els την βουλην ένεχθεις έφη δόξαι καθ' υπνον έπιστάντα τον Καπιτώλιον Δία λέγειν αὐτῷ,

10ι, Δατίνιε, και λέγε τοις πολίταις ότι μοι τή νεωστί πομπή τον ήγούμενον όρχηστήν οδ καλόν έδωκαν, Ινα άναθώνται τὰς ἐορτὰς καὶ έξ άρχης έτέρας επιτελέσωσιν. ου γάρ δέδεγμαι rabras. In the rest of this story are told the details of his son's death, his own illness, the disclosure, and the cure; in 7, 69 the (antecedent) account of the games. Of the slave's punishment Dionysius says, δ δ' ἐν τοιβδε ἀνάγκη κρατούμενος ἐβόα τε φωνάς δυσφήμους, ας ή αλγηδών εβούλετο, και κινήσεις διά την αίκιαν άσχημονας έκινειτο. τούτον δή πάντες ενόμισαν είναι τον ύπο του θεοῦ μηνυόμενον όρχηστην ού καλόν. Here it is the sounds and gestures of ill-omen which are the reason for the renewal of the games. Important also is Macrob. Sat. 1, 11, 3-5: anno enim post Romam conditam quadringentesimo septuagesimo quarto Autronius quidam Maximus servum suum verberatum patibuloque constrictum ante spectaculi commissionem per circum egit. ob quam causam indignatus Iuppiter Annio cuidam per quietem imperavit ut senatui nuntiaret non sibi placuisse plenum crudelitatis admissum. There follow the other details, and at section 5: ex senatus itaque consulto et Maenia lege ad propitiandum Iovem additus est illis Circensibus dies, isque instauraticius dictus est, non a patibulo, ut quidam putant, Graeco nomine and too otavpoo, sed a redintegratione, ut Varroni placet, qui instaurare ait esse instar novare. story is also told or mentioned by Plut. Coriol. 24-25; Val. Max. 1, 7, 4; Min. Fel. Oct. 7, 3; 27, 4; Arnob. 7, 38 ff.; Lact. Inst. 2, 7, 20; Aug. C.D. 4, 26; 8, 13. Oldfather notes (Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc. 39 (1908), 63, n. 2) that the older versions (the sources of Cicero and Macrobius) do not speak of the slave as put to death, this being a later development of the story. For the different names given for the man to whom the

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cum virgis caederetur, furcam ferens ductus est. Exin cuidam rustico Romano dormienti visus est venire qui diceret praesulem sibi non placuisse ludis, idque ab eodem iussum esse eum senatui nuntiare; illum non esse ausum. Iterum esse idem iussum et monitum ne vim suam experiri vellet;

4. idem iussum valg., idem uisum C.

dream appeared—T. Latinius, T. Atinius, Annius-see Pais, Storia di Roma, 1, 2 (1899), 367, n. 1. The date of the occurrence varies from the time of Coriolanus to the latter half of the fourth century, or even as late as about 279 (Macrobius); cf. Mommsen, Rom. Forschungen, 2 (1879), 146, n. 68; Pais, op. cit. 367, and n. 2, who decides in favor of the second half of the fourth century. Again, the games vary, most accounts giving the Ludi Romani, but Dion. Hal. 6, 95 the Ludi Latini, and Val. Max. 1, 7, 4 the Ludi Plebei; cf. Mommsen, op. cit. 146, n. 68; also 48, n. 12. Misfortunes following the harsh punishment of a slave are a feature of the fate of the people of Sybaris, according to Timaeus (F. H.G. 1, 206,

[191]1. ludi votivi maxumi primum: cf. Dion. Hal. 6, 10: και δ Ποστόμιος (before the battle of Lake Regillus) ἐπαινέσας τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτῶν και τοῖς θεοῖς εὐξάμενος, ἐὰν εὐτυχὲς και καλὸν τέλος ἀκολουθήση τῆ μάχη, θυσίας τε μεγάλας ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐπιτελέσειν χρημάτων και ἀγῶνας καταστήσεσθαι πολυτελεῖς, οὐς άξει ὁ 'Ρωμαίων δῆμος ἀνὰ πῶν ἔτος, ἀπέλυσεν ἐπὶ τάς τάξεις. For other accounts of the founding of these games see Mommsen, ορ. cit. 48, n. 12; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 452, n. 7.

[191]2. instaurativi: the account of the version in Macrobius, quoted above, that this is derived from the furca or oraupos is based on more than mere popular etymology; cf. Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuck, 2 ed. (1910), 650, s.v. restauro. Also, on the facts, Mommsen, op. cit. 2, 145, and n. 67.

[191]3. per circum: doubtless the Circus Maximus, for the Circus of Flaminius, in which Valerius Maximus locates the event, was not built until 221 B.C.

- 1. cum virgis caederetur: a clause used to supply the lack of a present passive participle. Dionysius has μαστιγούμενον; the Latin accounts the perfect participle; cf. Stolz-Schmalz, Lat. Gram. 3 ed. (1900), 307.
- 1. caederetur, furcam ferens: that this was considered an excessive punishment at a period when Roman slaves were treated with great kindness is indicated by Plut. Coriol. 24. For the form of punishment here described see Marquardt, Das Privatleben der Römer, 1 (1879), 182; Blanchet in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Furca (1896), 1409; Oldfather, l.c.; Blümner, Röm. Privataltertümer (1911), 293.
- 2. visus est venire qui: Livy (l.c.) puts it more definitely as Jupiter, and so most of the other accounts. But there is an effective mystery in Cicero's vagueness of expression; cf. Plin. Ep. 7, 27, 13: venerunt . . . in tunicis albis duo.
- 2. praesulem: also called a praesultor or a praesultator, and in Greek δρχηστής. Not merely did he come before the procession, but according to Plutarch he was overtaken by the procession in the games and appeared as it were its leader (τὸν ἄνθρωπον . . . στρεφόμενον και κινήσεις ἄλλας ἀτερπεῖς τῷ περιπαθεῖν κινούμενον ἡ πομπή κατὰ τύχην ἡκολουθήκει), thus making a bad omen; cf. 1, 102, n. (quod bonum, etc.).
- 3. iussum esse: the narrative here slips into indirect discourse; cf. 1, 32: Attum iussisse; 1, 56: Simonidem redisse; 1, 74.
- 3f. non esse ausum: on account of modesty and an unwillingness to be ridiculed, as the accounts make clear.
- 4. iterum: on repeated dreams cf. 1, 54, n. (semel . . . iterumque neglexit); 2, 85; Ov. Met. 15, 21 ff.: hunc (sc. Mysce-

ne tum quidem esse ausum. Exin filium eius esse mortuum, eandem in somnis admonitionem fuisse tertiam. Tum illum etiam debilem factum rem ad amicos detulisse, quorum de sententia lecticula in curiam esse delatum, cumque senatui somnium enarravisset pedibus suis salvum domum revertisse. Itaque somnio comprobato a senatu ludos illos iterum instauratos memoriae proditum est. 56. C. vero Gracchus multis dixit, ut scriptum apud eundem Coelium est, sibi in somnis quaesturam petenti Tiberium fratrem visum esse dicere quam vellet cunctaretur tamen

6. C. O. Gaius C.

8. petenti ABHO, def. Zöchbauer, Usener, Thoresen, om. V, petere dubitanti Halm, Christ, Bailer, Muller, non petenti Klois.

8. Tiberium codd. et edd., Ti. Maller.

lum) super incumbens pressum gravitate soporis / claviger adloquitur . . . (24) et nisi paruerit multa ac metuenda minatur. He delays; the next night (32-33) visus adesse idem deus est eademque monere / et, nisi paruerit, plura et graviora minari.

[192]4. monitum: often used of commands in dreams. Many inscriptions were set up ex monitu (dei); cf. 1, 4, n. (ex . . . somnio).

[192]4. ne ... vellet: representing noli in direct discourse.

2. debilem: with this part of the story cf. Luc. de Dea Syr. 19: ήδε δή ὧν ή Στρατονίκη έτι τῷ προτέρῳ ἀνδρί συνοικέουσα δναρ τοιόνδε έθεἀσατο, ὡς μιν ή Ἡρη ἐκέλευω ἐγεῖραί οι τὸν ἐν τῇ ἰρῷ πόλι νηόν, εἰ δὲ ἀπειθέοι πολλά οὶ καὶ κακὰ ἀπείλεω. ἡ δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα οὐδεμίην ὡρην ἐποιέετο, μετὰ δὲ ὡς μιν μεγάλη νοῦσος ἔλαβε, τῷ τε ἀνδρί τὴν δψιν ἀπηγήσατο καὶ τὴν Ἡρην ἰλάσκετο καὶ στήσειν τὸν νηὸν ὑπεδέξατο. καὶ αὐτίκα ὑγιἐα γενομένην ὁ ὅναρ ἐς τὴν ἰρὴν πόλιν ἔπεμπε, κτλ.

3. rem . . . detulisse: cf. 1, 54.

3. de sententia: cf. 1, 4.

6. instauratos: for the splendor of the restoration see Dion. Hal. 7, 73.

6. memoriae proditum est: cf. N.D. 2, 6; Rep. 1, 16; 2, 28; 2, 54; Leg. 1, 4; 2, 58; de Sen. 63; de Am. 39; also 1, 2 supra.

7. Coelium: cf. Peter, Hist. Rom. Reliq. 1, 2 ed. (1914), 174; Plut. C. Gracch. 1: δοικεν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης τινὸς μάλλον οδτος ή προαιρέσεως έμπεσεῖν els τὴν πολιτείαν. Ιστορεῖ δὲ καὶ Κικέρων ὁ βήτωρ ὡς ἄρα φεύγοντι πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν τῷ Γαίῳ καὶ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἡρημένως ζῆν ὁ ἀδελφὸς δναρ φανείς καὶ προσαγορεύσας,

τι δήτα, φαίη, Γάιε, βραδύνεις; ούκ έστιν άπόδρασις, άλλ' είς μέν ήμιν άμφοτέροις βίος, είς δὲ θάνατος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου πολιτευομένοις πέπρωται; Val. Max. 1, 7, 6: C. autem Graccho inminentis casus atrocitas palam atque aperte per quietem denuntiata est; somno enim pressus Tiberii fratris effigiem vidit dicentis sibi nulla ratione eum vitare posse ne eo falo perirel quo ipse occidisset. id ex Graccho prius quam tribunatum in quo fraternum exitum habuit iniret multi audierunt. Coelius etiam certus Romanae historiae auctor sermonum de ea re ad suas aures illo adhuc vivo pervenisse scribit. The dream is also noted in 2, 56 infra.

7. quaesturam: he was quaestor in Sardinia with the consul Aurelius Orestes (Plut. C. Gracch. 1) in 126/125 B.C.

8. petenti: though the dream might seem to have been a suitable one to lead Gracchus to break his period of six years or so of private life (and hence Halm's emendation to petere dubitanti), yet it is far more likely, as Usener (Fleckeis. Jahrb. 139 (1889), 392) points out, that such a dream should have come in the excitement and uncertainty of mind which would naturally attend his having already decided to run for office. Zöchbauer (Zu Cicero's Büchern "De Divinatione" (1877), 17) offered another defence of the MS. reading, namely, that, to carry out the reforms of Ti. Gracchus, Caius should have been a candidate for the tribunate rather than the quaestorship, and that the dream accordingly represents a reprieodem sibi leto, quo ipse interisset, esse pereundum. Hoc, ante quam tribunus plebi C. Gracchus factus esset, et se audisse scribit Coelius et dixisse eum multis. Quo somnio quid inveniri potest certius?

XXVII. Quid? illa duo somnia quae creberrume commemorantur a Stoicis quis tandem potest contemnere? unum de Simonide: qui, cum ignotum quendam proiectum mortuum vidisset eumque humavisset

3. dixisse eum multis Müller, dixisse multis CO, illum dixisse multis Christ, Baiter, dixisse multos Hottinger.

mand from the older brother on the ground on desertion of ideals common to them both. In view of these two possible ways of explaining the text emendation seems inadvisable.

[193]8. quam vellet: indirect discourse for quamvis.

- 1. eodem sibi leto: on the death of Ti. Gracchus cf. Vell. 2, 3, 1-2; Plut. Ti. Gracch. 19; for that of C. Gracchus Vell. 2, 6, 4-7; Plut. C. Gracch. 17. The identity is noted by Velleius (2, 6, 7): ut Ti. Gracchi antea corpus ita Gai mira crudelitate in Tiberim deiectum est.
- 1. esse percundum: for the impersonal construction cf. 2, 22; Fat. 5.
 - 2. tribunus plebi: 123 B.C.
- 3. dixisse eum: the improbability that the subject of dixisse is also Coelius (in whose having told the story there would be no significance) makes necessary the insertion of a pronoun at this point
 - 5. Stoicis: cf. 1, 6, n. (uno de somniis).
- 5. Simonide: cf. 2, 134-135; 2, 143; Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 3: longe indulgentius dii in poeta Simonide, cuius salutarem inter quietem admonitionem constlii firmitale roborarunt: is enim, cum ad litus navem appulisset inhumatumque corpus iacens sepulturae mandasset, admonitus ab eo ne proximo die navigaret, in terra remansit. qui inde solverant fluctibus et procellis in conspectu eius obruti sunt; ipse laetatus est quod vitam suam somnio quam navi credere maluisset. memor autem beneficii elegantissimo carmine * * aeternitati consecravit, melius illi et diuturnius in animis hominum zepulcrum constituens quam in desertis et ignotis harenis struxerat; [Liban.] Narrat. 13 (IV, p. 1101): ἐχώρει μὲν ἐπὶ Τάραντα Σιμωνίδης δ Κείος δ Λεωπρέπους δ ποιητής,

νεκρόν δε άταφον ώς είδεν ερριμμένον ήλεησε τε και θάπτει. μέλλων δὲ ἡμέρα τῆ μετά τὴν ταφήν πλείν els Σικελίαν δνείρατι εξργεται μή πλείν. άγνοων δέ τις ήν ο αυτόν όνειρατι κωλύων πείθεται μέν ο Σιμωνίδης και μένει, πλεί δὲ ή ναθς και βαπτίζεται. άλλου δὲ els Τάραντα κομίσαντος τὸ πάθος έγίνετο δσα είκὸς τοιούτου κακού. Σιμωνίδης δέ στεφάνους τῆ στήλη περιέθηκε και έναγίσας τῷ νεκρώ σωτήρα αύτου τον κείμενον εκήρυξεν ξπιγράμματι. και τουτο ή στήλη δείκνυσι». An epigram in the Anthol. Pal. 7, 77, ascribed to Simonides, reads: obros ò rol Κέοιο Σιμωνίδου έστι σαωτήρ, / δε και τεθνηκώς ζωντ' άπέδωκε χάριν. Cf. 7, 516 (also ascribed to him): οl μέν έμε κτείναντες δμοίων aptituzoier, / Zeû fêri' ol 8' und yar bertes, δναιντο βlov. This story and the following one of the Arcadians are used by Chaucer in the Nonne Prestes Tale, B. 4257-4294; 4173-4252, respectively (but see introduction, 16, supra); cf. Wundt, Völkerpsychologie, 2, 1 (1905), 360-361; Gerould, The grateful Dead (1908), 8; Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T. 1 (1913), 188 (on Tobit, 2, 3-8; 12, 12-13). With the parallels mentioned by Gerould may be compared the idea implied in Hor. Carm. 1, 28, especially lines 23-29; cf. Suid. s.v. On Cicero and Simonides cf. áknôhs. Lange in Diss. philol. Halenses, 4 (1880), 264-265. Our account = von Arnim, S. V.F. 2, no. 1200.

- ignotum quendam projectum mortuum: for the series of adjectives, made less harsh by the almost substantival character of ignolum, cf. Seyffert on de Am. 54.
- proiectum: a regular word applied to corpses; cf. 2, 143; Tusc. 1, 104; Leg. 2, 57; so πρόβλητος in Soph. Ai. 830.

haberetque in animo navem conscendere, moneri visus est ne id faceret ab eo quem sepultura adfecerat; si navigavisset eum naufragio esse periturum; itaque Simonidem redisse, perisse ceteros qui tum navigassent. 57. Alterum ita traditum clarum admodum somnium: cum duo quidam Arcades familiares iter una facerent et Megaram venissent, alterum ad cauponem devertisse, ad hospitem alterum. Qui ut cenati quiescerent, concubia nocte visum esse in somnis ei qui erat in hospitio illum alterum orare ut subveniret, quod sibi a caupone interitus pararetur; eum primo

- 1. navem conscendere: cf. 1, 69; Ac. 2, 100; Off. 3, 48.
- 3. Simonidem redisse, perisse ceteros: cf. the story of Socrates in 1, 123. For the chiasmus cf. 1, 57: alterum ad cauponem . . . ad hospitem alterum; 1, 72: inprobantur a Peripateticis, a Stoicis defenduntur.
- 4. alterum, etc.: cf. Val. Max. 1, 7, ext. 10: duo familiares Arcades iter una facientes Megaram venerunt, quorum alter se ad hospitem contulit, alter in tabernam meritoriam devertit. is qui in hospitio erat vidit in somnis comitem suum orantem ut sibi cauponis insidiis circumvento subveniret; posse enim celeri eius adcursu se inminenti periculo subtraki. quo viso excitatus prosiluit tabernamque in qua is deversabatur petere conatus est. pestifero deinde fato eius humanissimum propositum tamquam supervacuum damnavit et lectum ac somnum repetiit. tunc idem ei saucius oblatus obsecravit ut quoniam vitae suae auxilium ferre neglexisset neci saltem ultionem non negarel; corpus enim suum a caupone trucidatum tum maxime plaustro ferri ad portam stercore coopertum. tam constantibus familiaris precibus conpulsus protinus ad portam cucurrit et plaustrum quod in quiete demonstratum erat conprehendit cauponemque ad capitale supplicium perduxit; Suid. s. v. τιμωρούντος . . . Αίλιανός . . . άποθανόντων των άγαθων δ θεός τίθεται πρόνοιαν καί ώραν και τιμωρεί τοίς άδικοις άνηρημένοις. λέγει γοθν Χρύσιππος (S. V.F. 2, no. 1205) & Μεγάροις καταχθήναι τινα χρυσίου ζώνην πεπληρωμένην ξπαγόμενον. άπέκτεινε δὲ άρα αὐτὸν πανδοκεύς δ υποδεξάμενος όψισθέντα, εποφθαλμίσας τῷ χρυσίω. είτα ξμελλεν έκκομίζειν έφ' αμάξης
- άγούσης κόπρον, ύποκρύψας έν ταύτη τόν πεφονευμένον. ή τοίνυν ψυχή τοῦ τεθνεώτος έφίσταται Μεγαρεί τινι, και λέγει δσα τε ξπαθε και υφ' ότου, και όπως εκκομίζεσθαι μέλλοι και κατά ποίας πύλας, ο δέ ούκ ήκουσε βαθύμως τὰ λεχθέντα κνεφαίος δὲ διαναστάς και παραφυλάξας του ζεύγους έπελάβετο, και άνιχνευσε τόν νεκρόν. και ό μέν ετάφη, δ δε εκολάσθη. Cf. Suid. s.v. ζώνη, κνεφαίος; also 2, 135 infra. Our passage = von Arnim, S.V.F. 2, no. 1204, from Chrysippus' work on dreams; cf. Thiaucourt, Essai sur les Trailes philosoph. de Cic. (1885), 258-259. For another tale of the murder of a guest by an innkeeper cf. de Inv. 2, 14-15.
- 5. Megaram: in Greek the word is plural and so usually in Latin (including 2, 135). For other cases of the singular in Latin cf. Madvig, *Emendat. Livian.* 2 ed. (1877), 341-342.
- 6. devertisse, ad hospitem: cf. Fin. 5, 4: ad hospitem . . . devertisse.
- 7. concubia nocte: cf. Liv. 25, 9, 8; Flor. 2, 13, 37; in Cicero only here. The adjective is used only with the noun nox. For its meaning cf. Censor. de Die nat. 24, 6: antiqui prima face dicebant; deinde concubium, cum itum est cubitum; exinde intempesta, id est multa nox . . . tunc ad mediam noctem dicitur, etc.; Non. p. 91 M.: concubia nocte, primi somni, etc. In Varr. L.L. 6, 7 we read: intempestam Aelius dicebat cum tempus agendi est nullum, quod alii concubium appellarunt, quod omnes fere tunc cubarent; 7, 78. On ... phrases used by Cicero for the different parts of the day cf. Landgraf on pro Rosc. Amer. 19.

perterritum somnio surrexisse; dein cum se conlegisset idque visum pro nihilo habendum esse duxisset recubuisse; tum ei dormienti eundem illum visum esse rogare ut, quoniam sibi vivo non subvenisset, mortem suam ne inultam esse pateretur; se interfectum in plaustrum a caupone esse coniectum et supra stercus iniectum; petere ut mane ad portam adesset prius quam plaustrum ex oppido exiret. Hoc vero eum somnio commotum mane bubulco praesto ad portam fuisse, quaesisse ex eo quid esset in plaustro; illum perterritum fugisse, mortuum erutum esse, cauponem re patefacta poenas dedisse.

XXVIII. 58. Quid hoc somnio dici divinius potest? Sed quid aut plura aut vetera quaerimus? Saepe tibi meum narravi, saepe ex te audivi tuum somnium: me, cum Asiae pro cos. praeessem, vidisse in quiete cum tu

- 1. cum se conlegisset: cf. Tusc. 4, 78: dum se ipsi colligant—quid est autem se ipsum colligere nisi dissipatas animi partis rursum in suum locum cogere?
- 2. recubuisse: the idea of renewed action is still kept in the prefix, as in Suet. Tib. 72.
- 3. ut... ne: frequent in Cicero, especially with the two conjunctions separated by one or more words.
- 5. stercus: cf. the Lex Iulia municipalis (C.I.L. I, 206 = Dessau 6085), vv. 66-67: quae plostra noctu in urbem inducta erunt quo minus ea plostra inania aut stercoris exportandei caussa post solem ortum h < oris > X diei bubus iumenteisve iuncta in u < rbe > R < oma > et ab u < rbe > R < oma > et ab u < rbe > R < oma > h. esse liceat e < ius > h < ac > l < ege > n < ihil > r < ogatur > .
- 7. bubulco praesto: for praesto with the dative cf. ad Att. 3, 8, 2: mihi praesto fuit.
- 7. fuisse, quaesisse, etc.: the asyndeton indicates the quick succession of events.
- 10. quid . . . potest: cf. 1, 56; 1, 59; 1, 81; 1, 106; al.
- 11. vetera: cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).
 - 12. tuum: cf. 1, 22, n. (poteris).
- 12. me: roughly corresponding to 1, 59: penio nunc ad tuum.

12. Asiae pro cos. praeessem: Q. Cicero was praetor in 62 B.C., when the case of Archias was tried before him (Schol. Bob. p. 175 Stangl). Probably the next year, 61, he went as governor to Asia, for ad Q. Fr. 1, 1, 1 (written at the end of 60 or the beginning of 59) says: non dubitabam quin . . . ante ab aliis auditurus esses annum tertium accessisse desiderio nostro et labori tuo; cf. 1, 1, 8: praeclarum est enim summo cum imperio fuisse in Asia triennium, etc. He left Asia before the first of May, 58 (ad Au. 3, 9, 1). In another place (ad Q. Fr. 1, 1, 22: quam iucunda tandem praetoris comitas in Asia potest esse) his rank is not recognized as proconsular, and some editors object that pro cos. in our passage is opposed to the facts, and needs emendation. But for the advancement of an expraetor to the title of proconsul evidence is so abundant as to require no argument; cf. Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, 1 (1873), 379, and n. 5. For the expression Asiae . . . praeessem cf. 1, 2: quibus nationibus praefuimus.

12. vidisse . . . cum: Thoresen (in his edition, 221) compares de Or. 3, 87: virum . . . videbamus, philosopho cum operam daret, Q. Tuberonem; Ov. Am. 3, 11, 13: vidi cum . . . prodiret amator; cf. the phrases audisse cum (N.D. 1, 58) and memini cum (ad Fam. 7, 28, 1).



^{10.} divinius potest C, Christ, Bailer, potest divinius O, Maller.

^{12.} pro cos. Müller, procos B, procis AV, prouinciis HO, exc. Pith., pro consule Christ, Baiter, proconsul codd. dett.. Gruter, aliique.

equo advectus ad quandam magni fluminis ripam provectus subito atque delapsus in flumen nusquam apparuisses, me contremuisse timore perterritum; tum te repente laetum exstitisse eodemque equo adversam ascendisse ripam, nosque inter nos esse conplexos. Facilis coniectura huius somni, mihique a peritis in Asia praedictum est fore eos eventus rerum qui acciderunt. 59. Venio nunc ad tuum. Audivi equidem ex te ipso, sed mihi saepius noster Sallustius narravit, cum in illa fuga, nobis gloriosa, patriae calamitosa, in villa quadam campi Atinatis maneres magnamque

[196]12. tu: cf. Arist. de Div. per Somn.
2 p. 464 a 27 ff.: τὸ δὲ τινας εὐθυονείρους εἶναι
καὶ τὸ τοὺς γνωρίμους περὶ τῶν γνωρίμων
μάλιστα προορῶν συμβαίνει διὰ τὸ μάλιστα τοὺς

5. somnii C, Müller.

μάλιστα προοράν συμβαίνει διά τό μάλιστα τούς γνωρίμους ύπερ άλλήλων φροντίζει» ωσπερ γάρ πόρρω δυτων τάχιστα γνωρίζουσι καί αἰσθάνονται, οδτω καί των κινήσεων αὶ γάρ των γνωρίμων γνωριμώτεραι κινήσεις.

2. delapsus in flumen: cf. Ps.-Hippocr. de Insomn. 93 (of dreams): ποταμών διαβάσεις και δπλίται . . . ρούσον σημαίνει ή μανίην; Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 27: πονηρόν δέ και τό ἐν ποταμῷ ἐστάναι και περικλύζεσθαι και μὴ δίνασθαι ἐξελθεῖν.

2. nusquam apparuisses: cf. Tusc. 2, 66; 3, 2. With the temporary submersion and reappearance of the horse cf. the story in 1, 73, in which, as here, the words exstitit and lactus are used.

4. nos . . . inter nos: cf. ad Att. 10, 4, 10; also N.D. 1, 71: vos inter vos.

4. inter nos esse conplexos: cf. Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 2: ἀσπάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις και προσαγορεύειν και καταφιλεῖν ἀγαθόν ἡδεῖς γὰρ λόγους και εἰπεῖν και ἀκοῦσαι σημαίνει; 4, 6: ὅσοι συναντῶσι και ὅσοι βλέπονται, ἄνδρες τε και γυναῖκες, οὶ μὲν φίλοι τε και εὐεργέται και τὸ ὅλον οι μὴ βλάπτοντες ἡ μὴ βλάψαντες, ζῶντες τε και νεκροι, ἀγαθοι, οι δὲ βλάπτοντες ἡ βλάψαντες πονηροι· εἰκόνας γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς ὁρωμένους χρὴ λογίζεσθαι, ἀγαθῶν μὲν τοὺς φίλους, κακῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς; Astrampsych. Onirocr. p. 4 Rigalt.: εὕχρηστον ἀνδρι συμπλακῆναι φιλτάτφ.

4f. coniectura . . . somni: cf. 2, 129.
5. eos eventus: Cicero's exile and return.

6. audivi, etc.: cf. Val. Max. 1, 7, 5: ac ne illud quidem involvendum silentio.

inimicorum conspiratione urbe pulsus M. Cicero, cum in villa quadam campi Atinatis deversaretur, animo in somnum profuso per loca deserta et invias regiones vaganti sibi C. Marium consulatus ornatum insignibus putavit obvium factum, interrogantem eum quid ita tam tristi vultu incerto itinere ferretur. audito deinde casu quo conflictabatur. conprehendisse dexteram suam ac se proximo lictori in monumentum ipsius ducendum tradidisse, quod diceret ibi esse ei lactioris status spem repositam. nec aliter evenit; nam in aede Iovis Mariana senatus consultum de reditu est eius factum; cf. 2, 136-137; 2, 140 infra. For other noteworthy dreams of Cicero cf. Suet. Aug. 94; Zonar. 10, 13.

7. Sallustius: as to his identity there is doubt. Cicero's letters contain rather numerous references to Sallustius, but it is by no means certain that all are to the same man. It seems most likely that this was a freedman of Cicero, and to him there may be a reference in ad Fam. 14, 4, 6: Sallustius officio vincit omnes. For the companions of Cicero on his journey into exile see Smith in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol. 7 (1896), 79, and nn. 3-4.

7f. nobis gloriosa, patriae calamitosa:
cf. Parad. 29: reditum gloriosum...
non exitum calamitosum; Plut. de Exilio,
15: οὐδείς ἐστιν οὐτως ἀφιλότιμος οὐδ' ἀγεννής,
δς μᾶλλον ἀν ἐβούλετο... εἶναι...
Κλάδιος ὁ ἐκβαλών ἡ Κικέρων ὁ ἐκβληθείς;
Giesecke, De Philos. vel. quae ad Exilium
spectant Sentent. (1891), 51-52. With
gloriosa contrast pro Sest. 53: illo ipso
die qui mihi funestus fuit, omnibus bonis
luctuosus, cum ego me e complexu patriae
... eripuissem; cf. in Vat. 6.

partem noctis vigilasses, ad lucem denique arte et graviter dormire te coepisse; itaque, quamquam iter instaret, tamen silentium fieri iussisse se neque esse passum te excitari; cum autem experrectus esses hora secunda fere, te sibi somnium narravisse: visum tibi esse, cum in locis solis maestus errares, C. Marium cum fascibus laureatis quaerere ex te quid tristis esses, cumque tu te patria vi pulsum esse dixisses, prehendisse eum dextram tuam et bono animo te iussisse esse lictorique proxumo tradidisse, ut te in monumentum suum deduceret, et dixisse in eo tibi salutem fore. Tum et

- 1. dormire te Müller, dormitare codd. et edd., arte te et graviter dormitare F. A. Welf.
- 2. tamen Müller, te tamen CO, se tamen F. A. Wolf et Dobres, Christ, Boiler.
- 2. iussisse se Müller, iussisse codd. et edd.
- 5. C. Marium vulg., Gaium Marium V, G. Marium ABH.
- 6. tu te patria Moser, aliique, te tu patria ABV, tu patria te H, tu te tua patria Mossitius; on te tua patrial

[197]8. campi Atinatis: one of two districts is here in mind: (1) that about the Volscian town of Atina, ten miles east of Arpinum, near the river Melpa, but not on any direct road; (2) that near a Lucanian town (the modern Atena) on the Via Popilia, about twenty-five miles south of Nares Lucanae (from which ad Att. 3, 2 was written on 8 April, 58), and directly on the course which his letters indicate that he took; cf. Smith, op. cit. 80-84. Furthermore, the former region he calls (pro Planc. 19) the praefectura Atinas, whereas Plin. N. H. 2, 225 uses the term campus Atinas (cf. 2, 137 infra for the neighborhood of the Lucanian And as Smith (op. cit. 80) well notes, at the time when Cicero was in Lucania the journey was pressing (quamquam iter instaret) in a way in which it was not at the time when he might have been near the Volscian town.

[197]8. maneres: of an overnight stay; cf. 1, 26, n. (mansurus).

1. arte: cf. Rep. 6, 10: me . . . artior quam solebat somnus complexus est.

4f. in locis solis . . . errares: cf. 1, 40: sola . . . errare videbar; Ps.-Hippocr. de Insomn. p. 16 Kühn: πλάνοι καὶ ἀναβάσεις &κ φαντασμάτων χαλεπά ταῦτα σημαίνουσι. For solis in the sense of solitariis cf. Ter. Andr. 406; Sall. Jug. 103, 1; Nep. Eum. 8, 6; Sil. Ital. 3, 429.

5. Marium: cf. 2, 140; post Red. ad Quir. 9-10; pro Sest. 50: memineram, iudices, divinum illum virum atque ex isdem quibus nos radicibus natum ad salutem huius imperi, C. Marium, etc.; Patin, Études sur la Poésie lat. 2 (1883), 422-426.

5. cum fascibus: cf. 1, 119 (and note): cum purpurea veste; 2, 136.

5. fascibus laureatis: insignia of the triumphing general, later extended to consuls on other occasions; cf. Hilberg in Wiener Stud. 25 (1903), 329-330. purpose of the laurel was probably at first purificatory and then prophylactic (Ogle in Amer. Journ. of Philol. 31 (1910), 290 ff.; the doubts of Reid in Journ. of Rom. Stud. 2 (1912), 45-46 seem hardly justified). Thus the triumphator wore a laurel crown, carried a branch in his hand, had his fasces decorated with it, and it appears on his chariot, his horses, and worn by his soldiers. For the evidence for these uses cf. Ogle, op. cit. 292, n. 1, and to his collection of cases of laurel on the fasces add: in Pison. 97; pro Lig. 7 (cf. Priscian in G.L.K. 3, 498); Caes. B.C. 3, 71, 3; Mon. Ancyr. 1, 4; Dio Cass. 41, 52, 1; 54, 25, 4; Plut. Lucull. 36; Pomp. 31; Cassiod. Var. 9, 23.

5f. quid tristis esses: cf. 1, 103: quid tristis es?

7. bono animo . . . esse: cf. Fin. 5, 87; Rep. 1, 29.

7. iussisse esse: an unusual caco-phony.

se exclamasse Sallustius narrat reditum tibi celerem et gloriosum paratum, et te ipsum visum somnio delectari. Nam illud mihi ipsi celeriter nuntiatum est ut audivisses in monumento Mari de tuo reditu magnificentissumum illud senatus consultum esse factum referente optumo et clarissumo viro consule, idque frequentissimo theatro incredibili clamore et plausu comprobatum, dixisse te nihil illo Atinati somnio fieri posse divinius.

XXIX. 60. At multa falsa. Immo obscura fortasse nobis. Sed sint falsa quaedam; contra vera quid dicimus? Quae quidem multo plura evenirent si ad quietem integri iremus. Nunc onusti cibo et vino perturbata et confusa cernimus. Vide quid Socrates in Platonis Politia loquatur.

[198]8. monumentum: cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 138 M.: monumentum est quod et mortui causa aedificatum est et quicquid ob memoriam alicuius factum est, ut fana, porticus, etc. Thus we have mentioned (Tac. Ann. 3, 72, 1) the basilicam Pauli, Aemilia monumenta; and (id. 4, 7, 3): monumentis Cn. Pompei (cf. Sen. Dial. 6, 22, 5); also pro Mil. 17: is (sc. Clodius) in monumentis maiorum suorum sit interfectus, i.e., on the Appian Way.

The Mariana monumenta are mentioned by Val. Max. 2, 5, 6; 4, 4, 8; who in telling this story (1, 7, 5) says that the senate met in aede Iovis Mariana. But Festus p. 344 M. says: summissiorem aliis aedem Honoris et Virtutis C. Marius fecit, ne is forte officeret auspiciis publicis, augures eam demoliri cogerent; cf. Vitruv. 7, praef. 17; C.I.L. I, p. 290; VI, 1315; XI, 1831 (=Dessau 59): de manubiis Cimbric. et Teuton. aedem Honori et Virtuti victor fecit. Further Cicero clearly states (pro Sest. 116): semel, inquam, se ludis homo popularis commisit omnino, cum in templo Virtutis honos habitus esset virtuti, Gaique Mari, conservatoris huius imperi, monumentum municipi eius et reipublicae defensori sedem ad salutem praebuisset; cf. pro Planc. 78: senatus consulto quod in monumento Mari factum est, quo mea salus omnibus est gentibus commendata. the complicated question of the site of this temple see Jordan, Topogr. d. Stadt Rom im Alterthum, 1, 2 (1885), 44, n., who thinks that it was probably on the side of the Arx toward the Forum.

1. reditum . . . celerem et gloriosum: cf. ad Fam. 6, 6, 2: memini me ex multis hospitibus qui ad me ex Asia, in qua tu eras, venerant, audire te de glorioso et celeri reditu meo confirmare.

3f. magnificentissumum, etc.: cf. in Pison. 34: me Kalendis Ianuariis, qui dies post obitum occasumque nostrum rei publicae primus inluxit, frequentissimus senatus, concursu Italiae, referente clarissimo ac fortissimo viro, P. Lentulo, consentiente atque una voce revocavit; pro Sest. 117; 128; post Red. in Sen. 27; post Red. ad Quir. 11; de Dom. 75.

4f. clarissumo viro: P. Cornelius Lentulus, frequently praised in the accounts cited above.

5. theatro: cf. pro Sest. 117: cum vero ipse qui ludos faciebat consul adsedit, stantes ei manibus passis gratias agentes et lacrimantes gaudio suam erga me benivolentiam ac misericordiam declararunt.

5. clamore et plausu: for uses of this phrase cf. Gudeman's 2nd edition of Tac. *Diol.* (1914), 492.

7. at: cf. 1, 24, n. (at).

9. integri: as opposed to onusti cibo et vino; cf. 1, 81, n. (animi . . . integri . . . vitiosi . . . corporis). For the effects of food on dreams see 1,62 and notes.

10. Platonia Politia: 9, pp. 571c-572b: δταν τὸ μὲν ἄλλο τῆς ψυχῆς εδδη, δσον λογιστικὸν καὶ ῆμερον καὶ ἄρχον ἐκεἰνου, τὸ δὲ θηριῶδὲς τε καὶ ἄγριον ἡ σίτων ἡ μέθης πλησθέν, σκιρτῷ τε καὶ ἀπωσάμενος τὸν ὅπνον ζητῆ ἱἐναι καὶ ἀποπιμπλάναι τὰ αὐτοῦ ἡθη. οἰσθ' δτι πάντα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τολμῷ ποιεῦν, ὡς ἀπὸ πάσης λελυμένον τε καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένον αἰσχύνης

Dicit enim: 'Cum dormientibus ea pars animi quae mentis et rationis sit particeps sopita langueat, illa autem in qua feritas quaedam sit atque agrestis inmanitas, cum sit inmoderato obstupefacta potu atque pastu, exsultare eam in somno inmoderateque iactari. Itaque huic omnia visa obiciuntur a mente ac ratione vacua, ut aut cum matre corpus miscere videatur aut cum quovis alio vel homine vel deo, saepe belua, atque etiam trucidare aliquem et impie cruentari multaque facere inpure atque taetre cum temeritate et inpudentia. 61. At qui salubri et moderato cultu

καὶ φρονήσεως. μητρί τε γάρ ἐπιχειρεῖν μίγνυσθαι, ώς οίεται, ούδε δανεί άλλφ τε ότφοθν άνθρώπων καὶ θεών καὶ θηρίων, μιανφονείν τε ότιουν, βρώματός τε απέχεσθαι μηδονός και ένι λόγφ ούτε άνοίας ούδεν έλλειπει ούτ' άναισχυντίας. άληθέστατα, έφη, heyers. Stay be ye, oluan, bylands tis Ext αυτός αυτού και σωφρόνως και els τον υπνον ίχ τό λογιστικόν μέν έγείρας έαυτοῦ καί έστιάσας λόγων καλών και σκόψοων, els σύννοιαν αυτός αύτῷ ἀφικόμενος, τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν δὲ μέγτε δοδεία δούς μήτε πλησμονή, δπως δε κοιμηθή και μή παρέχη θόρυβον τῷ βελτίστῳ χαιρον 🛊 λυπούμενον, άλλ' έξι αθτό καθ' αθτό μόνον καθαρόν σκοπείν και δρέγεσθαι του και αίσθάνασθαι δ μή οίδεν, ή τι των γεγονότων ή όντων 🛊 και μελλόντων, ώσαθτως δὲ και τὸ θυμοειδὲς πραύνας και μή τισιν els δργάς ελθών κεκινημένω τῷ θυμῷ καθεύδη, άλλ' ἡσυχάσας μέν τώ δύω είδη, τὸ τρίτον δὲ κινήσας, ἐν ῷ τὸ φρονείν έγγίγνεται, ούτω άναπαύηται, οίσθ' ότι τής τ' άληθείας 🖢 τῷ τοιούτφ μάλιστα ἄπτεται. It will be seen that the translation is extremely free, being indeed hardly more than a paraphrase. Another long translation from the Republic of Plato is found in Cic. Rep. 1, 66-67. The present passage is quoted by Stob. Anthol. 3, 1, 57 Wachsmuth, and translated by Chalcidius.

1. ea pars, etc.: for the psychology cf. 1, 70, n. (eam pariem, etc.), and with the passage here quoted from Plato cf. Synes. de Insomn. 7; Terzaghi in Stud. ital. di Filol. class. 12 (1904), 182.

2. feritas, etc.: cf. Off. 1, 157: feritas . . . quadam et immanitas; 3, 32: feritas et immanitas; Tusc. 4, 66: immanitate et feritate. Similarly Cicero often couples ferus and immanis; cf. Merguet, Lexikon s. d. philos. Schriften, 2 (1892), 44.

3f. inmoderate...inmoderate: probably not a careless but an intentional repetition, to show the exact correspondence of cause and effect.

3. obstupefacta: cf. Val. Max. 3, 8, ext. 6: ex nimio haustu frigoris obstupefactis nervis. Christ, however, combining the πλησθέν of Plato, the extupefacta of B, and the tumefacta of cod. Eliensis, emended to extumefacta.

4. exsultare: cf. Rep. 2, 68; 3, fr. 1; Tusc. 4, 13; al.

5. a . . . vacua: cf. Fat. 2; Fin. 5, 1.
5. cum matre: the Greek of this passage is quoted by Plut. de Virt. et Vit.
2. On this subject cf. Artemid. Onirocr.
1, 79; 4, 20; for instances see Soph. O. T.
981-982: πολλοί γὰρ βῶη κὰν ὁνείρασιν βροτῶν / μητρὶ συνηυνάσθησαν (also Jebb's note); Hdt. 6, 107; Dio Cass. 37, 52, 2;
41, 24, 2; Suet. Iul. 7; Plut. Caes. 32; Paus. 4, 26, 3; Shakesp. As you like it, 1, 2, 187 ff.; Freud, Die Traumdeutung, 2 ed. (1909), 181-187; Rank, Das Insest-Motiv in Dichtung u. Sage (1912), esp. 417, n. 3; Robert, Oidipus, 1 (1915), 45; 2 (1915), 15. See also Agathias, 2, 24; 2, 31.

6. homine vel deo: with no reference to gender; cf. Virg. Aen. 2, 632, and the note of Servius, who considers this an imitation of the Greek θεός. So Plato has here ὁτφοῦν, ετλ.

6. belua: for such dreams cf. Achmet, Onirocr. 132.

cruentari: the Greek βρώματος...
 ἀπέχεσθαι μηδωός may refer to cannibalism.
 As examples Adam well compares Arist.
 Eth. Nicom. 7, 6, p. 1148 b 20 ff.

8ff. at qui . . . tum eveniet: ana-coluthon.

atque victu quieti se tradiderit, ea parte animi quae mentis et consili est agitata et erecta saturataque bonarum cogitationum epulis, eaque parte animi quae voluptate alitur nec inopia enecta nec satietate affluenti 1. consilii C, Maller.

[200]8f. salubri et moderato cultu atque victu: not only is the effect of overeating upon the mental processes in general often noted (e.g., N.D. 2, 43: cibo quo utare interesse aliquid ad mentis aciem putant; Com. Gr. 3, 613, no. 1234 Kock: παχεία γαστήρ λεπτόν ού τίκτει νόον; Hier. Ep. 22, 17, 2: ilico mens repleta torpescit; 52, 11, 4: pinguis venter non gignit sensum tenuem), but its effect upon dreams in particular was frequently remarked, e.g., 1, 115; 2, 119; Pers. 2, 57, and schol.; Tert. de An. 43: quid si et esum et polum de naturae sortibus eximas? nam et in his plurima somni praeparatura est; 48. Not only does gluttony produce bad or false dreams (e.g., Artemid. Onirocr. 1, 7: αί γε άμετροι τροφαί οὐδὲ πρὸς αὐτή τή έφ παρέχουσιν ίδειν τὸ άληθές; Max. Tyr. 16, 1: ωνπνιον γάρ τι έστιν άτεχνως ούτοσι ὁ δεθρο βlos, καθ' δν ή ψυχή κατορωρυγμένη & σώματι θπό κόρου και πλησμονής μόλις πως όνειρώττει τά όντα, ξρχονται δέ ταῖς μέν τῶν πολλών ψυχαίς δνειροι δι' έλεφαντίνων πυλών el δέ που τίς έστι καθαρά ψυχή και νηφάλιος, και όλίγα ύπο του δεύρο κόρου και της πλησμονής έπιταραττομένη, είκος που ταύτη δι' έτέρων вота анатат выврата сафії кав блакекрірета και εγγύτατα τῷ άληθεῖ; Basil, Ep. 22, 3; Nicephor. p. 10 Rigalt.; and cf. the prescriptions of diet in Ps.-Hippocr. de Insomniis), but the effect of normal food and drink is such that dreams are reliable only after midnight, or, according to some, towards morning, when the digestive processes have quieted down. Cf. Arist. de Div. per Somn. 1, p. 463 a 7; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 286; Everett in Class. Rev. 14 (1900), 153-154; Deubner, De Incubatione (1900), 4-5; 15; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 930, n. 2; to which add Hor. Sat. 1, 10, 33, and Porphyrio's note; Tert. de An. 45; 48; Tennyson, Morte d' Arthur, fin.: "to down, when dreams / Begin to feel the truth and stir of day.

Certain kinds of food are also unfavorable for true dreams (Plut. M. Cato. 23; Quaest. Conv. 8, 10, 1: ठरा ठ देवरी रखेर βρωμάτων ένια δυσόνειρα καὶ ταρακτικά τῶν καθ' δπνον δψεων, μαρτυρίοις έχρωντο τοίς τε κυάμοις (cf. 1, 62 infra, and notes) και τή κεφαλή του πολύποδος, ών άπεχεσθαι κελεύουσι τούς δεομένους τής διά των όνείρων μαντικής), as certain others might be conducive to divination, e.g., the diet prescribed for the Pythia before she prophesied, and the regimen prescribed for those practising incubation (Deubner, op. cit. 14-17). Even the autumn season, on account of its fresh fruits, might be productive of false dreams; cf. Plut. Quaest. Conv. 8, 10, 2-3; Serv. Aen. 6, 284; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 287.

In general, true dreams come to those who live kar' deperty (Synes. de Insomn. 19; cf. Strab. 16, p. 761), and Philostratus (Vit. Apollon. 3, 42) notes that purity and health are requisites for the correct presaging of events; cf. id. 8, 7, 9. According to Callaway (Relig. Syst. of the Amazulu (1868/70), 387, n. 1), the Amazulu say that 'the continually stuffed body cannot see secret things,' and so put no faith in a fat diviner.

The theory of the effect of food upon mental action may date from the primitive conception of the liver as the seat of intelligence; cf. 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis); 1, 131, n. (Democritus).

- 2. agitata: cf. 2, 129; Rep. 6, 29: agitatus et exercitatus animus.
- 2. erecta: cf. Fin. 5, 71: animo erecto; de Sen. 75.
- bonarum cogitationum: cf. 1, 121.
 epulis: an unusual metaphor in Latin, translating one more familiar in Greek; cf. the passages collected by Moser ad h. loc.
- 3. nec inopia: cf. Ps.-Hippocr. de Insomn. p. 3 Kühn: ψυχή παραμένα . . . ούτε πλησμονή των κρατηθείσα ούτε κενώσει.

(quorum utrumque praestringere aciem mentis solet, sive deest naturae quippiam sive abundat atque affluit), illa etiam tertia parte animi in qua irarum existit ardor sedata atque restincta, tum eveniet duabus animi temerariis partibus compressis ut illa tertia pars rationis et mentis eluceat et se vegetam ad somniandum acremque praebeat, tum ei visa quietis occurrent tranquilla atque veracia.' Haec verba ipsa Platonis expressi.

XXX. 62. Epicurum igitur audiemus potius? Namque Carneades concertationis studio modo hoc modo illud ait; ille quod sentit, sentit autem nihil umquam elegans, nihil decorum. Hunc ergo antepones Platoni et Socrati? qui ut rationem non redderent auctoritate tamen hos minutos philosophos vincerent. Iubet igitur Plato sic ad somnum pro-

2. affluit codd. dett., O, edd., effluit C, diffluit Morsus, afluit Christ.

8. mode hoc mode illud ait Madrig, Müller, mode ait (aut H) hoc mode at C, Baiter, mode ait hoc mode illud ait Christ.

Yet fasting is often enjoined to make the soul acquire supernatural powers and prophetic ability; cf. Westermarck, Origin and Develop. of the moral Ideas, 2 (1908), 292-293; also Lecky, Hist. of Europ. Morals, 1, 3 ed. (1888), 368, n. 2, who remarks that prescience of the soul has been principally sought in either one of two ways, ascetic attenuation of the body or magic stimulation (cf. 1, 80 infra).

1. praestringere aciem mentis: cf. Fin. 4, 37: aciem animorum nostrorum virtutis splendore praestringitis.

4. pars rationis et mentis: cf. Ac. 1, 11: illam partem bene vivendi; Fin. 3, 9: una pars est naturae, disserendi altera, vivendi tertia.

5. vegetam: in Tusc. 1, 41 this word is applied to the mens; cf. 1, 115 infra; Adam on Plat. Rep. 9, p. 572a.

7. Epicurum: for his views upon dreams see Usener, Epicurea (1887), 224-225; also 1, 99 infra.

7. Carneades: his methods are described by Lact. Inst. 5, 14, 3-4 (quoting Cic. Rep. 3, 9): cum legatus ab Atheniensibus Romam missus esset disputavit de iustitia copiose audiente Galba et Catone Censorio, maximis tunc oratoribus. sed idem disputationem suam postridie contraria disputatione subvertit et iustitiam quam pridie laudaverat sustulit non quidem philosophi gravitate, cuius firma et stabilis debet esse sententia, sed quasi oratorio

exercitii genere in utramque partem disserendi, quod ille facere solebat ut alios quidlibet adserentes posset refutare; cf. Ritter and Preller, Hist. Philos. Gr. 9 ed. (1913), 446, n.c.

8. modo hoc modo illud: cf. N.D. 1, 47: vos quidem, Lucili, soletis (nam Cotta meus modo hoc modo illud); and the numerous parallels collected by Reid on Ac. 2, 121.

10. ut . . . tamen: cf. Fat. 48; al.

10. auctoritate: cf. Tusc. 1, 39: errare mehercule malo cum Platone . . . quam cum istis vera sentire (cf. Plut. de Stoic. Repugn. 24); 1, 49: ut enim rationem Plato nullam adferret—vide quid homini tribuam—, ipsa auctoritate me frangeret. So in N.D. 2, 32 Plato is called quasi quendam deum philosophorum, and in Tusc. 1, 79: Panaetius Platonem omnibus locis divinum, sapientissimum, sanctissimum, Homerum philosophorum appellat. On the other hand, against reliance upon auctoritas, cf. N.D. 1, 10: obest plerumque iis qui discere volunt auctoritas eorum qui se docere profitentur . . . tantum opinio prasiudicata poterat ut etiam sine ratione valeret auctoritas. And cf. 2, 119 infra against the reliance upon Plato and Pythagoras.

11. minutos: cf. Orat. 94: abusionem quam κατάχοησω vocant, ut cum minutum dicimus animum pro parvo; de Or. 3, 169; de Sen. 85: ut quidam minuti philosophi censent (probably of the Epicureans);

ficisci corporibus adfectis ut nihil sit quod errorem animis perturbationemque adferat. Ex quo etiam Pythagoriis interdictum putatur ne faba vescerentur, quod habet inflationem magnam is cibus tranquillitati mentis

2. Pythagoriis Baiter, Maller, pythagoricis C. Christ, Pythagoreis Gellius.

Fin. 1, 61: alii minuti et angusti; Reid on Ac. 2, 75. In Tusc. 1, 55 the philosophers opposed to Plato and Socrates are called plebeii.

[202]11. iubet: cf. Gell. 4, 11, 3-4: ex eadem item opinione M. Cicero in libro de divinatione primo haec verba posuit: iubet igitur Plato . . . ne faba vescerentur, quae res habet inflationem magnam tranquillitatem [sic] mentis quaerentibus contrariam. haec quidem M. Cicero.

1. corporibus adfectis: cf. Off. 1, 79: exercendum tamen et ita afficiendum est ut oboedire consilio rationique possit.

Pythagoriis, etc.: on taboos affecting various kinds of food, both animal and vegetable, cf. Westermarck, Origin and Develop, of the moral Ideas, 2 (1908), 290-345; Frazer, Golden Bough, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 117-119; Toy, Introd. to the Hist. of Relig. (1913), 254; 260. Prominent among such foods were beans, being on certain occasions avoided by Hindus (von Schröder, Pythag. u. d. Inder (1884), 35) and generally by the Egyptians (Hdt. 2, 37; Plut. Symp. 8, 8, 2; Is. et Osir. 5), rejected by Eleusinian and Orphic initiates (Boehm, De Symbolis Pythagoreis (1905), 14), in rites of incubation (Deubner, De Incubatione (1900), 15-16), by Empedocles (cf. Diels, Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 214, no. 141), and, most prominently, by Pythagoras, who in his Symbola laid down several other sorts of food taboo (Zeller, Die Philos. d. Griechen, 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 317, nn. 4-5; Boehm, op. cit. 17-27). These symbola, as is generally known (Diels in Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philos. 3 (1890), 466), contain much that is borrowed from contemporaneous folk-lore, and many superstitious beliefs were fathered upon Pythagoras; cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 213-214. At Rome beans were taboo to the flamen Dialis (Gell. 10, 15, 12). That the insistence here laid by Cicero upon the flatulence caused by beans (cf. the passages collected by Roscher in Abh. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., 20 (1903), 27, n. 65; Boehm, op. cit. 16; to which add Plut. Quaest. Rom. 95; Athen. 3, p. 73a; 9, p. 407f-408b; Artemid. Onirocr. 1, 68; Tert. de An. 48; Hier. in Esech. 1, p. 44 Vallarsi; cf. Cels. 2, 26, init.; Heidel in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol. 22 (1911), 127) is part of the correct explanation of the advice against eating them is the view of Boehm (op. cit. 16). For not only were beans constantly associated with the spirits of the dead, as at the Lemuria, etc. (Plin. N. H. 18, 118; Roscher, op. cit. 27-28; Boehm, op. cit. 14-15), but, as a corollary, by eating them one would run the risk either of injuring the souls of the departed or else of being possessed by them; cf. Wünsch, Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta (1902), 40; Boehm, op. cit. 16, who inclines to the latter theory.

Other explanations of the prohibition were numerous, e.g., (1) that beans were the kepalal tokhwr (Luc. Dial. Mort. 20, 3, and schol. (pp. 253-254 Rabe)); (2) that they contained life (Orig. c. Cels. 5, 41); (3) that they caused sterility (Clem. Strom. 3, 3); (4) because of a curious tale as to their creation (Orig. c. Haeres. 1, 2; cf. Hippol. Refut. 1, 2); (5) that the expression is figurative and means not to engage in public life, where beans were used in elections to office (Plut. de Lib. educ. 17; Orig. c. Haeres. 6, 27; Hippol. Refut. 6, 22); or (6) that similarly it means not to engage in jury duty (Paroemiogr. Gr. 1, 421, no. 27, and n.; 2, 630-631, no. 11). These varied views are parodied by Lucian, Vit. Auct. 6. For yet other theories see Göttling, Gesamm. Abhandl. 1 (1851), 308-310; Jevons, introd. to Holland's trans. of Plut. Romane Questions (1892), lxxxvi-xciv, especially lxxxix, n.; Frazer on Paus. 8, 15, 4. quaerenti vera contrariam. 63. Cum ergo est somno sevocatus animus a societate et a contagione corporis, tum meminit praeteritorum, praesentia

[203]3. habet: cf. 2, 96: dissimilitudo locorum nonne dissimilis hominum procreationes habet?

[203]3f. tranquillitati mentis quaerenti vera: for the hypallage of the adjective cf. N.D. 1, 9: animi aegritudo fortunae magna et gravi commota iniuria; 2, 98: fontium gelidas perennitates; and numerous examples of the figure, more common in verse than in prose, collected by Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 220-221. It will be noted that the reading of Gellius at this point is quite different from ours; cf. 1, 6, n. (iubet).

1. sevocatus: cf. 1, 113-115 (especially 1, 114, n. (evolant atque excurrent) infra); 1, 128-129; Tusc. 1, 72: quibusque (sc. animis) fuisset minima cum corporibus contagio seseque ab iis semper sevocavissent; 1, 75: cum a negotio omni sevocamus animum, quid, inquam, tum agimus, nisi animum ad se ipsum advocamus, secum esse cogimus maximeque a corpore abducimus? secernere aulem a corpore animum, nec quicquam aliud, est mori discere; Plat. Phaed. p. 67d: τὸ μελέτημα αυτό τοῦτό έστι των φιλοσόφων, λύσις και χωρισμός ψυχης άπὸ σώματος (also id. p. 81a). Further compare Aesch. Eum. 104-105: εδδουσα γάρ φρήν δμμασιν λαμπρύνεται, / έν ήμέρα δὲ μοῖρ' ἀπρόσκοπος βροτών; Pind. fr. 131 Christ: σωμα μέν πάντων έπεται θανάτφ περισθενεί, /ζωών δ' έτι λείπεται αίωνος είδωλον. τὸ γάρ έστι μόνον / ἐκ θεών. εῦδει δὲ πρασσόντων μελέων, άταρ εύδοντεσσιν 🖢 πολλοίς όνειροις / δείκνυσι τερπνών έφερποισαν χαλεπών τε κρίσιν (on this passage cf. Smyth, Greek melic Poets (1906), 376); Ps.-Hippocr. de Insomn. p. 1 Kühn: ή γάρ ψυχή έγρηγορότι μέν τῷ σώματι ὑπερητέουσα, ἐπὶ πολλά μεριζομένη, ού γίγνεται αυτή έωυτης . . . ὀκόταν δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἡσυχάση ἡ ψυχή κινευμένη και ύπεξέρπουσα τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος διοικέει τὸν ἐωυτῆς οἶκον . . . τὸ μὲν γὰρ σωμα καθεύδον ούκ αίσθάνεται, ή δ' έγρηγορούσα γινώσκει, καθορή τε τὰ δρατά καὶ διακούει τὰ ἀκουστά, βαδίζει, ψαύει, λυπέεται, ένθυμέςται, έν όλίγω έουσα, όκόσαι του σώματος ύπηρεσίαι ή της ψυχής, ταθτα πάντα ή ψυχή 🖢 τῷ ὅπνφ διαπρήσσεται; Arist. fr. 10 Rose: δταν γάρ, φησιν, εν τῷ ὑπνοῦν καθ' ἐαυτήν γένηται ή ψυχή, τότε την ίδιον απολαβούσα φύσιν προμαντεύεται τε και προαγορεύει τά μέλλοντα. τοιαύτη δέ έστι καί έν τῷ κατά τὸν θάνατον χωρίζεσθαι των σωμάτων, άποδέχεται γοθν και τον ποιητήν "Ομηρον ώς τοθτο παρατηρήσαντα πεποίηκε γάρ τον μέν Πάτροκλον & τῷ ἀναιρεῖσθαι προαγορεύοντα περί τῆς Έκτορος άναιρέσεως, τὸν δ' Έκτορα περί τῆς 'Aχιλλέως τελευτής; Ael. V. H. 3, 11: ol περιπατητικοί φασι μεθ' ημέραν θητεύουσαν την ψυχήν τῷ σώματι περιπλέκεσθαι καὶ μή δίνασθαι καθαρώς τήν άλήθειαν θεωρείν νύκτωρ δε διαλυθείσαν της περί τουτο λειτουργίας και σφαιρωθείσαν & τῷ περὶ τὸν θώρακα τόπφ μαντικωτέραν γίνεσθαι, Εξ ών τά Ενύπνια; Philo, de Somn. 2, 1: συνίσταται δέ τὸ τρίτον eldos (SC. των θεοπέμπτων δνείρων) δπόταν 🖢 τοις υπροις έξ έαυτης η ψυχή κιρουμέρη καί άναδονούσα ξαυτήν κορυβαντιά και Ενθουσιώσα δυνάμει προγνωστική τὰ μέλλοντα θεσπίζη; Iambl. de Myster. 3, 3 : ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ καθεύδαν άπολυόμεθα παντελώς ώσπερ άπό τινων παρακειμένων ήμων δεσμών, και τη κεχωρισμένη τής γενήσεως ζωή χρώμεθα τότε δή οδν είτε νοερόν είτε θείον ταύτον ύπάρχον είτε καί &, ίδια έκάτερον καθ' έαυτό δν τό της ζωής είδος άνεγείρεται & ήμιν και ένεργει ή πέφυκα; Tert. de An. 45: cum quies corporibus evenit ... vacans illa a solacio alieno non quiescit et si caret opera membrorum corporalium suis utitur; cf. id. 43 fin.; [Clem.] Recognit. 2, 13; Eustath. ad Il. 16, 854: δταν άθροισθή ή ψυχή & δλου τοῦ σώματος πρός τό ἐκκριθήναι μαντικωτάτη γίνεται; cf. also 1, 110, n. (vinclis corporis) infra.

- 2. societate . . . corporis: cf. Fin. 2, 106.
- 2. contagione corporis: cf. Tusc. 1, 72 (quoted in the note on sevocatus supra); Macrob. Somn. Scip. 1, 11, 11.
- 2. meminit, etc.: the power of the dreamer is not limited to the future, but to his inspired vision (and, of course, to

cernit, futura providet; iacet enim corpus dormientis ut mortui, viget autem et vivit animus. Quod multo magis faciet post mortem, cum omnino

that of the prophet) all time may lie open, as to the scientific inquiry of the student of cause and effect. So Calchas is described by Homer (Il. 1, 70) as one os flon τά τ' δόντα τά τ' δσσόμενα πρό τ' δόντα; cf. Il. 18, 250, and van Leeuwen's note; Hes. Theog. 38; Virg. Georg. 4, 392-393 (of Proteus): novil namque omnia vates / quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahantur; Ov. Met. 1, 517-518 (said by Apollo): per me quod eritque fuitque / estque patet; Iambl. de Myster. 3, 3: δύναμιν άπ' αυτών (SC. των θεών) προσλαμβάνει και γνώσιν άναλογιζομένην όσα τε ήν καί δσα έσται, θεωρίαν τε παντός χρόνου ποιείται και των 🖢 τῷ χρόνφ συμβαινόντων έπισκοπεί τὰ ξογα. See also Arist. de Memor. 1, p. 449 b 27-28: τοῦ μέν παρόντος αίσθησις, του δὲ μέλλοντος έλπίς, του δὲ γενομένου μνήμη; cf. id. p. 449 b 10 ff.: ούτε γάρ το μέλλον ενδέχεται μνημονεύειν, άλλ' δστι δοξαστόν και έλπιστον («ίη δ' αν και ξπιστήμη τις έλπιστική, καθάπερ τινές φασι τήν μαντικήν), κτλ.; Plut. de . Def. Orac. 39: οδ δεί δέ θαυμάζειν οδδ' άπιστείν δρώντας, ε μηδέν άλλο, της ψυχής την άντίστροφον τή μαντική δύναμιν, ήν μνήμην καλούμεν, ήλίκον έργον αποδείκνυται τῷ σώζειν τὰ παρφχημένα και φυλάττει», μάλλον δὲ τὰ μηδὲ δυτα· τῶν γάρ γεγονότων οὐδέν έστιν οὐδ' ὑφέστηκεν, άλλ' άμα γίγνεται πάντα και φθείρεται, και πράξεις και λόγοι και παθήματα, τοῦ χρόνου καθάπερ δεύματος έκαστα παραφέροντος, κτλ.; Lasaulx, Ueber die prophetische Kraft der menschl. Seele (1858), 38, n. 107; 40, n. 114 (for patristic parallels); Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 44; 3 (1880), 147. Late writers (see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 3, 91, n. 2) explained the three legs of the Delphic tripod as symbolizing past, present, and future. For ancient views of the continuity of past, present, and future cf. 1, 128; Aug. Conf. 11, 18; Lasaulx, op. cit. 33, n. 89. In the prophetic field Epimenides (according to Arist. Rhet. 3, p. 1418 a 23 ff.) dealt only with the dark things of the past.

1. dormientis ut mortui: cf. 1, 115. The comparison between sleep and death is a commonplace; e.g., Hom. Il. 14, 231: Τπνφ . . . κασιγνήτφ Θανάτοιο; Od. 13, 79-80: δπνος . . . θανάτω άγχιστα δοικώς; Hes. Theog. 758-759: Νυκτός παίδες . . . / Tavos και θάνατος; Cic. Tusc. 1, 92: qui leviorem faciunt (sc. mortem) somni simillimam volunt esse; ibid.: habes somnum imaginem mortis; Virg. Aen. 6, 278: consanguineus Leti Sopor; 6, 522: dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti; Sil. Ital. 15, 180: nox similes morti dederat ... somnos; Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed., no. 716, 19: mortis imago iuval somnus. A close parallel is found in Xen. Cyrop. 8, 7, 21: ἐγγύτερον μὰν τῶν άνθρωπίνων θανάτφ ούδεν έστιν υπνου ή δέ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ψυχή τότε δήπου θειστάτη καταφαίνεται καὶ τότε τι τῶν μελλόντων προορά· τότε γάρ, ώς δοικε, μάλιστα έλανθερούται (a passage paraphrased in de Sen. 81); cf. Nemes. de Nat. Hom. 3, p. 57: ότι δὲ καὶ ἀσύγχυτος μένει, δήλον ἐκ τοῦ τὴν ψυχήν τρόπον τινά χωριζομένην του σώματος & τῷ ὑπνω, καὶ ώσπερ νεκρόν αὐτὸ κεῖσθαι καταλείπουσαν, μόνον δε εξατμίζουσαν αυτώ τήν ζωήν, Ένα μή παντελώς απόληται, καθ έαυτήν & τοις όνοιροις ένεργείν, θεσπίζουσαν τό μέλλον, και τοίς νοητοίς πλησιάζουσαν.

1. viget: cf. 1, 70; Amm. Marc. 14, 11, 18: solutus enim corporis nexibus animus semper vigens motibus indefessis ex cogitationibus subiectis et curis quae mortalium sollicitant mentes colligit visa nocturna quas parraglas nos appellamus.

2. multo magis, etc.: cf. Diod. 18, 1, 1: Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος και τινες έτεροι τῶν παλαιῶν φυσικῶν ἀπεφήναντο τὰς ψυχάς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπάρχειν ἀθανάτους, ἀκολούθως ἐἰ τῷ δόγματι τούτῳ και προγινώσκειν αὐτὰς τὰ μέλλοντα καθ' ἀν ἀν καιρὸν ἐν τῷ ταλευτῷ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος χωρισμὸν ποιῶνται; Phot. Biblioth. p. 439 Bekker (=Suid. s.v. ἀνθρωπος): Ελεγον δὲ (sc. οὶ Πυθαγόρειοι) τὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν ἐαυτοῦ βελτίω κατὰ τρεῖς τρόπους γίνεσθαι, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ ὁμιλία τῷ

corpore excesserit. Itaque adpropinquante morte multo est divinior. Nam et id ipsum vident qui sunt morbo gravi et mortifero adfecti, instare

πρός τούς θεούς (ἀνάγκη γὰρ προσιόντας αυτοῖς κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ χωρίζεσθαι αυτούς πάσης κακίας, εἰς δύναμιν ὁμοιοῦντας ἐαυτούς τῷ θεῷ), δεύτερον ἐν τῷ εὔ ποιεῖν . . . τρίτον ἐν τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν εἰ γὰρ κατὰ ποσόν τι ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῷ ζῆν τὸ ζῶσν χωρίζομένη βελτίων γίνεται ἐαυτῆς, ἔν τε τοῖς ὑπνοις κατὰ τοὺς ὁνείρους καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐκστάσεσι τῶν νόσων μαντική γινεται, πολλῷ μᾶλλον βελτιοῦται ὅταν τέλεον χωρισθῆ ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος.

1. adpropinquante morte: cf. 1, 47; 1, 64-65; 1, 80, n. (dicit Plato). belief in the prescience of those about to die is widespread, and doubtless due to a feeling that the soul in articulo mortis, and, by extension, even before that time, is in a borderland between the physical and the spiritual worlds, and while still possessing the ability of those in the former state to communicate with their kind, already partakes of the completer knowledge generally ascribed to spirits of the other world (cf. Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 202-203), and is perhaps beginning to associate with such. The belief appears as early as Homer, who describes the dying prophecies of Patroclus to Hector (Il. 16, 851-854, and cf. schol. on 854) and Hector to Achilles (Il. 22, 356-360; 1, 65 infra); cf. the statements about this feature in Homer in Arist. fr. 10 Rose (quoted in note on sevocatus supra); Xen. A pol. 30: ἀνέθηκε μέν και "Ομηρος έστιν οίς των έν καταλύσει του βίου προγιγνώσκων τὰ μέλλοντα, βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἐγὰ χρησμφδήσαι τι; Diod. 18, 1, 2; Serv. Aen. 4, 613: Homerus qui morituros divinantes frequenter inducit. Virgil follows Homer in the combined prophecy and curse of Dido (Aen. 4, 614 ff.) and the prophecy of the dying Orodes to Mezentius (Aen. 10, 739-741), as does Lucan, 7, 610-615, in the prophecy of Domitius. A famous instance is the case of Socrates; cf. Plat. Apol. 39c: ἐπιθυμῶ δμῖν χρησμωδήσαι, & καταψηφισάμενοί μου και γάρ είμι ήδη επαύθα ε φ μάλιστα άνθρωποι χρησμέλλωσυ ἀποθανεῖσθαι; μφδούσω, δταν Xen. A pol. 30 (quoted above). In general cf. also Plut. de Def. Orac. 40: ταύτην οδυ έχουσαι την δύναμιν αλ ψυχαλ σύμφυτον μέν άλλ' άμυδράν και δυσφάνταστον, δρως έξανθούσι πολλάκις και άναλαμβάνουσιν έν τε τοῖς Ενυπνίοις και περί τὰς τελευτάς Ενιαι, καθαρού γιγνομένου του σώματος ή τινα κράσω οίκειαν πρός τοῦτο λαμβάνοντος, ή τῷ λογιστικόν και φροντιστικόν άνίεσθαι καί άπολύοσθαι των παρόντων τῷ άλόγφ καὶ φαντασιαστικώ του μέλλοντος έπιστρεφόμεναι; a passage in Aret. de Caus. et Sign. acut. Morb. 2, 4 (too long to be here quoted); Tert. de An. 53 fin.: evenit saepe animam in ipso divortio potentius agitari sollicitiore obtutu, extraordinaria loquacitate, dum ex maiore suggestu iam in libero constituta per superfluum quod adhuc cunctatur in corpore enuntiat quae videt, quae audit, quae incipit nosse, etc.; Lact. ad Stat. Theb. 7, 701: aiunt enim sutura sentire morituros; Serv. Aen. 2, 775: sequitur etiam divinatio quae animis liberatis corpore conceditur. unde etiam morientibus datur, ut Orodes Mesentio; Geficken in Hermes, 49 (1914), 337, n. 1. Cicero's view also appears in de Sen. 77: non enim video cur quid ipse sentiam de morte non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere miki melius videor quo ab ea propius absum.

Among numerous instances of such prophecies may be cited Gen. 48-49 (Jacob's blessing of his sons); 2 Kings, 13, 4-19 (Elisha's prophecy to Joash); Margoliouth in Hastings, Encyclop. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 818 for the belief among the Moslims; Diod. 18, 1, 3-5 (Alexander the Great); 19, 11, 9 (Antipater καθάπερ χρησμφδών έπι τῆς τολευτῆς); Socrat. Hist. Eccl. 7, 25; Sozom. 6, 2: el δὶ ἀληθῶς μέλλων τολευτᾶν (sc. δ Ἰουλιανδς) οἰάπερ εἰώθει συμβαίνειν, τῆς ψυχῆς ξόη χωριζομένης τοῦ σώματος καὶ θειστέρα ἡ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον θεωρεῖν δυναμένης, τὸν Χριστόν θεάσατο οὐκ ἔχω λέγων; 8, 15; 8, 28.

mortem; itaque iis occurrunt plerumque imagines mortuorum, tumque vel maxume laudi student, eosque qui secus quam decuit vixerunt peccatorum suorum tum maxume paenitet. 64. Divinare autem morientes illo etiam exemplo confirmat Posidonius, quod adfert, Rhodium quendam morientem sex aequales nominasse et dixisse qui primus eorum, qui secun-

For later instances cf. Shakespeare, Rich. II, 2, 1, 31 ff. (Gaunt's speech); M. Casaubon, Treatise concerning Enthusiasme (1655), 42; Browne, Religio Medici, part 2, 11 fin.; Sir H. Davy, Remains (1858), 311: 'looking into futurity with the prophetic aspirations belonging to the last moments of existence'; Byron, Childe Harold, 3, 23: 'death's prophetic ear'; Dyer on Plat. A pol. p. 39c; Halliday, op. cit. 203, who compares the north British notion of persons as 'fey,' and notes the frequent death-bed prophecies in the pious literature of an earlier generation. See also Rohde, Psyche, 1, 4 ed. (1907), 55, n. 1.

For the possible connection of the theory of liver divination with this belief cf. 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis). With the prophecies of the dying Plato (Phaed. p. 85a) and others connect the song of the dying swan; cf. the passages collected by Thompson, Glossary of Greek Birds (1895), 106-107; Hier. Ep. 52, 3, 5. Elephants were also credited with the power of foreseeing their approaching death; Opp. Cyneg. 2, 544.

[206]2. nam et; i. 1, 40, n. (et); Schuppe, De Anacoluthis diceronianis (1860), 47; Madvig, 3 ed. et de Finibus (1876), 787.

[206]2. morbot... mortifero: the prophetic spirit was often especially associated with pathological physical or mental states; cf. Plat. Tim. p. 71e: ούδεις γάρ δυνους ἐφάπτεται μαντικής δυθέου καὶ άληθοῦς, άλλ' ή καθ' δυνου ... ή διὰ νόσου ή διὰ τινα δυθουσιασμὸν παραλλάξας; Phaedr. p. 244 d: άλλὰ μὴν νόσων γε καὶ πόνων τῶν μεγίστων... ή μανία ἐγγενομένη καὶ προφητείσασα οῖς ἔδει, ἀπαλλαγὴν εδρετο, κτλ.; 1, 80-81 infra; Lucr. 1, 133 (quoted below).

[206]2f. instare mortem: among many cases of such presentiments of death may

be mentioned those of Nicholas and Thomas Wotton, who, being men of holy lives, foresaw and foretold the exact day of their own death (Walton, Life of Sir Henry Wotton, init.).

- 1. imagines mortuorum: cf. Lucr. 1, 132-135: et quae res nobis vigilantibus obvia mentes / terrificet morbo adfectis somnoque sepultis, / cernere uti videamur eos audireque coram / morte obita quorum tellus amplectitur ossa; 4, 757-761.
- 2. cosque, etc.: cf. Plat. Rep. 1, p. 330d-e: εὐ γὰρ Ισθι, ἔφη, ὧ Σώκρατες, ὅτι, ἐπειδάν τις ἐγγὺς ἢ τοῦ οἶεσθαι τελευτήσειν, εἰσέρχεται αὐτῷ δέος καὶ φροντὶς περὶ ὧν ἔμπροσθεν οὐκ εἰσήει. οἶ τε γὰρ λεγόμενοι μῦθοι περὶ τῶν ἐν "Λιδου, ὡς τὸν ἐνθάδε ἀδικήσαντα δεῦ ἐκεῖ διδόναι δίκην, καταγελώμενοι τέως, τότε δὴ στρέφουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν μὴ ἀληθεῖς ὧσιν. καὶ αὐτός—ῆτοι ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ γήρως ἀσθενείας ἢ καὶ ὧσπερ ἢδη ἐγγυτέρω ὧν τῶν ἐκεῖ μᾶλλόν τι καθορῷ αὐτά—ὑποψίας δ' οὖν καὶ δείματος μεστὸς γίγνεται καὶ ἀναλογίζεται ἢδη καὶ σκοπεῦ εἶ τινά τι ἡδίκησεν, κτλ.
- 4. etiam: this may imply that the argument which precedes is also taken from Posidonius. The punctuation of Giese (divinare autem morientes etiam, illo exemplo) is hardly justifiable. That Posidonius has not been cited as a source for the previous part is no reason why he might not be so cited here, and so sharp a distinction as etiam, thus punctuated, would make between adpropringuante morte and morientes seems uncalled for.
- 4. Rhodium: an example, then, which Posidonius might have drawn from his own observation or else from the tradition of his town.
- 5. dixisse: for predictions of this sort by the dying cf. the story of Callanus (1, 47); Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* 4, 8.

dus, qui deinde deinceps moriturus esset. Sed tribus modis censet deorum adpulsu homines somniare: uno quod provideat animus ipse per sese, quippe qui deorum cognatione teneatur, altero quod plenus aër sit inmortalium animorum, in quibus tamquam insignitae notae veritatis appareant,

- 1. deinde deinceps: so in Leg. 3, 4; 3, 43. As in inde deinceps (Liv. 1, 44, 3), the two words seem to emphasize the two ideas of time and order.
- 1. tribus modis: cf. Tert. de An. 46-47: Stoici deum malunt . . . somnia quoque nobis indidisse . . . nam de oraculis etiam ceteris, apud quae nemo dormitat, quid aliud pronuntiabimus quam daemonicam esse rationem eorum spirituum qui iam tunc in ipsis hominibus habitaverint vel memorias eorum affectaverint ad omnem malitiae suae scaenam in ista aequa specie divinitatem mentientes . . . quo nemo dubitaverit domus quoque daemoniis patere nec tantum in adytis sed in cubiculis hominum imaginibus circumvenire . . . tertia species erunt somnia quae sibimet ipsa anima videtur inducere ex intentione circumstantiarum.
 - lf. deorum adpulsu: cf. 1, 66.
- 3. deorum cognatione: a philosophical and religious commonplace; cf. 1, 110; N.D. 1, 91; Leg. 1, 24-25; ex quo vere vel agnatio nobis cum caelestibus vel genus vel stirps appellari potest . . . est igitur homini cum deo similitudo. quod quom ila sit, quae tandem esse polest propior certiorve cognatio? So Arat. Phaen. 5: τοῦ γὰρ και γένος είμεν (and the parallels cited by Maass ad loc.); Mayor on N.D. 1, 1; 3, 28; Diod. 37, 20, 2: al ἀνθρώπιναι ψυχαί μετέχουσι θείας τινός φύσεως Ενίστε προκαταμαντευόμεναι τὰ μέλλοντα; Wachsmuth, Die Ansichten der Stoiker über Mantik u. Daemonen (1860), 19, n. 22; Schmekel, Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa (1892), 256, n. 4, q.v., who compares the τŵ & αύτοις δαίμονι συγγενεί τε δντι και την δμοίαν φύσιν έχοντι τῷ τὸν δλον κόσμον διοικοθντι in which Galen, de Plac. Hippocr. et Plat. p. 449 Müller, says Posidonius believed. On the connection between the human soul and the world-soul cf. 1, 70 infra; Lasaulx, Die prophetische Kraft der menschl. Seele (1858), 31, n. 85.

- 3. teneatur: = contineatur or sustineatur; cf. Reid on Ac. 1, 28.
- 3. aër: for the gradual gaining of this word in Cicero over the native Latin anima see Fries in Rhein. Mus. N. F. 55 (1900), 26.
- 3f. plenus . . . animorum: cf. 2, 119; 2, 129; 2, 137; this belief is absent in Homer (cf. Wachsmuth, op. cit. 30), but appears as early as Hesiod, Erga, 122-126: τοί μέν δαίμονές είσι Διός μεγάλου διά βουλάς / έσθλοί, επιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητών ένθρώπων, / [ol pa φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καί σχέτλια έργα / ήέρα έσσάμενοι πάντη φοιτώντες ἐπ' alax,] / πλουτοδόται (cf. Rzach's notes). See also Diog. L. 8, 32 (of Pythagoras): είναι τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχών ξμπλεων και ταύτας δαίμονάς τε και ήρωας όνομάζεσθαι. και ύπο τούτων πέμπεσθαι άνθρώποις τους τ' όνειρους και τα σημεία νόσου re kal byselas. For their presence in the air see a fragment of Democritus (in Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 366, no. 78); [Plat.] Epinom. p. 984e: δαίμονας, άξριον δέ γένος, έχον έδραν τρίτην και μέσην, της ερμηνείας αίτων; Sympos. pp. 202e-203a: έρμηνεθον και διαπορθμεθον (8C. πῶν τὸ δαιμόνιον) θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων και άνθρώποις τά παρά θεών, τών μέν τάς δεήσεις καὶ θυσίας, τῶν δὲ τὰς ἐπιτάξεις τε καὶ άμοιβάς των θυσιών, έν μέσφ δέ δν άμφοτέρων συμπληροί, ώστε τὸ πῶν αὐτὸ αὐτῷ συνδεδέσθαι. διά τούτου και ή μαντική πάσα χωρεί(cf. Apul. Apol. 43; de Deo Socr. 6); Fries in Rhein. Mus. N. F. 55 (1900), 28-29; Frazer, Golden Bough, 9, 3 ed. (1913), 104-105. When this doctrine of demons was adopted into the Stoic belief is not certain; Heinze (Xenocrates (1892), 98, n. 2; 103) thinks that it was perhaps added by Posidonius, or at any rate later than Chrysippus, whose similar descriptions (in 2, 130 infra) mention no demons, but only gods; cf. Jaeger, De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint (1910), 41. Develop-

tertio quod ipsi di cum dormientibus conloquantur. Idque, ut modo dixi, facilius evenit adpropinquante morte, ut animi futura augurentur. 65. Ex quo et illud est Callani de quo ante dixi, et Homerici Hectoris, qui moriens propinquam Achilli mortem denuntiat. XXXI. Neque enim illud verbum temere consuetudo adprobavisset, si ea res nulla esset omnino:

Praesagibat animus frustra me ire, cum exirem domo.

ments in the theory of demonism are discussed by Bonhöffer, Epiktet u. die Stoa, 1 (1890), 81-86. Dobson (in Class. Quart. 12 (1918), 183) observes that our passage and Sext. Emp. 9, 71 are the only certain references to the beliefs of Posidonius in regard to the life after death. The influence of demons on divination was also often pointed out in connection with oracles (Plut. de Fac. in Orb. Lun. 30, init.) and prophets (Tambornino, De Antiquorum Daemonismo (1909), 59-60), and such explanations of the phenomena of pagan divination are found abundantly in Christian writers, who, for obvious reasons, did not undertake to discredit the possibility of all divination (including prophecy). For the Christian view see Tambornino, op. cit. 27-54. The widespread belief in Celtic lands as to divination at Hallowe'en (Frazer, op. cit. 10, 3 ed. (1913), 228-245) is doubtless a relic of this idea.

[208]4. tamquam insignitae notae veritatis: it is impossible and perhaps unnecessary to decide whether insignitae modifies notae or veritatis. The word is a strong one, however, and is perhaps intended to assert that the truth thus gained is almost (tamquam) as clear as that through the Stoic καταληπτική φαιτασία cf. Diog. L. 7, 54; Sext. Emp. 7, 253; Plut. de Plac. Phil. 4, 8; Cic. Ac. 1, 41. On this use of nota (=σημεῖον) cf. 2, 128; N.D. 1, 12; Ac. 2, 33; 2, 84, and Reid's note.

1. di . . . conloquantur: cf. Virg. Aen. 7, 88-91: pellibus incubuit stratis somnosque petivit, / multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris / et varias audit vices fruiturque deorum / conloquio; Weinreich (Antike Heilungswunder (1909), 76) compares Iambl. de Myster. 3, 2: at 8'

άλλαι αίσθήσεις διεγηγερμέναι τυγχάνουσι και συναισθάνονται πώς els τὸ φώς ol θeol έκφαίνονται, όσα τε λέγουσιν άκούουσι, κτλ.; 3, 3: ὁπόταν γε καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐνωθή κατά τὴν τοιαύτην άπόλυτον ενέργειαν, αύτά τά άληθέστατα δέχεται τηνικαθτα πληρώματα των νοήσεων. Plut. says (de Gen. Socr. 24): τό θείον όλίγοις έντυγχάνει δι' αύτοῦ καί σπανίως τοίς δέ πολλοίς σημεία δίδωσιν 🕹 ών ή λεγομένη μαντική συνέστηκε; cf. Orig. c. Cels. 7, 35: δ Κέλσος φησί περί των προειρημένων άνθρωποειδών κατ' αυτόν θεών, δτι δψεταί τις αθτούς ούχ άπαξ παραρρυέντας . . . άλλ' άει τοις βουλομένοις δμιλοθντας; also the various Biblical cases of talking with God.

- 1. ut modo dixi: 1, 63.
- 2. augurentur: a clear case of the loss of literal meaning in the word.
- 3. ex quo: cf. N.D. 2, 9, and Mayor's note.
 - 3. Callani de quo ante dixi: 1, 47.
- 3. Homerici Hectoris: cf. Il. 22, 355-360: τὸν δὲ καταθηβσκων προσέφη κορυθαίολος Έκτωρ· / "ἢ σ' δὲ γιγνώσκων προτιόσσομαι, οὐδ' ἄρ' ἔμελλον / πεισέμεν'· ἢ γὰρ σοί γε σιδήρεος & φρεσί θυμὸς, / φράζων νῶν μἡ τοί τι θεῶν μἡνιμα γένωμαι / ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κὰν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος 'Απόλλων / ἐσθλὸν ἐόντ' ὁλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαιβσι πύλησι." See also 1, 63, n. (ad propinguanie morte).
- 4f. illud verbum: praesagibat in the quotation.
 - 5. nulla: cf. 1, 81, n. (nullae).
- 6. praesagibat, etc.: from Plaut. Aul. 178, where the Plautine text reads: praesagibat mi animus frustra me ire quom exibam domo. On Cicero's loose quotation of such verses from memory cf. Zillinger, Cic. u. d. altrom. Dichter (1911), 73 ff. For the shortened form praesagibat cf. 1, 40, n. (stabilibat).

Sagire enim sentire acute est; ex quo sagae anus, quia multa scire volunt, et sagaces dicti canes. Is igitur qui ante sagit quam oblata res est dicitur praesagire, id est futura ante sentire.

- 66. Inest igitur in animis praesagitio extrinsecus iniecta atque inclusa divinitus. Ea si exarsit acrius furor appellatur, cum a corpore animus abstractus divino instinctu concitatur.
 - H. Sed quid oculis rabere visa es derepente ardentibus?
 - 7. rabere Muretus, rapere C.
 - 7. visa es Lambinus, visa est CO.

[209]6. cum exirem domo: beginnings of enterprises and especially the leaving of one's house were significant times for omens and signs, and probably also for forebodings.

1. sagire: this definition is quoted by Festus, p. 254 M. in very fragmentary form but is well preserved by Paul. p. 255 M.: praesagitio dicta quod praesagire est acute sentire. unde sagae dictae anus, quae multa sciunt, et sagaces canes, qui ferarum cubilia praesentiunt; cf. Paul. p. 223 M.: praesagire est praedivinare, praesipere. sagax enim est acutus et sollers; p. 176 M. (in very corrupt form in Fest. p. 177 M.): nictit canis in odorandis ferarum vestigiis leviter ganniens. Ennius [Ann. 341-342 Vahlen] nare sagaci sensit, voce sua nictit. The noun praesagium does not appear in our work; praesagio (also in 1, 81) and praesagitio (1, 66; 1, 123) seem to be used of a more private, informal, and intuitive sort of foreknowledge than divinatio as a whole. Yet cf. Abt, Die Apologie des Apuleius (1908), 239, n. 5. Sagire is used only in this passage.

Hottinger (ad h. loc.) suspected this sentence and the next of being glosses. But, as Rath and others have shown, Cicero is here simply following the Stoic custom in regard to derivations; cf. N.D. 2, 7; 2, 64-69; 3, 62-63; Off. 1, 23: quamquam hoc videbitur fortasse cuipiam durius, tamen audeamus imitari Stoicos, qui studiose exquirunt unde verba sint ducta, credamusque quia fiat, quod dictum est, appellatam fidem.

1. sagae: cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 320 M.: saga quoque dicitur mulier perita

sacrorum, et vir sapiens, producta prima syllaba propter ambiguitatem evitandam [sagax has a short penult]; Non. pp. 22-23 M.: sagae mulieres dicuntur feminae ad lubidinem virorum indagatrices; unde et sagaces canes dicuntur, ferarum vel animalium quaesitores; he then quotes Lucil. 271 Marx; also Hor. Carm. 1, 27, 21.

- 1. volunt: with this use of the word cf. N.D. 1, 72: sunt qui putent audisse; ipse non vult.
- 2. sagaces . . . canes: cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 320 M.: sagaces appellantur sollertes acuminis unde etiam canes indagatores sagaces sunt appellati. For the word as applied to dogs cf. Ov. Remed. 201; Sen. Phaedr. 40; Hier. in Is. 1, p. 12 Vall.; It is also much used of mental keenness, though Cicero (Fin. 2, 45) seems still to feel that it is rather a bold metaphor. Sagicitas is, however, used in N.D. 2, 151; 2, 158 (applied to dogs). For the disputed derivation of these words see Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 670.
- 4. iniecta: cf. Rep. 2, 26: amorem . . . eis oti . . . iniecil.
 - 5. inclusa: cf. 1, 67.
 - 5. furor: cf. 1, 1.
- 6. divino instinctu: cf. 1, 12, n. (instinctu inflatuque). On such ecstasy see Rohde, Psyche, 2, 3 ed. (1903), 20; 21, and n. 1; 56-69.
- 7. sed quid, etc.: the three following passages are probably from the Alexander of Ennius (cf. Vahlen's 2 ed. (1903), 128-129), and in that edition are numbered lines 54-62 (54-55 spoken by Hecuba, 56-62 by Cassandra), 63-64 (by Cassandra), and 65-68 (by Cassandra), respectively. Cf. 1, 114 infra, which

Ubi paulo ante sapiens illa virginalis modestia?

- C. Mater, optumarum multo mulier melior mulierum, Missa sum superstitiosis hariolationibus; Namque Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet. Virgines vereor aequalis, patris mei meum factum pudet,
- ubi paulo ante sapiens illa Auraius, ubi illa paulo ante sapiens CO, ubi illa tua paulo ante sapiens Reis, aut ubi illa paulo ante sapiens Lachmann.
 - 1. virginalis Maller, virginali' Bothe, Christ, Baiter, virginali CO.
- optumarum M. Haupt, optuma tum AV, optima H, optumatum BO, optima optimarum mater matrum mulier mulierum Dobree, optuma tu Vakles.
 - 4. namque Ribbeck, neque me CO, namque me Hottinger, meque Grotius.
 - 5. vereor aequalis Machly, aequalis vereor Ribbeck, uero aequalis C.

quotes lines 69-71 of the same play (spoken by Cassandra; cf. 2, 112). In Ribbeck, Trag. Rom. Frag. 3 ed. (1897), these passages are found on pp. 23-25. For another possible quotation from this play see 1, 42, n. (mater, etc.). Cic. Orat. 155 makes clear that the line ending patris mei meum factum pudet and that in 1, 67: exitium examen rapit are by the same author.

- 1. paulo ante: for this hiatus cf. Zillinger, Cic. u. d. altröm. Dichter (1911), 110, n. 1
- 1. sapiens: apparently in the sense of 'sane'; in 1, 85 Cassandra furens is contrasted with Priamus sapiens.
- 1. virginalis modestia: cf. pro Quinct.
 39: virginali verecundia. For the failure of final s, to make position cf. patris below; 1, 67: navibus and manus; also 1, 40, n. (artubus); 1, 132: quibus.
- 2. mater, optumarum, etc.: this line, with its remarkable alliteration of m, r, and I (cf. Frobenius, Die Syntax des Ennius (1910), 126-144), is in part the result of the emendation of Haupt (in Philologus, 2 (1847), 279), who has changed the MS reading optumatum (optuma tum), which might be defended on the basis of Enn. Med. fr. 5 Vahlen: matronae opulentae, optimates. With either reading the use of the comparative melior with a partitive genitive, where one would expect a superlative, is noteworthy. Doubtless it is due, as Wölfflin thinks (Lat. u. rumanische Comparation (1879), 69), to the desire for alliteration, yet it is not without parallel in Varr.

- R. R. 2, 5, 10: Epirotici non solum meliores totius Graeciae sed etiam quam Italiae; and Moser (ad h. loc.) cites similar instances from Apuleius and the patristic writers. For analogous cases in Greek, of which our line may be an imitation, see Kühner-Gerth, Ausführ. Gram. d. gr. Spracke, 2, 1, 3 ed. (1898), 22. Against the view that this is a genitive of comparison, in imitation of Greek usage, see Frobenius, op. cit. 37-38, and the works there cited. For other possible readings cf. Vahlen's second ed. of Ennius, 127.
- optumarum: awkwardly used three times in six lines.
- 3. superstitiosis: here, as in 2, 115, in the sense of 'prophetic,' or 'clairvoyant.' For passages in Plautus in which it has a similar meaning see Gulick in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol. 7 (1896), 238.
 - 3. hariolationibus: semel dictum.
- 4. Apollo: for his part in endowing Cassandra with the gift of prophecy see Engelmann in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Kassandra, 975. With the frenzy of Cassandra the divinatory methods of her brother Helenus stand contrasted (1, 89).
 - 4. fatis fandis: = ad fata fanda.
- 4. invitam: so Virgil describes the effects of inspiration upon the Sibyl (Aen. 6, 77-80, and the important note in the 2 ed. (1916), of Norden's commentary): at Phoebi nondum patiens, immanis in antro / bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit / excussisse deum; tanto magis ille fatigat / os rabidum, fera corda domans, fingique premendo; cf. 6, 100-101. Toy (Introd. to the Hist. of Relig. (1913), 408) com-

Optumi viri; mea mater, tui me miseret, mei piget. Optumam progeniem Priamo peperisti extra me; hoc dolet. Men obesse, illos prodesse, me obstare, illos obsequi!

O poëma tenerum et moratum atque molle! Sed hoc minus ad rem; 67. illud quod volumus expressum est ut vaticinari furor vera soleat.

Adest, adest fax obvoluta sanguine atque incendio!

2. peperisti cod. Blionsis, repperisti C (sed H reperisti).

ments on the tendency of more advanced thought to make the prophet more independent and thoughtful, less abnormal and passive.

[211]4ff. ciet...pudet...piget...
dolet: for the rhyme cf. 1, 20, n. (monebant...ferebant...iubebant...vereri...teneri); Frobenius, op. cit. 150; also Quintil. 9, 3, 77: ut clausula similiter cadat, syllabis isdem ultima in parte conlocatis: duouortheurov † similem duarum sententiarum vel plurium finem ... fit etiam singulis verbis: Hecuba hoc dolet, pudet, piget (Ribbeck, Trag. Rom. Frag. 3 ed. (1897), 274, no. 9); strongly suggesting, but with difficulty to be connected with our passage.

[211]5. patris mei meum factum: cf. Orat. 155: idem poeta qui inusitatius contraxerat 'patris mei meum factum pudet' pro 'meorum factorum,' et 'texitur; exitium examen rapit' (1, 67 infra) pro 'exitiorum,' etc. The verb pudet may be accompanied by a genitive of the thing which causes shame, as very commonly, or by a genitive of the person before whom shame is felt (Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 469-470). This is the only instance, apparently, of the combination of the two genitives in one sentence (Frobenius, op. cit. 37), but it is perhaps not illogical after the precedent of two accusatives, in zeugma, with verbs of teaching, concealing, etc.

[211]5. mei meum: each with synizesis, as in the case of *tui* and *mei* in the next line. For polyptoton in Ennius cf. Frobenius, *op. cii*. 146.

3. obesse . . . prodesse: cf. Ter. Heaut. 643: melius peius, prosit obsit. Note also the alliterative pair obstare . . . obsequi. With the three compounds

of ob in one line cf. Enn. Sat. 5 Vahlen: resistant, occurrunt, obstant, obstringillant, obigitant.

4. moratum: elsewhere in Cicero usually modified by an adverb. But in Top. 97 he says: itemque narrationes ut ad suos fines spectent, id est ut planae sint, ut breves, ut evidentes, ut credibiles, ut moratae, ut cum dignitate; cf. Quintil. 4, 2, 64. This is probably in the same sense as Hor. Ep. 2, 3, 319-320: morataque recte / fabula, upon which Ps.-Acro remarks: in qua mores singularum personarum optime exprimuntur.

4. minus ad: cf. the use of nikil ad in 2, 78; also N. D. 1, 67: quid ad rem; Reid on Ac. 1, 15.

6. adest, etc.: cf. Non. p. 112 M.: idem (sc. Varro) Sexagesi, "adest fax involuta incendio," and on p. 328 M. he makes the same ascription. Perhaps the line was copied by Varro from Ennius. For the prophecies by Cassandra of the ruin of Troy see Engelmann, op. cit. 976. Cassandra does not appear in Homer as a ' prophetess, but Aeschylus, who thus represents her, probably got the idea from the cyclic poets; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 49-50. It may have been through the influence of her figure and that of Manto that the idea of the Sibyl developed; cf. id. 50-51. The expression here used recalls Enn. Alc. 28-30 Vahlen: adsunt . . . fer mi auxilium . . . flammiferam hanc vim . . . ardentibus taedis.

6. adĕst: cf. 2, 30: quod ĕst.

6. fax: as Vahlen (2 ed. of Ennius (1903), ccii, n.) points out, this is probably thought of as the same torch which in 1, 42 Hecuba dreamed of bearing, now seen in its full significance by the clair-voyant Cassandra.

Multos annos latuit; cives, ferte opem et restinguite. Deus inclusus corpore humano iam, non Cassandra loquitur.

> Iamque mari magno classis cita Texitur; exitium examen rapit; Adveniet, fera velivolantibus Navibus complebit manus litora.

XXXII. 68. Tragoedias loqui videor et fabulas. At ex te ipso non commenticiam rem sed factam eiusdem generis audivi: C. Coponium ad te venisse Dyrrachium, cum praetorio imperio classi Rhodiae praeesset, cum primo hominem prudentem atque doctum, eumque dixisse remigem

- 6. complebit Herelius et dett. aliquot, complevit C.
- 9. Dyrrachium Creverius, dyrrachio C.
- 10. cum primo C, Christ, Bailer, cum primis Lambinus, O, cumprime Davies, Maller.
- 1. multos annos latuit: Hottinger (ad h. loc.) well explains: expositus atque inter pastores educatus.
- 2. iam: for its position cf. Ac. 2, 66, and Plasberg's note.
- 3. iamque, etc.: cf. ad Att. 8, 11, 3: **podeo***lif**w igitur, noster Attice, non hariolans ut illa cui nemo credidit sed coniectura prospiciens, "iamque mari magno,"—non multo, inquam, secus possum vaticinari: tanta malorum impendet 'Iluás. For the change of metre cf. 1, 114, n. (eheu videre).
- 3. mari magno: with the phrase cf. Enn. Ann. 445; Sota, fr. 3; Lucr. 2, 1. Note the alliterations: mari magno, classis cita, texitur exitium examen.
- 4. texitur: cf. Virg. Aen. 11, 326: bis denas Italo texamus robore naves.
- 4. exitium: genitive; cf. 1, 66, n. (patris mei meum factum).
- 5. velivolantibus: only here, but cf. Androm. 79: naves velivolas; Ann. 388: navibus velivolis. The adjective velivolus is also used by the imitators of Ennius.
- 6. navibus . . . manus: cf. 1, 66, n. (virginalis modestia).
- 7. tragoedias . . . fabulas: cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).
- 7. ex te ipso: with this appeal to personal experience in contrast to mere literary tradition cf. 1, 22, n. (poteris).
- 7f. non commenticiam rem: forestalling certain complaints of M. Cicero; cf. 2, 27; 2, 80; 2, 113.
- 8. C. Coponium: practor in 49 B. C. He inclined to the side of Pompey and

- joined his party in Greece; cf. ad Att. 8, 12A, 4. At Dyrrachium he and C. Marcellus commanded the Rhodian portion of the fleet (Caes. B. C. 3, 5, 3). Later Caesar says (B. C. 3, 26, 2): C. Coponius qui Dyrrachi classi Rhodiae praeerat. For his relationships and subsequent history cf. Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Coponius (1900), 1215. This story is also treated in some detail in 2, 114.
- 8. ad te: as to Cicero's participation in this campaign see ad Fam. 9, 18, 2: in acie non fui; Liv. per. 111: Cicero in castris remansit, vir nihil minus quam ad bella natus; Plut. Cic. 39: άλλα γὰρ γενομένης τῆς κατὰ Φάρσαλον μάχης, ῆς οὐ μετέσχε δι' ἀρρωστίαν, καὶ Πομπηίου φυγόντος, ὁ μὲν Κάτων καὶ στράτευμα συχνόν ἐν Δυρραχίω καὶ στόλον ἔχων μέγαν ἐκεῖνον ἡξίου στρατηγεῖν κατὰ νόμον καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας ἀξίωμα προδχοντα. διωθούμενος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ Κικέρων καὶ δλως φείγων τὸ συστρατεύεσθαι παρ' οὐδὲν ἦλθεν ἀναιρεθῆναι, κτλ.
- 10. cum primo hominem prudentem: for a collection of examples of this order of adverbial modification see Müller in Rhein. Mus. N. F. 55 (1900), 636-637. Possibly we should here adopt the emendation of Davies cumprime; cf. Gell. 17, 2, 14 (who cites an instance from M. Manlius and says: 'adprime' crebrius est, 'cumprime' rarius traductumque ex eo est quod 'cumprimis' dicebant pro quod est 'inprimis.'). Varr. L.L. 7, 2, employs the phrase in primo. Vell. 2, 83, 3 speaks of Coponius as a vir ex praetoriis gravissimus.

quendam e quinqueremi Rhodiorum vaticinatum madefactum iri minus xxx diebus Graeciam sanguine, rapinas Dyrrachi et conscensionem in naves cum fuga fugientibusque miserabilem respectum incendiorum fore, sed Rhodiorum classi propinquum reditum ac domum itionem dari; tum neque te ipsum non esse commotum Marcumque Varronem et M. Catonem, qui tum ibi erant, doctos homines, vehementer esse perterritos; paucis sane post diebus ex Pharsalia fuga venisse Labienum; qui cum interitum exercitus nuntiavisset reliqua vaticinationis brevi esse confecta. 69. Nam et ex horreis direptum effusumque frumentum vias omnis angiportusque

2. sanguine sulg., sanguinem C.

7. Pharsalia AH, pharsilia V, parsalia B, Pharsalica O.

[213]10. doctum: here, as in the case of doctos homines below, in contrast to the presumably unlettered credulity of the rower.

[213]10f. remigem quendam: cf. the title of Gell. 15, 18: quod pugna belli civilis victoriaque Gai Caesaris, quam vicit in Pharsaliis campis, nuntiata praedictaque est per cuius piam † remigis valicinium eodem ipso die in Italia Patavi, what follows being an instance of second sight in the knowledge of the occurrence of the battle by a priest at Padua. Pompey was himself apprehensive (according to Plut. Pomp. 68), as a result of a dream before the battle. Such predictions by soldiers, etc., before engagements are well illustrated by the account in Sil. Ital. 8, 656-676 (before the battle of Cannae), and justify the remark of Seneca (N. Q. 6, 29, 3): nec usquam plura exempla vaticinantium invenies quam ubi formido mentes religione mixta percussit.

1f. minus xxx diebus: cf. 2 Verr. 2, 140; Plaut. Trin. 402: minus quindecim dies sunt. The number thirty has here no significance save as equal to a month.

2. conscensionem: in classical Latin only here.

4. domum itionem: the verbal idea is still so strong in itionem that the accusative is retained with it; cf. Pacuv. 172 Ribbeck: nam solus Danais hic domum itionem dedit; Incert. Trag. (Ribbeck, 3 ed. (1897), 275, line 26): iam domum itionem reges Atridae parant; Lucil. 607 Marx: domum itionis cupidi imperium

regis paene inminuimus (cf. the parallels in Marx's note); Caes. B. G. 1, 5, 3: domum reditionis spe; Hygin. Fab. 118: quando domum repetitionem haberet; Schmalz, Lat. Synt. 4 ed. (1910), 357, sect. 61. For different but somewhat analogous cases cf. Caes. B.C. 1, 53, 2: magni domum concursus; ad Att. 11, 16, 1; 13, 50, 4.

5. neque . . . -que: cf. 2, 91; Merguet, Lexikon s. d. philos. Schriften, 2 (1892), 679.

5. Marcumque: praenomina when supporting enclitics are regularly written in full; cf. 2, 22: Marcone Crasso.

7. Pharsalia fuga: it will be noticed that the MS evidence favors this form; the same phrase occurs in *Phil.* 2, 39, where the manuscripts vary in reading.

7. Labienum: T. Atius Labienus, formerly the faithful lieutenant of Caesar in Gaul and as such often alluded to in the De Bello Gallico, had joined the side of Pompey, and is several times mentioned in the De Bello civili, especially in Book III, as a prominent supporter of Pompey. He continued as one of the irreconcilables in that party, and met his death at the battle of Munda (de Bell. Hisp. 31, 9).

8. reliqua vaticinationis: with this phrase Bain (in Class. Philol. 10 (1915), 220) compares Plin. Ep. 1, 3, 4: reliqua rerum tuarum.

8. brevi: prompt fulfilment of a prediction or omen seemed, of course, especially significant; cf. 1, 47, n. (paucis post diebus); 1, 104.

constraverat, et naves subito perterriti metu conscendistis et noctu ad oppidum respicientes flagrantis onerarias, quas incenderant milites quia sequi noluerant, videbatis; postremo a Rhodia classe deserti verum vatem fuisse sensistis.

70. Exposui quam brevissime potui somni et furoris oracla, quae carere arte dixeram. Quorum amborum generum una ratio est, qua Cratippus noster uti solet, animos hominum quadam ex parte extrinsecus esse tractos et haustos (ex quo intellegitur esse extra divinum animum humanus unde ducatur), humani autem animi eam partem quae sensum,

5. somnii C, Maller.

[214]9. angiportus: cf. Non. p. 190 M.: angiportus generis masculini ut aput multos neutri. Plautus Cistellaria (384): quae quasi carnificis angiporta purgitans. M. Tullius de Divinatione angiporta dixit. But the MSS here show only the reading angiportus, and though the neuter is much more frequent, yet Vollmer in Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. angustiportum cites several other instances from the fourth declension; cf. Landgraf in Archiv f. lat. Lexikogr. 5 (1888), 139-140; 191. On the use of the word see Mau in P.-W. s.v. angiportus (1894), 2190-2191.

If. conscendistis . . . respicientes . . . incenderant: a sufficiently close fulfilment of conscensionem . . . respectum . . . incendiorum above.

- 3. noluerant: the subject of this verb is somewhat awkwardly omitted.
- 5. exposui: cf. N.D. 1, 42; Min. Fel. Oct. 20, 1.
- 5. quam brevissime potui: cf. N.D. 2, 3; Fin. 5, 9.
 - 6. dixeram: 1, 34; cf. 1, 12.
- 7. Cratippus noster: cf. 1, 5, n. (Cratippus).

7. animos hominum, etc.: cf. N.D.

1, 27: Pythagoras . . . censuit animum esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum et commeantem ex quo nostri animi carperentur; de Sen. 78: audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque . . . numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus; Tusc. 5, 38: humanus autem animus decerptus ex mente divina; Virg. Georg. 4, 220-227; Sen. Ep. 66, 12: ratio autem nihil aliud est quam in corpus

humanum pars divini spiritus mersa; Sext. Emp. 9, 127: ol μὸν οὖν περί τὸν Πυθαγόραν και τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα και τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν 'Ιταλών πλήθός φασι μή μόνον ήμεν πρός άλλήλους και πρός τούς θεούς είναι τινα κοινωνίαν, άλλά και πρός τὰ άλογα των ζώων. εν γάρ υπάρχει πνεύμα το διά παντός του κόσμου διήκον ψυχής τρόπου, τὸ καὶ ἐνοθν ήμας πρός έκεινα; Alex. Polyh. ap. Diog. L. 8, 27: και άνθρώποις είναι πρός θεούς συγγένειαν, κατά τὸ μετέχειν άνθρωπον θερμού . . . είναι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπόσπασμα αίθέρος καὶ τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τοῦ ψυχροῦ . . . άθάνατόν τ' είναι αύτήν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τὸ ἀφ' οῦ ἀπέσπασται άθάνατών έστι; for some patristic parallels cf. Lasaulx, Die prophetische Kraft der menschl. Seele (1858), 42, n., 119. As Zeller points out (Die Philos. T. Griechen, 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 416, n. 3; 417, n. 1), this belief is not to be ascribed to Pythagoras himself but is to be traced to later Stoic pantheistic infusions in Pythagoreanism. The doctrine as here set forth is for the most part in accord with the teaching of Aristotle (cf. Zeller-Wellmann, op. cit. 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 651, n. 3), and we may compare Arist. de Gen. Anim. p. 736 b 27 ff.: λείπεται δὲ τὸν νοῦν μόνον θυραθεν trescitras και θείον είναι μόνον; cf. also 2, 119 infra.

- 7. quadam ex parte: cf. Rep. 6, 26.
- 8. tractos et haustos: cf. 1, 110; 2, 26.
- 8. ex quo intellegitur: cf. 1, 126; 2, 97; and many other cases of this favorite phrase in Merguet, Lexikon s. d. philos. Schriften, 1 (1887), 893-894.
- 9. eam partem, etc.: this dual division is elsewhere noted by Cicero: Off. 1,

quae motum, quae adpetitum habeat, non esse ab actione corporis seiugatam; quae autem pars animi rationis atque intellegentiae sit particeps, eam tum maxume vigere cum plurimum absit a corpore. 71. Itaque expositis exemplis verarum vaticinationum et somniorum Cratippus solet rationem concludere hoc modo: 'Si sine oculis non potest exstare officium et munus oculorum, possunt autem aliquando oculi non fungi suo munere, qui vel semel ita est usus oculis ut vera cerneret, is habet sensum oculorum vera cernentium. Item igitur si sine divinatione non potest officium et munus divinationis exstare, potest autem quis, cum divinationem habeat, errare aliquando nec vera cernere, satis est ad confirmandam divinationem semel aliquid esse ita divinatum ut nihil fortuito cecidisse videatur. Sunt autem eius generis innumerabilia; esse igitur divinationem confitendum est.'

XXXIII. 72. Quae vero aut coniectura explicantur aut eventis ani8. potest officium sulg., potest et officium C; at cf. 2, 107.

101: duplex est enim vis animorum atque natura: una pars in appetitu posita est, quae est dout Graece, quae hominem huc et illuc rapit, altera in ratione, quae docet et explanat quid faciendum fugiendumque sit; Tusc. 2, 47: est enim animus in partis tribulus duas, quarum altera rationis est particeps, altera expers; Fin. 2, 115; Rep. 1, 60; Bonhöffer, Epiktet u. d. Stoa, 1 (1890), 86 ff.; Goedeckemeyer, Gesch. d. gr. Skeptizismus (1905), 154, and nn. 7 and 10. In Tusc. 4, 10 this view is ascribed to Plato: veterem illam equidem Pythagorae primum dein Platonis discriptionem sequar qui animum in duas partes dividunt: alteram rationis participem faciunt, alteram expertem, etc., with which should be contrasted Tusc. 1, 20: Plato triplicem finxit animum, cuius principatum, id est rationem, in capite sicut in arce posuit et duas partes ei parere voluit, iram et cupiditatem, etc.; cf. 1, 61 supra. For a brief summary of Plato's division into 70 λογιστικόν and τὸ άλογον, and his subdivision of the latter into το θυμικόν and τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, see the passages noted in Ritter and Preller, Hist. Philos. Gr. 8 ed. (1898), 263-265, and, in more detail, in Zeller, op. cit. 2, 1, 4 ed. (1889), 843-851. For a résumé of divisions of the soul into parts see Tert. de An. 14; and on this subject cf. also 1, 129, n. (mente).

[215]9f. sensum . . . motum . . . adpetitum: cf. N.D. 2, 34: bestiis autem

sensum et motum dedit cum quodam appetitu accessum ad res salutares.

1f. seingatam: only here in Cicero, and apparently elsewhere only in Apuleius.

2. rationis atque intellegentiae: Mayor on N.D. 3, 38 collects Ciceronian passages in which this couplet is used to express the pure intellect, though there is, of course, a distinction in use between the two words; cf. Goedeckemeyer, op. cis.

2. intellegentiae sit particeps: cf. 1, 60.

3. tum maxume vigere: cf. 1, 63, and nn.

5. si sine oculis, etc.: this passage is repeated almost exactly in 2, 107. A somewhat similar comparison of the functions of the eye and of the mind is found in *Tusc.* 3, 15.

5. officium et munus: cf. Fin. 4, 36; Rep. 2, 57; Tusc. 3, 15; pro Font. 25.

6. possunt autem aliquando, etc.: for the reasoning cf. 1, 124-126; also the very modest claims made for the accuracy of divination in 1, 128 and, especially, 1, 126, n. (etiamsi non semper).

11. fortuito cecidisse: cf. 2, 66; 2, 108.

11. videatur: for the present tense cf. 1, 53, n. (videatur).

11f. sunt . . . esse: both emphatic; for several other such cases, especially

madversa ac notata sunt, ea genera divinandi, ut supra dixi, non naturalia sed artificiosa dicuntur; in quo haruspices, augures, coniectoresque numerantur. Haec inprobantur a Peripateticis, a Stoicis defenduntur. Quorum alia sunt posita in monumentis et disciplina, quod Etruscorum declarant et haruspicini et fulgurales et rituales libri, vestri etiam augurales, alia autem

5. rituales BV2, trituales AHV1 tonitruales aliquot dett. (ut Erlang.) et O.

with confilendum est, cf. Merguet, Lexikon s. d. philos. Schriften, 1, s.v. confileor.

[216]13. quae vero, etc.: after discussing in sections 34-71 the subject of natural divination Cicero now passes to that of artificial; but cf. Schiche, De Fontibus Lib. Cic. qui sunt de Div. (1875), 20-21; Hartfelder, Die Quellen von Cic. zwei Büchern de div. (1878), 7, n.

[216]13f. animadversa ac notata: cf. 1, 12, n. (animadversa et notata).

- 1. supra dixi: 1, 12; 1, 34.
- 2. quo: doubtless genere may be understood, yet for other examples of such loose transitions from plural to singular or vice versa cf. Madvig on Fin. 2, 61; Spengel, Emendat. Varron. (1830), 7. See also, 1, 34, n. (contingit . . . vaticinantibus . . . ut Bacis).
- 2. haruspices, etc.: in 1, 12 the haruspices are represented by extispicum aut monstra aut fulgora interpretantium; the augures appear as such, and the rest of the group is made up of astrologorum and sortium. In 2, 26 artificial divination includes extispicum eorumque qui ex fulgoribus ostentisque praedicerent, tum augurum eorumque qui signis aut ominibus uterentur, omneque genus coniecturale in hoc fere genere ponebas, not mentioning But in neither book does astrology. Cicero confine himself closely to the program laid out in any one of these groupings.
- 3. inprobantur a Peripateticis: cf. 1, 5, n. (Peripateticis).
- 3. a Stoicis defenduntur: cf. 1, 6, n. (Stoici omnia fere).
- 5. haruspicini: as an adjective apparently only here. On this triple division of haruspicine and the contents of the three parts cf. 2, 49; Thulin in P.-W. s.v. Etrusca disciplina (1907), 727-728.

- 5. fulgurales: semel dictum; cf. 1, 20, n. (chartis . . . Etruscis).
- 5. rituales: cf. Fest. p. 285 M.: rituales nominantur Etruscorum libri in quibus perscribtum est quo ritu condantur urbes, arae, aedes sacrentur, qua sanctitate muri, quo iure portae, quomodo tribus, curiae, centuriae distribuantur, exercitus constituantur, ordinentur, ceteraque eiusmodi ad bellum ac pacem pertinentia; Censor, de Die nat. 11, 6; 17, 5. Against the reading tonitruales are (1) its inferior MS authority; (2) the fact that we know nothing of such books as distinguished from libri fulgurales; (3) the consideration that the form trituales, which might seem to suggest tonitruales, is really far closer to rituales, its initial t being due to dittography of the final t of the preceding et. Though the contents of the libri rituales as described by Festus may seem not quite in place, as Bergk (Kl. philol. Schriften, 1 (1884), 653, n.) objects, yet the books were doubtless inclusive enough in their general character to belong here (cf. Christ's critical note ad h. loc.), and in connection with all the points here mentioned divination might be employed; cf., for example, Liv. 1, 36, 2-3; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 9-10; and, especially, Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1 (1906), 2, n. 3; 8-12, who includes in the rituales libri the libri Acherontici, libri fatales, and Ostentaria.

Fries (in Rhein. Mus. N.F. 55 (1900), 31-32) would accept the reading tonitruales, and accedes to the view of Hertz (De Nigidii Studiis (1845), 33) that Nigidius wrote a book of the same name, thinking that in various parts of this and other works Cicero may have used it as a source for his knowledge of the Etru-

subito ex tempore coniectura explicantur, ut apud Homerum Calchas, qui ex passerum numero belli Troiani annos auguratus est, et ut in Sullae scriptum historia videmus, quod te inspectante factum est, ut, cum ille in

sca disciplina. Bergk (op. cit. 494-495) sees in the Diarium tonitruale which Joannes Lydus took from Nigidius a descendant of the tonitruales libri which he supposes are here mentioned.

[217]5. vestri: cf. 1, 25, n. (vestra).

[217]5. augurales: on the libri augurales and their history see Regell, De Augurum publicorum Libris (1878), who considers them identical with the commentarii of the augurs (2, 42); also Regell's other works cited in 1, 28, n. (scriptum habetis). Regell suggests (op. cit. 19) that the committing of the rules of the augural art to writing was prompted by the danger of their being lost through increasing neglect and disbelief; cf. 1, 25, n. (nunc . . . ignorantur).

1. subito ex tempore: not tautological as some editors suppose; subito meaning 'without preparation,' and ex tempore 'in accordance with the situation'; cf. the use of ex rs. The recurrence of subito (five times in sections 72-75) is noteworthy; cf. 1, 99, n. (disputavisset . . . disputat . . . disputat).

1. apud Homerum Calchas: sc. fecit; such omissions are especially frequent in relative clauses containing examples; cf. Sorof on de Or. 2, 38. The Homeric passage here instanced is Il. 2, 299-330 (translated in full by Cicero in 2, 63-64 infra, and imitated by Ov. Met. 12, 11-21); cf. Schol. A Il. 2, 308: δ δράκων 'Αθηνάς leρόs, οι στρουθοί 'Αφροδίτης, χρόνον τε δηλούσιν, έπει πτηνός δ χρόνος; Serv. Aen. 5, 85.

Animals are elsewhere typical of years; e.g., the litter of thirty pigs seen by Aeneas (Cato ap. Auct. Orig. Gent. Rom. 12, 5; Dion. Hal. 1, 56, 4-5; 1, 66, 1; Diod. 7, 3, 5; Dio Cass. fr. 4, 5-6 Boiss.; Serv. Aen. 3, 391); the fifteen doves killed by the hawk which typify the fifteen years during which Carthage is success-

ful against Rome (Sil. Ital. 4, 101-130); the lioness and eight cubs symbolizing to Apollonius of Tyana a year and eight months (Philostr. Vis. Apollon. 1, 22); the fat and lean kine of Gen. 41, 18-29); cf. also 1, 46, n. (triginta). For Calchas see 1, 87, n. (Calchantem, etc.).

2f. in Sullae scriptum historia: cf. 2, 65. The title of this work appears in varied forms (cf. Peter, Hist. Rom. Reliq. 1, 2 ed. (1914), cclxxii), Cicero alone calling it historia. Peter thinks the real title was Commentarii Rerum gestarum. It contained 22 books (Plut. Sull. 37). Our passage is fr. 9 in Peter, op. cit. 198-199.

3. scriptum . . . videmus: cf. 1, 31, n. (ut scriptum videmus).

3. te inspectante: cf. 1, 22, n. (poleris).

3. cum ille, etc.: Appian (B. C. 1, 50) puts Sulla before Nola in 89 B.C., but Plut. Sull. 9 ascribes the event to the year 88, in his campaign against Marius: δ δε Σύλλας άγων εξ τάγματα τέλα μετά τοθ συνάρχοντος άπο Νώλης έκίναι, τον μέν στρατόν όρων πρόθυμον δυτα χωρείν εύθύς ἐπὶ τὰν πόλιν, Ενδοιάζων δέ τῆ γνώμη παρ' ἐαυτῷ και δεδοικώς τόν κίνδυνον. δ δε μάντις Ποστούμιος θύσαντος αύτοῦ καταμαθών τὰ σημεία καί τάς χείρας άμφοτέρας τῷ Σύλλα προτείνας ήξιου δεθήναι και φυλάττεσθαι μέχρι τής μάχης, ώς, εί μή πάντα ταχύ καὶ καλώς αὐτῷ συντελεσθείη, την έσχάτην δίκην ὑποσχεῦν βουλόμενος; cf. Liv. ap. Aug. C.D. 2, 24: Sulla cum primum ad urbem contra Marium castra movisset adeo laeta exta immolanti fuisse scribit Livius ut custodiri se Postumius karuspex voluerit capitis supplicium subiturus nisi ea quae in animo Sulla haberet deis invantibus implevisset; Val. Max. 1, 6, 4: L. Sulla consul sociali bello cum in agro Nolano ante praetorium immolaret subito ab ima parte arae prolapsam anguem prospexit. qua visa Postumi agro Nolano inmolaret ante praetorium, ab infima ara subito anguis emergeret, cum quidem C. Postumius haruspex oraret illum ut in expeditionem exercitum educeret; id cum Sulla fecisset tum ante oppidum Nolam florentissuma Samnitium castra cepit. 73. Facta coniectura etiam in Dionysio est paulo ante quam regnare coepit; qui cum per agrum Leontinum iter faciens equum ipse demisisset in flumen, submersus equus voraginibus non exstitit; quem cum maxima contentione non potuisset extrahere discessit, ut ait Philistus, aegre ferens. Cum autem aliquantum progressus esset subito exaudivit hinnitum respexitque et equum alacrem laetus aspexit, cuius

C. vulg., G. C.
 demisisset vulg., dimisisset C.

aruspicis hortatu continuo exercitum in expeditionem eduxit ac† fortissima Samnitium castra cepit.

1. ante praetorium: for its position see the plan in Cagnat et Chapot, Manuel d' Arch. rom. (1916), 253, but literary evidence as to the position of such an altar seems elsewhere lacking.

- 1. ab infima ara: in the Homeric passage just cited (Il. 2, 310) the snake appears βωμοῦ ὁπαίξας, which perhaps suggested to Cicero the transition to this story. For snakes appearing at altars cf. Obseq. 47. In Liv. 1, 56, 4 a portentous snake comes out of a wooden column; in Dio Cass. 58, 7, 1 from a statue; in Virg. Aen. 5, 84-93 from a tomb. Cf. also Liv. 25, 16, 1-4; Val. Max. 1, 6, 8; and 1, 36, n. (duobus anguibus); 1, 79, n. (puerum . . . amplexu). On the snake as a lucky sign to Sulla cf. 1, 106, n. (faustaque signa).
- 2. Postumius haruspex: so Caesar employed Spurinna as an haruspex.
- 2f. expeditionem exercitum educeret: note the repetition of the prefix. The coming out of the snake symbolizes the sally of the army.
- 3f. florentissuma: Valerius Maximus here reads (though the text has been much emended) fortissima. But the doubts felt by some editors as to florentissuma in our passage are unjustified in view of de Or. 1, 38: civitatem . . . avitis armis florentissumam; Phil. 12, 16: exercitu florentissumo.
- 4. facta coniectura: cf. Ael. V. H. 12, 46: Διανύσιον δὲ τὸν Ἐρμοκράτους λέγουσι ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἔφερε δὲ αὐτὸν ἴππος. καὶ

- δ μὲν Ιππος κατά τοῦ τέλματος διλισθεν, ὁ δὲ ἀποπηδήσας τῆς δχθης ἐλάβετο καὶ ἀπήκι, ὡς οὐκὲτι τὸν Ιππον δντα αὐτοῦ ἀπολιπών. ὁ δὲ ἡκολούθησε καὶ χρεμετίσας ἐπὲστρεψεν αὐτόν. καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐλάβετο αὐτοῦ τῆς χαίτης καὶ ἔμελλεν ἀναβαίνειν καὶ τῆ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ περιπίπτει μελιττῶν πλῆθος. ἔφασαν οὖν οἱ Γαλεῶται πρὸς τὸν Διονύσιον ἐρόμενον ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅτι ταῦτα μοναρχίαν δηλοῖ; Plin. N. H. 8, 158: Philistus a Dionysio (sc. equum) relictum in caeno haerentem ut se evellisset secutum vestigia domini examine apium iubae inhaerente, eoque ostento tyrannidem a Dionysio occupatam; cf. 2, 67 infra.
- 4. facta coniectura . . . est: for the phrase cf. 1, 78; 2, 65; 2, 129.
- 4. Dionysio: cf. 1, 39, n. (Dionysi). The date of this incident would be before 406/5 B. C.
- 6. equum . . . demisisset: so Liv. 23, 47, 5.
- 6. flumen: the principal rivers of the region are the Terias and its branch the Lissus, both near the town of Leontini.
- 6. voraginibus: of the eddies of a river also in Curt. 8, 14, 8.
- 6. non exstitit: for an omen from the falling of a horse cf. 1, 77.
- 8. Philistus: cf. 1, 39, n. (Philistus).
- 9. hisnitum: the Persians made much of omens from the neighing of horses; cf. Hdt. 3, 84-86; Justin, 1, 10, 4-8; 1, 10, 17; Min. Fel. Oct. 18, 6; Amm. Marc. 23, 6, 36; Procop. 2, 5, 9. So too the Germans, according to Tacitus

in iuba examen apium consederat. Quod ostentum habuit hanc vim, ut Dionysius paucis post diebus regnare coeperit. XXXIV. 74. Quid? Lace-

(Germ. 10, and see Baumstark's note), kinnitusque ac fremitus observant. According to Ussani's interpretation the same belief is to be found in Hor. Epod. 9, 17. Before the fall of Constantinople a bronze horse neighed twice at night; cf. Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 470. Further, Serv. Aen. 3, 537, remarks: in libris Etruscis invenitur etiam equos bona auspicia dare.

Horses are also represented as speaking (Hom. Il. 19, 404-418), and presages might be drawn from their sadness or joy (Il. 17, 426; Suet. Iul. 81; Isid. Etym. 12, 1, 44, quoted in the next note). For the oracular uses of horses in many lands cf. Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere (1888), 68-75. Speaking asses are also mentioned, e.g., that of Baalam (Numbers, 22, 28-30), and the Rabbinical cases cited by Marmorstein in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 16 (1913), 171; and speaking cattle are often noted by Roman authors; cf. Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens (1903), 19-20, to which add Tibull. 2, 5, 78; Tac. Hist. 1, 86; Plut. Marc. 28; Dio Cass. 48, 21; Claud. in Eutrop. 2, 43-44; Zonar. 8, 22. Again mention is made of speaking sheep (Virg. Georg. 1, 478, and Serv. ad loc.; Claud. in Eutrop. 1, 3; Suid. s.v. άρνίον σοι λελάληκω), or dogs (Obseq. 43; Bulenger in Graev. Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 483), or fowls (Plin. N. H. 10, 50; Lucian, Somn. 2). And cf. 1, 121, n. (scribit Herodotus). Jastrow (in Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, 14, 5 (1914), 79) would connect with these traditions of speaking animals the beast fables of the east; but cf. Schultz in Wochenschr. f. kl. Philol. 33 (1916), 77-78.

[219]9. alacrem: cf. Isid. Etym. 12, 1, 44: solent etiam ex equorum vel maestitia vel alacritate eventum futurum dimicaturi colligere.

1. examen apium: from the abundant literature on the ominous significance

of bees mention may be made of Hopf, op. cit. 204-208; Robert-Tornow, De Apium Mellisque apud veteres Significatione (1893), with bibliography on p. 8; Cook in Journ. of Hell. Stud. 15 (1895), 1-24; Weniger in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Melissa, especially 2641-2642; Sikes and Allen on Hom. Hymn. Herm. (1904), 559; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 801-802, especially 801, n. 8; id. in Burs. Jahresb. 137 (1908), 376-377; and the works cited by Dietrich, Collectanea zu Artemid. Dald. 1 (1911), 11-12; also 1, 78, n. (Platoni), infra.

Bees were commonly regarded as chthonic and as embodying the souls of the dead; cf. especially Cook, op. cit.; Weniger, op. cit. 2641. As such they often appear in connection with prophecy. Further, as symbolic of obedience to monarchic rule, their swarms are to rulers a favorable sign, as is shown by Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 22: ἐπικαθεζόμεναι δὲ τἢ κεφαλή τοῦ δρώντος στρατηγούντι μέν καί δημιουργούντι άγαθαί, τοῦς δὲ ἄλλοις πονηραί; cf. Achmet, Onirocr. 284. So in de Har. Resp. 25 Cicero draws a parallel between swarms of bees and examina servorum; cf. 1, 78, n. (Platoni). And to the examples from other races noted in the works above cited add, for the Vedic period, Weber in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1858, 324; for the British Isles Folk-Lore Record, 1 (1878), 33; 58-59; 181; 3 (1880), 136; 4 (1881), 97; Folk-Lore Journ. 3 (1885), 281; 379; 5 (1887), 192-193; 6 (1888), 146; Folk-Lore, 5 (1894), 336; 7 (1896), 385; for the United States, Whittier, Telling the Bees; Fogel, Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans (1915), 130; 132; 216-217; see also Skeat, Malay Magic (1900), 535.

1. habuit hanc vim ut: cf. Ac. 2, 45; Fin. 1, 62; 3, 49; Tusc. 3, 55; Off. 1, 112; 3, 75; also 2, 67 infra: vim habuit ostenti. daemoniis paulo ante Leuctricam calamitatem quae significatio facta est, cum in Herculis fano arma sonuerunt Herculisque simulacrum multo sudore manavit! At eodem tempore Thebis, ut ait Callisthenes, in templo

[220]2. paucis post diebus: cf. 1, 36; 1, 47; 1, 68.

- 1. paulo ante: cf. 1, 73; 1, 75.
- 1. ante Leuctricam calamitatem, etc.: cf. 2, 54; 2, 67; the former of these passages may make Callisthenes the authority for the first of our sentences as well as for the one in which his name appears. Cf. also Bock, Untersuchungen s. Plutarchs Schrift περί τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου (1910), 61; 62, n. 1, who compares Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 8: πρό της & Λεύκτροις αυτώ (SC. 'Ιέρωνι) γενομένης τελευτής έξέπεσον οι όφθαλμοί τοῦ ἀνδριάντος, οὶ δ' ἀστέρες ἡφανίσθησαν οθς Λύσανδρος άνέθηκεν άπο της έν Αίγος ποταμοις ναυμαχίας. ὁ δ' αύτοῦ Δυσάνδρου λίθινος άνδριας εξήνθησεν άγριαν λόχμην και πόαν τοσαύτην το πλήθος ώστε κατακρύψαι το πρόσωπον (cf. 1, 75 infra); Plut. Ages. 28: πολλών δὲ σημείων μοχθηρών γενομένων . . . ούκ ανήκεν ο 'Αγησίλασς; Pelop. 20-21 for favorable dreams and omens to Pelopidas; Amat. Narrat. 3; Paus. 9, 14, 3; Xen. Hell. 6, 4, 7: ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αύτοις, ώς οί τε νεώ πάντες αυτόματοι άνεώγοντο αί τε ιέρειαι λέγοιεν ώς νίκην οι θεοί φαίνοιεν. Εκ δε τοῦ Ἡρακλείου καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ξφασαν άφανή είναι, ώς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους els την μάχην έξωρμημένου. οι μέν δή τινες λέγουσιν ώς ταθτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ήν των προεστηκότω». See also Diod. 15, 53, 4: ὁ δὲ 'Επαμεινώνδας όρων τούς στρατιώτας δεισιδαιμονούντας έπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι σημείοις έφιλοτιμείτο διά της iblas έπινοίας και στρατηγίας μεταθείναι τὰς τοῦ πλήθους εὐλαβείας. διόπερ τινών προσφάτως παραγεγονότων έκ θηβών Επεισεν είπειν ότι τα κατά τον νεών του 'Ηρακλέους δπλα παραδόξως άφανή γέγονε καί λόγος έν ταις θήβαις διαδέδοται ώς των ήρωων των άρχαιων άνειληφότων αυτά και βοηθείν τοις Βοιωτοις απεληλυθότων. άλλον δε κατέστησεν ώς άπὸ Τροφωνίου προσφάτως άναβεβηκότα και λέγοντα διότι προστέταχεν ο θεός αυτοίς, δταν & Λεύκτροις νικήσωσιν, άγωνα τιθέναι Διλ βασιλεί στεφανίτην, κτλ.
- 1. Leuctricam calamitatem: cf. Off. 2,26: Leuctricae calamitatis; 3,47: Cannensi calamitate; 1,75, infra: Leuctricae pugnae calamitas.
- 2. Herculis fano: for the cult of Heracles at Sparta cf. Wide, Lakonische Kulte (1893), 298-300. It is noticeable that three of the manifestations here noted are connected with Heracles or his shrines.
- 2. arma sonuerunt: the mention of the falling of arms from the walls at Thebes and of the fall of the golden stars at Delphi seems clearly to suggest a simultaneous seismic disturbance at those places and at Sparta; cf. Chatelain in Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist. 29 (1909), 88, who treats the movements of ancilia (e.g., C.I.L. I, 2 ed., p. 260, 9 March) and hastoe Martis (cf. Luterbacher, Prodigienglaube u. Prodigienstil der Römer (1880), 33; Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung d. Prodigienwesens bei den Römern (1903), 19); cf. Gell. 4, 6, 1-2. The case in Procop. 3, 7, 10 is clearly due to an earthquake.

Under this class of seismic phenomena fall also the ringing sounds of metal objects (cf. Wülker, l.c.); the falling of various articles (cf. 1, 19, n. (concidit) supra), especially those in temples (cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 64 M.: caduca auspicia dicunt cum aliquid in templo excidit, veluti virga e manu; Wülker, op. cit. 19; Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 34-35; 1, 20, n. (tum fore, etc.) supra), or any automatic motion of an inanimate object (Wülker, l.c.; Steinhauser, op. cit. 34, and n. 5; Athen. p. 521.

- 2. Herculisque simulacrum: for portents from images cf. Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 224, n. 1.
- 3. sudore: cf. 1, 20, n. (tum fore, etc.); 1, 98, n. (sudavit).
- 3. sudore manavit: this use of mano is paralleled in Liv. 1, 59, 1 (cultrum . . .

Herculis valvae clausae repagulis subito se ipsae aperuerunt, armaque quae fixa in parietibus fuerant ea sunt humi inventa. Cumque eodem tempore apud Lebadiam Trophonio res divina fieret gallos gallinaceos in eo loco sic adsidue canere coepisse ut nihil intermitterent; tum augures

3. Lebadiam sulg., thebaidam C, qui error 2, 56 recurrit.

mananlem cruore), though the reading is there uncertain.

[221]3. at: for this slight degree of contrast—'on the other side'—cf. de Or. 2, 193.

[221]3. Callisthenes: of Olynthus, nephew and pupil of Aristotle and fellowpupil of Alexander the Great, an account of whose achievements he wrote. The present fragments are from his Ἑλληνωά, which in ten books covered the years from the Peace of Antalcidas (387/6) to the beginning of the Phocian War (356/5). For a discussion of the work and its author see Schwarts in Hermes, 35 (1900), 106-130; and for Cicero's criticism of the style of Callisthenes see de Or. 2, 58.

1. repagulis: cf. Mayor on N. D. 3, 66.

1. se ipsae aperuerunt: to the many instances cited by Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 504-505, and Krepelka (in Philologus, 37 (1877), 508; 522) should be added Apollon. Rhod. 4, 41; Quint. Smyrn. 12, 511; Virg. Aen. 6, 81-82; Obseq. 42; 67; Tac. Hist. 5, 13; Suet. Ner. 46; Dio Cass. 43, 17; 45, 20; 60, 35; 63, 26; 65, 8; Joseph. Bell. Iud. 6, 5, 3; Vopisc. Tac. 17, 4; Macrob. Sat. 1, 9, 17; Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 3, 82 ff.; Sozom. 1, 14; cf. Ov. Met. 9, 783-784; Acts, 5, 19. Hero Alex. Pneumat. 1, 38-39 describes a mechanical device by means of which doors of temples may automatically open at sacrificing upon an altar before them-doubtless a bit of pious fraud more more or less practiced in his day. The significance of the opening doors is varied; the divinity may be coming in person to bring aid or he may be thought of as abandoning a place which he has ceased to favor or protect.

2. fixa in parietibus . . . humi inventa: note the chiasmus.

- 2. fixa in parietibus: cf. Hor. Carm. 1, 28, 11 for an instance of the custom of thus displaying arms.
- 2. ea: for this somewhat redundant but emphatic use after a relative clause cf. Off. 1, 126; Madvig on Fis. 5, 22.
- 2. cumque eodem, etc.: see note on ante Leuctricam calamitatem supra.
- ' 3. apud Lebadiam Trophonio: the shrine of Trophonius (also called Zeus Trophonius, and by some identified with Hermes Chthonius) at Lebadea is most fully described by Paus. 9, 39 (on which see Frazer's ample notes); cf. Schol. Ar. Nub. 506 ff.; Plut. de Gen. Socr. 21-22; Philostr. Vit. Apollon. 8, 19; Max. Tyr. 14, 2. It was perhaps the most frequented shrine of all those of Greek heroes, being known from the time of Croesus (Hdt. 1, 46) to that of Celsus (Orig. c. Cels. 7, 35) and Tertullian (de An. 46). Dicaearchus wrote a work called els Tpoφωνίου κατάβασις (used by Cic. ad Att. 6, 2, 3; fragments in F. H. G. 2, 266-268; cf. Fuhr, Dicaearchi Messenii quae supersunt (1851), 130-135; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 3 (1880), 329-330). For an account of the history and rites of the shrine, situated in Bocotia, a region thickly haunted by heroes, see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 3, 321-332; Deubner, De Incubatione (1900), 8, n.; Hamilton, Incubation (1906), 88-93. The superstition there prevalent seems to have been a favorite subject for ridicule in the New Comedy, for Alexis, Cephisodorus, Cratinus, and Menander wrote plays entitled Trophonius; cf. 1, 88, n. (Amphiaraum); 1, 91, n. (Telmessus); Lucian, Dial. Mort. 3; Menipp. 22.

3. res divina fieret: cf. 1, 102; 2 Verr. 4, 18. For the consultation of dixisse Boeotios Thebanorum esse victoriam, propterea quod avis illa victa silere soleret, canere si vicisset. 75. Eademque tempestate multis signis Lacedaemoniis Leuctricae pugnae calamitas denuntiabatur. Namque et in Lysandri qui Lacedaemoniorum clarissimus fuerat statua, quae Delphis stabat, in capite corona subito exstitit ex asperis herbis et agresti-

1. Bocotios sulg., boctios H, bocotio A, boctio BV, sed cf. 2, 56.

Trophonius by the Thebans upon this particular occasion cf. Paus. 4. 32, 5.

[222]3. gallos gallinaceos: cf. 2, 56; Lucil. 300-301 Marx: gallinaceus cum victor se gallus honeste / altius in digitos primoresque erigit unguis. Note the change at this point from direct to indirect discourse; cf. 1, 55, n. (iussum esse).

[222]4. nihil intermitterent: cf. Tusc. 3, 6: nihil . . . intermisimus . . . disputare.

1. avis illa: cf. Plin. N. H. 10, 47: quod si palma contingit, statim in victoria canunt seque ipsi principes testantur. victus occultatur silens aegreque servitium patitur; 10, 49: habent ostenta ex se et praeposteri eorum vespertinique cantus. namque totis noctibus canendo Boeotiis nobilem illam adversus Lacedaemonios praesagivere victoriam, ita coniecta interpretatione, quoniam victa ales illa non caneret; 11, 268: aliis in pugna vox . . . aliis cum vicere, ut gallinaceis; Ael. N. A. 4, 29. See also Lucil. 300-301 Marx (quoted in note on gallos gallinaceos supra); Joann. Saresb. Policr. 1, 13; Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere (1888), 161 ff.; 1, 27, n. (necesse, etc.) supra.

2. silere soleret: note the alliteration.

2. tempestate: in the sense of tempore in Cicero only here (Laurand, Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic. (1907), 83); cf. de Or. 3, 153, and Wilkins's note.

3. calamitas: cf. 1, 74, n. (Leuctricam calamitatem).

4. qui . . . clarissimus fuerat: cf. Off. 1, 109: versutissimum et patientissimum Lacedaemonium Lysandrum accepimus; de Sen. 59: Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis.

4f. quae Delphis stabat: cf. Plut. Lys. 18: δ δλ Λύσανδρος δυτησεν άπο των λαφύρων & Δελφοῖς αὐτοῦ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα καὶ των

ναυάρχων έκάστου καί χρυσοθς άστέρας τών Διοσκούρων, οί πρό των Λευκτρικών ήφανίσθησαν; Paus. 10, 9, 7: Δακεδαιμονίων δὲ άπαντικρύ τούτων άναθήματά έστιν άπ' 'Αθηναίων Διόσκουροι και Ζεύς και 'Απόλλων τε καὶ "Αρτεμις, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ποσειδών τε καὶ Δύσανδρος δ 'Αριστοκρίτου στοφανούμενος ύπδ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος; 10, 9, 9, where he says that the other generals with Lysander at Aegospotami were also honored here with statues. For the remains of these works see Frazer on Paus. 10, 9, 7; Cook, Zeus, 1 (1914), 761-762, and the works cited by them. Another statue of him at Olympia is mentioned by Schol. Pind. Ol. 7, 1(=F. H. G. 2, 183, no. 264).

5. corona: cf. Plut. de Pyth. Orac. 8, (quoted in 1, 74, n. (ante Leuctricam calamitatem, etc.) supra). Such growths were obviously due to the sprouting of seeds, carried by the wind or birds (cf. 2, 68 infra), in the dust on the neglected tops of statues; cf. Propert. 2, 6, 36: et mala desertos occupat herba deos; Plut. de Superstit. 8; Kuhnert in Berl. Stud. f. cl. Philol. 1 (1884), 343; also 1, 93, n. (ex terra) infra. The word kerbis is doubtless here used in an extended sense (='weeds'); cf. Conington on Virg. Georg. 2, 411. Plin. N. H. 24, 170 and Marc. Emp. 1, 43 speak of such herbae from statues as being used as remedies for headache. Cf. Plin. N. H. 17, 244 (speaking of trees): sunt prodigia et cum alienis locis enascuntur, ut in capitibus statuarum vel aris et cum in arboribus ipsis alienae; Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antig. 5 (1696), 481-483; 506; Bötticher, Baumkultus der Hellenen (1856), 163 ff.; Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern (1903), 20-21; Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 33-34.

bus, stellaeque aureae, quae Delphis erant a Lacedaemoniis positae post navalem illam victoriam Lysandri, qua Athenienses conciderunt, qua in pugna quia Castor et Pollux cum Lacedaemoniorum classe visi esse dicebantur eorum insignia deorum, stellae aureae quas dixi, Delphis positae paulo ante Leuctricam pugnam deciderunt neque repertae sunt. 76. Maximum vero illud portentum isdem Spartiatis fuit quod, cum oraclum ab Iove Dodonaeo petivissent de victoria sciscitantes legatique vas illud 7. vas illud Ernesti, Christ, Boiter, Maller, illud CO, sitellam in qua coni. Oralli, quasillum Thoresen (Nord. Tidsskrift for Filologi, 3 ser. 2 (1895), 29).

[223]5f. asperis... et agrestibus: also combined in 2, 133.

1. stellaeque: the Dioscuri were often associated by the Greeks and Romans on the one hand with stars (Cook, Zeus, 1, 763-764), and, on the other, at least from the Hellenistic age and probably long before, with the electrical phenomenon known as St. Elmo's Fire; cf. 1, 121, n. (caput arsisse); 2, 77 (ex acuminibus); Schmitz, De Dioscuris (1869), 31; Mayor on N.D. 2, 9 (and numerous passages there cited, to which add Doxogr. Gr. 625, 18); Stephanides in ΔΘΗΝΑ, 14 (1902), 136-137 (who cites other names for the phenomenon); Frazer, Golden Bough, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 49, n. 4; Cook, Zeus, 1, 771-772; also, on the meteorological side, Hann, Lehrbuch der Meteorologie, 2 ed. (1906), 487-488; Börnstein, Leitfaden der Wetterkunde, 2 ed. (1906), 138 (with illustrations of St. Elmo's Fire). It was perhaps in the latter form, appearing on the tops of masts, that their epiphany took place, not merely at Aegospotami (405 B.C.), but also at Salamis, after which battle the people of Aegina dedicated at Delphi golden stars on a mast of bronze; cf. Hdt. 8, 122; Rouse, Greek Votive Offcrings (1902), 135; Cook, op. cit. 761-762; also 764-770 for the Dioscuri with star emblems in Hellenistic art. Another view is that of A. Mommsen (in Philologus, 11 (1856), 706-714), who compares similar epiphanies of Castor and Pollux (e.g., N.D. 2, 6), all occurring at or near the summer solstice, from which the conclusion might be drawn (cf. Frazer on Paus. 10, 9, 7) that they represent the morning and the evening star.

For further mention of these golden stars see Plut. Lys. 18 (quoted above). Pomtow (in Athen. Mittheil. 31 (1906), 563) conjectures that they were placed on the heads of the statues of the Dioscuri, as frequently in Hellenistic art, but nowhere else, so far as we know, in the classical period; cf. Cook, op. cit. 764, and n. 6. Their fall (cf. 1, 19, n. (concidit) supra) symbolizes the fall of the star of Spartan greatness; cf. Frazer, l.c.

2. conciderunt: cf. 1, 77: concisus.

2ff. qua in pugna . . . positae: on account of its repetition held by some editors to be an interpolation, but more probably explained as in part due to a desire to separate conciderunt from the following deciderunt.

3. cum Lacedaemoniorum classe: cf. Plut. Lys. 12: ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ τοὺς Διοσκούρους ἐπὶ τῆς Λυσάνδρου νεὼς ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅτε τοῦ λιμένος ἐξέπλει πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἄστρα τοῦς οἰαξιν ἐπιλάμψαι λέγοντες. On the assistance of the Dioscuri to Greeks and Romans in battles see Jaisle, Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See (1907), 3-4; also Furtwängler in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Dioskuren (1886), 1163-1164; Bethe in P.-W. s.v. Dioskuren (1903), 1094-1095.

5. paulo ante Leuctricam pugnam: cf. 1, 74.

5. neque repertae sunt: cf. 1, 16.

6. isdem: probably used to show that the following incident also preceded the battle of Leuctra.

6. cum oraclum, etc.: cf. 2, 69.

7. ab Iove Dodonaeo: cf. 1, 3, n. (Dodonaeo); 1, 95.

7. vas illud: some word for urn is here needed (though Giese thinks the

in quo inerant sortes collocavissent, simia quam rex Molossorum in deliciis habebat et sortes ipsas et cetera quae erant ad sortem parata disturbavit et aliud alio dissupavit. Tum ea quae praeposita erat oraclo sacerdos dixisse dicitur de salute Lacedaemoniis esse, non de victoria cogitandum.

XXXV. 77. Quid? bello Punico secundo nonne C. Flaminius consul

5. C. rulg., G. C.

sense complete without), to correspond to 2, 69: urnam evertisse. For this reason the conjecture of Ernesti (vas illud) is to be preferred to the quasillum of Thoresen. A not impossible emendation might perhaps be catillum; cf. Suid. s.v. Πυθώ, speaking of Delphi: φιάλη ή τὰς μαντικάς είχε ψήφους; Robbins in Class. Phil. 11 (1916), 278-292.

1. sortes: on the metal tablets here used as sortes cf. 1, 3, n. (Dodonaeo); Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. (1880), 305, n. 1. The method of consulting the oracle and the use of these tablets is made much more clear by the doubtless very similar practice at the oracle of Apollo Coropaeus in Thessaly, as known from an important inscription published by Lolling in Athen. Mittheil. 7(1882), 69-76 (=Dittenberger, Syllog. Inscr. Graec. 2, 2 ed. (1900), no. 790; cf. Robert in Hermes, 18 (1883), 466-472). The term there used for the receptacle of the lots (πυάκια) is άγγεῖον.

1. simia: on the ape as a household pet see Oder in P.-W. s.v. Affe (1894), 707; Keller, Die antike Tierwelt (1909), 4. Its sudden appearance was, however, considered a bad omen; cf. Paroemiogr. Gr. 1, 424, no. 40; Oder, l.c.; Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakeltkiere (1888), 52.

1. rex Molossorum: whether at this time he was Alcetas or Neoptolemus is uncertain, since the exact date of the death of the one and the accession of the other is unknown; cf. Klotzsch, Epirotische Gesch. (1911), 57

1f. in deliciis habebat: cf. de Har. Resp. 50; 2 Verr. 4, 3; in Vat. 20.

2. sortes . . . sortem: in two senses, the first of the inscribed πινάκια, the second of the drawing (sortitio). Thoresen

(ad h. loc.) compares the variation in the next section in the use of signum.

2. disturbavit: so before the battle of Actium, according to Dio Cass. 50, 8, 1, πίδηκός τε γάρ ἐς τὸ Δημήτριον ἐν ἰερουργία τωὶ ἐσελθών πάντα τὰ ἐνδον συνέχεε, which was similarly interpreted as ominous. Pomtow (in Neue Jakrbücker, 127 (1883), 349) attempts to explain the topography of the shrine at Dodona, and suggests that the ape may have leaped down from the trees of the sacred ἄλσος upon the vessel containing the lots. For the coupling of disturbavit and dissupavit cf. N.D. 2, 41.

4. dixisse dicitur: for this form of polyptoton cf. 1, 100; Parzinger, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Entwicklung des ciceron. Stils (1910), 51.

4. esse . . . cogitandum: a somewhat unusual separation of these words.

5. bello Punico, etc.: this is taken from Coelius (or the abridgement by Brutus; cf. 1, 48, n. (Coelius) supra), as is shown by 1, 78 below, and is found in Peter, Hist. Rom. Relig. 1, 2 ed. (1914), 163-164, where it is assigned to the first book; cf. also 2, 21; 2, 67; 2, 71; N. D. 2, 8. Polybius in his account of the battle (3, 82-85), omits the portents here mentioned. But cf. Liv. 22, 3, 11-13: haec simul increpans cum ocius signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit. territis omnibus qui circa erant velut soedo omine incipiendae rei insuper nunliatur signum omni vi moliente signifero convelli nequire. conversus ad nuntium, 'num litteras quoque,' inquit, 'ab senatu adfers, quae me rem gerere velent? abi, nuntia effodiant signum si ad convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerunt'; Plut. Fab. 3: αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν

iterum neglexit signa rerum futurarum magna cum clade rei publicae? Qui exercitu lustrato cum Arretium versus castra movisset et contra Hannibalem legiones duceret et ipse et equus eius ante signum Iovis Statoris sine causa repente concidit nec eam rem habuit religioni obiecto signo, ut

ίππον άλλόμενος έξ ούδενδς αίτίου προδήλου παραλόγως Εντρόμου του Ιππου γενομένου καί πτυρέντος έξέπεσε καί κατενεχθείς έπί κεφαλήν διως ουδέν έτρεψε της γνώμης; Flor. 1, 22, 14: imminentem temerario duci cladem praedixerant insidentia signis examina et aquilae prodire nolentes et commissam aciem seculus ingens terrae tremor; Sil. Ital. 5, 54-55: ocius interea propelli signa iubebat / excussus consul fatorum turbine mentem; 5, 59-62: tunc ales, priscum populis de more Latinis / auspicium, cum bella parant mentesque deorum / explorant super eventu, ceù praescia luctus, / damnavit vesci planctuque alimenta refugit; 5, 66-69: signa etiam affusa certant dum vellere mole, / taeter humo lacera nitentum erupit in ora/ exultans cruor, et caedis documenta futurae / ipsa parens miseris gremio dedil alra cruento, etc.; Val. Max. 1, 6, 6: C. autem Flaminius inauspicato consul creatus cum apud lacum Trasimennum cum Hannibale conflicturus convelli signa iussisset, lapso equo super caput eius humi prostratus est nihilque eo prodigio inhibitus, signiferis negantibus signa moveri sua sede posse, malum, ni ea continuo effodissent, minatus est; also Ov. Fast. 6, 765-766; Apul. de Deo Socr. 7; Min. Fel. Oct. 7, 4.

[225]5f. consuliterum: 217 B. C.

1. signa rerum futurarum: cf. 1, 130; N.D. 2, 12; Leg. 2, 32.

1. rei publicae: either dative (cf. 1, 21: clades patriae . . . parata; 2, 63: Priamo cladem . . . ferebant; N.D. 2, 7: magnam populo Romano cladem attulit), or, more likely, genitive (cf. Rep. 1, 6: C. Mari clades; Off. 2, 20: clades imperatorum; de Prov. cons. 13: militum cladis; pro Mil. 68: sine Milonis clade). Moser (ad h. loc.) also compares 2 Verr. 1, 63: cum magna calamitate et prope pernicie civitatis; and Giese (ad h. loc.) cites N.D.

2, 8: C. Flaminium Coelius religione neglecta cecidisse apud Trasimenum scribit cum magno rei publicae vulnere, where the same ambiguity of case exists.

2. exercitu lustrato: cf. 1, 102. On the lustration of armies cf. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Lustratio (1904), 1428-1429 (with plate of a part of the column of Trajan showing the lustration of his army with the suovetaurilia); Domaszewski, Abhandlungen z. röm. Relig. (1909), 16-18; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 142.

2. Arretium versus: a similar case of this prepositional use (rare in Cicero) is 2 Verr. 5, 90. For the topography and tactics of these moves see Kromayer, Antike Schlachtfelder, 3 (1912), 148-213 (with bibliography on pp. 148-150).

3. Iovis Statoris: on this form of Jupiter see Aust in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Iuppiter, 682-686; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 122. His worship was carried on, not only at two temples in Rome, one in the Nova Via (whose foundation is ascribed by Liv. 1, 12, 6 to Romulus), and one near the Circus of Flaminius, dating from later than the time of this story, but also at other places in Italy (e.g., Alba Fucens, (C. I. L. IX, 3923), Nursia (C. I. L. IX, 4534), and Anagnia (C. I. L. X, 5904)) and outside Italy as well (Wissowa, op. cit. 122, n. 10). Our passage leaves it uncertain where this statue was located.

The ominous significance of falling before the statue of the god who stays the rout is obvious. For omens from stumbling and falling see 2, 84.

4. concidit: with this singular verb with plural subject Thoresen (ad h. loc.) compares the corresponding account in 2, 67, where the singular is also used.

peritis videbatur, ne committeret proelium. Idem cum tripudio auspicaretur pullarius diem proeli committendi differebat. Tum Flaminius ex eo quaesivit si ne postea quidem pulli pascerentur quid faciendum censeret. Cum ille quiescendum respondisset, Flaminius: 'Praeclara vero auspicia, si esurientibus pullis res geri poterit, saturis nihil geretur!' itaque signa convelli et se sequi iussit. Quo tempore cum signifer primi hastati signum non posset movere loco nec quicquam proficeretur plures cum accederent, Flaminius re nuntiata suo more neglexit. Itaque tribus iis horis concisus exercitus atque ipse interfectus est. 78. Magnum illud etiam, quod addidit Coelius, eo tempore ipso cum hoc calamitosum proelium fieret tantos terrae motus in Liguribus, Gallia, compluribusque insulis totaque in

- 2. proelii C, Maller.
- 3. censeret Salisb., censerent ABV, censeret . . . quiescendum om. H.
- 8. tribus iis horis ed. Immina, tribus his horis ABV, tribus horis HO.

[226]4. habuit religioni: cf. Off. 2, 51: item est habendum religioni nocentem . . . defendere.

[226]4. obiecto signo: cf. 1, 30.

- 1. tripudio: cf. 1, 27, n. (necesse, etc.).
- 2. diem . . . differebat: cf. ad Fam. 10, 1, 3, for a postponement of business to the next day pullariorum admonitu. The verb differebat is here evidently constive.
- 2. Flaminius, etc.: for his disregard of the *tripudia* cf. 1, 29, n. (*P. Claudius*), and for the irregularity of his beginning office see Liv. 22, 1, 5-7.
- 4. praeclara: for this ironical use see Landgraf on pro Rosc. Amer. 23; 101.
 - 4. vero: ironical, as in 2, 56.
- 6. primi hastati: with this substantive use of hastati cf. 2, 67; Liv. 26, 5, 15: secundi hastati signum.
- 6f. signum non posset movere: cf. note on bello Punico, etc., supra; Jordanes, Rom. 1, 187. Servius says (Aen. 11, 19): vellere signa adnuerint superi ne in mora sitis cum captatis augurits ad bellum exire coeperimus. 'vellere' autem proprie dixit, quia Romana signa figebantur in castris et cum ad bellum eundum fuisset captatis augurits avellebantur e terra; nam alibi ea figi non licebat. sed inter auguria etiam hoc habebatur si avellentem facile sequerentur, adeo ut cum filio in Orodis bello sit Crassus occisus qui iturus ad proclium

avellere signa vix potuit. quod etiam Flaminio contigit qui cum imperasset signa tolli eaque non possent moveri, effosso solo in quo erant fixa, vi magna extrahi praecepit, et infeliciter apud Trasimennum pugnavit. See also the instances collected by Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 469-470; Krepelka in Philologus, 37 (1877), 520, n. lxii; Val. Max. 1, 6, 11; Oros. 7, 6, 7. Exactly the reverse of this omen is told by Val. Max. 1, 5, 1; cf. also Procop. 2, 10, 1, where standards turn around of themselves. See also Virg. Asn. 6, 146-148, where the golden bough readily yields to some but resists others.

- 8. tribus iis horis: cf. Liv. 22, 6, 1: tris ferme horas pugnatum est. The expression probably refers to the duration of the battle, rather than, as some editors have supposed, to the time from the incident here related to the death of Flaminius.
- 10. Coelius: cf. 1, 77, n. (bello Punico, etc.); N. D. 2, 8: C. Flaminium Coelius religione neglecta cecidisse apud Trasumenum scribit cum magno rei publicae vulnere.
- 10. eo tempore ipso: for such contemporary reports of battles at a distance cf. 1, 101 n. (voces ex occulto.)
- 11. terrae motus: in addition to the passages cited in 1, 77, n. (bello Punico, etc.), cf. Plin. N. H. 2, 200: creberrimus (sc. terrae motus) Punico bello intra eundem annum septies ac quinquagies nuntiatus

Italia factos esse ut multa oppida conruerint, multis locis labes factae sint terraeque desederint fluminaque in contrarias partes fluxerint atque in amnes mare influxerit.

XXXVI. Fiunt certae divinationum coniecturae a peritis. Midae illi Phrygi, cum puer esset, dormienti formicae in os tritici grana congesserunt. Divitissimum fore praedictum est; quod evenit. At Platoni cum 4. certae Morsus, certe C, Christ.

Romam quo quidem anno ad Trasimenum lacum dimicantes maximum motum neque Poeni sensere nec Romani; Sil. Ital. 5, 610 ff.; Plut. Fab. 3: των δὲ στρατιωτών συμβαλόντων els χειρας άμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης συνέπεσε σεισμός, ύφ' οὖ καὶ πόλεις άνετράπησαν καὶ ῥεύματα ποταμῶν ἐξ ἔδρας μετέστη καὶ κρημνών δπώρειαι περιερράγησαν; Zonar. 8, 25: τοσούτος δ' έγένετο θόρυβος και τοιαύτη ταραχώδης έκπληξις κατέσχεν αυτούς ώς μηδέ των σεισμών των τότε γενομένων αίσθέσθαι, καίπερ πολλά μέν οἰκοδομήματα κατερράγη, πολλά δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁρῶν τὰ μὲν διέσχε, τὰ δὲ καί συνέπεσεν, ώς καί τάς φάραγγας έμφράξαι καί ποταμοί δὲ τῆς άρχαίας ἐξόδου άποκλεισθέντες άλλην ετράποντο. τοιοῦτοι μέν σεισμοί την Τυρσηνίδα κατέσχον, ού μέντοι και ol μαχόμενοι & εννοία σφων έγένοντο; Jordanes, Rom. 1, 187. On the portentous nature of earthquakes see 1, 18, n. (se . . . tremefecit).

- 1. oppida conruerint: cf. 1, 112.
- 2. desederint: cf. 1, 97, n. (labe). This is the technical term used for such phenomena; cf. Luterbacher, Prodigienglaube u. Prodigienstil der Römer (1880), 33.
- 2. in contrarias partes: cf. Sil. Ital. 5, 624-625: ac super hace reflui pugnaruni montibus amnes, / et retro fluctus torsit mare; for other cases of this omen see Dion. Hal. 7, 3, 2-3; Plin. N. H. 2, 232: amnes retro fluere et nostra vidit aetas Neronis principis supremis; and perhaps Obseq. 68 fin. It is also a Vedic omen; cf. Weber in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1858, 336; 340. The power to turn streams backward is ascribed by Martianus Capella (9, 907) to the song of Orpheus (cf. Hor. Carm. 1, 12, 8), and by others to Medea (Eur. Med. 410; Apollon. Rhod. 3, 528 ff.; Ov. Met. 7,

199-200), and later became proverbial for the unexpected; cf. Julian, Orat. 6, init.; Suid. s.v. ἀνω ποταμῶν, κτλ.; Paroemiogr. Gr. 2,747, no. 20. At other times rivers, either by magic or by miracle, stand still; e.g., Virg. Georg. 1, 479; Isid. Etym. 16, 11, 1. On ominous floods cf. 1, 100, n. (lacus Albanus).

- 2f. fluxerint . . . influxerit: for the careless repetition see Mayor on N.D. 1, 12.
- 4. Midae: cf. 2, 66; Ael. V. H. 12, 45: Φρύγιοι καὶ ταῦτα δδουσι λόγοι. Μίδου τοῦ Φρυγός έτι νηπίου καθεύδοντος μύρμηκας έσέρπειν ές τὸ στόμα, και πάνυ φιλοπόνως και φιλέργως έσφέρειν τούς πυρούς. Πλάτωνος δέ μελίττας ές το στόμα κηρίον έργάζεσθαι. καί Πυδάρφ της πατρώας οίκίας έκτεθέντι μέλιτται τροφοί έγένοντο, ύπέρ τοῦ γάλακτος παρατιθείσαι μέλι; Val. Max. 1, 6, ext. 2: Midae vero . . . puero dormienti formicae in os grana tritici congesserunt, parentibus deinde eius corsus prodigium tenderet explorantibus augures responderunt omnium illum mortalium futurum ditissimum. nec vana praedictio extitit; nam Midas cunctorum paene regum opes abundantia pecuniae antecessit infantiaeque incunabula vili deorum munere donata onustis auro atque argento gazis pensavit; Joannes Saresb. Policr. 1, 13.
- 5. formicae: Artemidorus (Onirocr. 3, 6) remarks that in dreams ants are άγαθὸν γεωργοῖς: εὐφορίαν γὰρ μαντεύονται, ἐπειδή ὅπου μή ἔστι σπέρματα οὐκ ἄν ίδοι τις μύρμηκας.
- 6. quod evenit: Midas becoming the type of the rich man; cf. Diogenian. 8, 53 τον Μίδα πλούτον και Κροίσου και Κυνήρου το ύπερβολή ταῦτα; Kuhnert in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Midas (1897), 2957.

in cunis parvulo dormienti apes in labellis consedissent responsum est singulari illum suavitate orationis fore. Ita futura eloquentia provisa in infante est. 79. Quid? amores ac deliciae tuae, Roscius, num aut ipse

[228]6. Platoni: cf. Olympiod. Vit. Plat. (Βιογράφοι, ed. Westermann (1845), 382-383): και γεννηθέντα τον Πλάτωνα λαβόντες οί γονείς βρέφος όντα τεθείκασιν έν τῷ Υμηττῷ, βουλόμενοι ύπερ αυτού τοίς έκει θεοίς Πανί καί Νύμφαις και 'Απόλλωνι Νομίφ θύσαι, καί κειμένου αύτοῦ μέλιτται προσελθοῦσαι πεπληρώκασιν αυτου το στόμα κηρίων μέλιτος, Ένα άληθες περί αύτου γένηται του και άπο γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων βέεν αύδή. Cf. also Ael. V. H. 10, 21: & Υμηττώ . . . καθεύδοντι δε έσμος μελιττών εν τοίς χείλεσιν αύτοῦ καθίσασαι ὑπῆδον, τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος εὐγλωττίαν μαντευόμεναι έντεῦθεν; 12, 45 (quoted in the note on Midae above); Plin. N. H. 11, 55: sedere (sc. apes) in ore infantis tum etiam Platonis suavitatem illam praedulcis eloquii portendentes; Val. Max. 1, 6, ext. 3: formicis Midae iure meritoque apes Platonis praetulerim; illae enim caducae ac fragilis, hae solidae et aeternae felicitatis indices extiterunt, dormientis in cunis parvuli labellis mel inserendo. qua re audita prodigiorum interpretes singularem eloquii suavitatem ore eius emanaturam dixerunt, etc.; Focas, Vit. Virg. 28-32 (of Virgil): praeterea si vera fides (sed vera probatur) /lata cohors apium subito per rura iacentis / labra favis texit dulces fusura loquelas. / hoc quondam in sacro tantum mirata Platone / indicium linguae memorat famosa velustas; Joann. Saresb. Policr. 1, 13. For the locality of the incident cf. Frazer on Paus. 1, 32, 1(pp. 425-426). Panofka (Annali dell' Instituto, 7(1835), 247-249) noted a suggestion of this story on an ancient scarab (id. pl. H, no. 3).

Tales of infants miraculously fed by bees are found, not only in connection with mythological characters such as Zeus (Robert-Tornow, De Apium Mellisque apud veteres Significatione (1893), 89-96), Bacchus and Aristaeus (id. 96-97; Cook in Journ. Hell. Stud. 15 (1895), 6-7), Beroe (Cook, op. cit. 8), and Meliteus (Robert-Tornow, op. cit. 97-98; Panofka,

op. cit. 246-247, and pl. H, no. 2), but also with reference to poets, philosophers, and other noted men, as Homer (Anthol. Pal. 2, 342-343), Hesiod (Vit. Lucani, in Reifferscheid, Suetonii Reliquiae (1860), 76-77), Pindar (Paus. 9, 23, 2; Dio Chrysost. Or. 64, vol. 2, 213 Dindorf; Philostr. Imag. 2, 12; Eustath. Vit. Pind., in Βιογράφοι, ed. Westermann (1845), 93; cf. 97; also Ael. V. H. 12, 45, quoted above), Hiero (Justin, 23, 4, 7; Joann. Saresb. Policr. 1, 13, p. 409c), possibly Sophocles (Philostr. Imag. 14, 1) and Menander (Anthol. Pal. 9, 187), Virgil (Focas, Vit. Virg., quoted above), Lucan (Vit. Lucani, cited above), St. John the Baptist (James in Class. Rev. 31 (1917), 3; M(urray) in Class. Rev. 31 (1917), 64), St. Ambrose (Paulinus, Vit. Ambr. 3, in Migne, Patr. Lat. 14, 28; cf. Robert-Tornow, op. cit. 117-118); see also Tennyson, Eleanore, 2. A story of snakes who fed the infant lamus with honey is found in Pind. Ol. 6, 45-47, and schol. On the whole question see Robert-Tornow, op. cit. 89-103; 114-118; Glock, Die Symbolik der Bienen u. ihrer Producte, etc. (1900); Usener in Rhein. Mus. 57 (1902), 179-180 (= Kl. Schriften, 4 (1913), 400-401); Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 3 (1909), 98-101; also 1, 73, n. (examen apium) supra. Important also is the discussion of Cook (op. cit., especially 3-8), who emphasizes the chthonic character of bees. If then, bees typify souls, either of the dead or of the unborn, there will be seen a peculiar appropriateness in these supposed contributions made by them to poets and philosophers in their infancy. On the significance of bees seen in dreams cf. Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 22.

2. suavitate: cf. Orat. 62: longe omnium quicumque scripserunt aut locuti sunt exstitit et gravitate et suavitate princeps Plato.

3. amores, etc.: cf. 2, 66; and, for the phrase, Phil. 6, 12: amores deliciasque

aut pro eo Lanuvium totum mentiebatur? Qui cum esset in cunabulis educareturque in Solonio, [qui est campus agri Lanuvini,] noctu lumine apposito experrecta nutrix animadvertit puerum dormientem circumplica-

- 2. Solonio O cum Grutero; cf. 2, 66; selonio C, Christ.
- 2. qui est campus agri Lanuvini del. Frenzel, Kreuser.

L. Antonium; 13, 26: deliciae atque amores populi Romani L. Antonius; ad Att. 2, 19, 2: Pompeius nostri amores; 16, 6, 4: Atticae deliciis atque amoribus meis. For the passive sense Thoresen (ad h. loc.) well compares Nägelsbach, Lat. Stilistik, 8 ed. (1888), 79.

[229]3. Roscius: cf. Cicero's estimates of him in his speech of 68 B. C. pro Rosc. Comoedo; pro Arch. 17; pro Quinct. 78; de Or. 1, 130; also see Leg. 1, 11, and the poem in his praise in N.D. 1, 79. Cf. also Henry in Univ. of N. C. Studies in Philology, 16 (1919), 343-352.

- 1. Lanuvium: on this town cf. Colburn in Amer. Journ. of Arch. 18 (1914), 18-31; 185-198; 363-380; also 1, 4, n. (Junonis Sospitae).
- 1. mentiebatur: cf. 1, 53, n. (mentiri). The verb is past, since Roscius had died in 62 B.C.; cf. pro Arch. 17.
- 2. Solonio: with the exception of a reference in Dion. Hal. 2, 37, 2: & Σολωνίου πόλεως, in which the word πόλεως may perhaps be a gloss, no ancient author refers to this place as a town. Liv. 8, 12, 2: Antiates in agrum Ostiensem Ardeatem Solonium incursiones fecerunt; Cicero speaks of Solonium without a modifier (ad Att. 2, 3, 3; 2, 9, 1), and in the former of these references mentions having a villa there. The most definite information as to its site is in Fest. p. 250 M.: Pomonal est in agro Solonio via Ostiensi ad duodecimum lapidem deverticulo a miliario octavo. This lies far from any site in the neighborhood of Lanuvium, and, coupled with the fact that Plut. Mar. 35 says of Marius that he els τι των έπαυλίων αύτου Σολώνιον κατέφυγε, and from there later took ship at Ostia, leads one to accept the suggestion of Frenzel (cf. Moser ad loc.; his citation of Frenzel I have been unable to verify) that the phrase qui est campus agri Lanuvini is a gloss. To this phrase

Kreuzer also objects on the ground that Cicero's readers did not need to be told where the place was. On the name Solonium see Dieterich in Rhein. Mus. N.F. 55 (1900), 201; Schulze, Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen (1904), 563.

2. lumine:=lucerna; cf. 1, 40; de Sen. 36; Off. 1, 51.

3f. puerum . . . amplexu: on the ominous character of snakes, particularly in houses, see 1, 36, n. (duobus anguibus); 1, 72, n. (ab infima ara); Niceph. Onirocr. p. 16 Rigalt.: δφις θεαθείς έν κλίναις εὐπραγία. Snakes as guardians of children appear in Eur. Ion, 21-26: κείνω (sc. Εριχθονίω) γάρ ή Διός κόρη/φρουρώ παραζεύξασα φύλακε σώματος / δισσὼ δράκοντε, παρθένοις 'Αγλαυρίσι / δίδωσι σώζειν δθεν 'Ερεχθείδαις έκει / νόμος τις έστιν δφεσιν έν χρυσηλάτοις / τρέφειν τέκο, (cf. 1427-1431; Riess in Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc. 27 (1896), 27; Hesych., Pollux, and Moeris s.v. 8645; Clem. Paed. 2, 12, p. 245 P.; Saglio in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Armilla (1877), 436, for many bracelets found in this form, called somes and δράκοντες). On Erichthonius further cf. Aug. C.D. 18, 12: expositus inventus est puer dracone involutus, qui eum significavit magnum futurum; the same idea may be seen in the familiar story of the infant Heracles and the snakes (cf. especially Theorr. 24; Philostr. Imag. 6 for the interpretation of the portent by Tiresias so as to foretell the future greatness of the child); also in the story of Helenus and Cassandra, quoted in 1, 89, n. (Helenum ... et Cassandram) infra. Others of whom such tales were told were P. Scipio (Auct. de Vir. ill. 49, 1), Nero (Dio Cass. 61, 2, 4), Severus (Spart. Sever. 1, 10), Maximin (Jul. Capit. Maximini, 30, 1), and Aurelian (Vopisc. Aurel. 4, 4). On children under the protection of snakes which represent the tribal gods see

tum serpentis amplexu. Quo aspectu exterrita clamorem sustulit. Pater autem Rosci ad haruspices rettulit, qui responderunt nihil illo puero clarius, nihil nobilius fore. Atque hanc speciem Pasiteles caelavit argento et noster expressit Archias versibus. Quid igitur expectamus? an dum in foro nobiscum di immortales, dum in viis versentur, dum domi? qui quidem ipsi se nobis non offerunt, vim autem suam longe lateque diffundunt,

3. Pasiteles Winckelmann, coll. Plin. N. H. 33, 156; 36, 39; Christ, Boiler, Maller; praxiteles A, praxiteles V, praxiteles B, praxitales H.

Frazer, Golden Bough, 8, 3 ed. (1912), 174-175. For interesting Babylonian parallels cf. Jastrow, Relig. Babyl. u. Assyr. 2 (1912), 782-783; 942, n. 3; id., Babylonian-Assyrian Birth-Omens (in Religionsgeschichtl. Versuch. u. Vorarb. 14, 5 (1914), 55, n. 1). In the former work (p. 776) Jastrow emphasizes the connection between snakes and life, and notes their appearance in the cult of Aesculapius; cf. also Frothingham in Amer. Journ. of Arch. 20 (1916), 195. Travels of Sir John Mandeville (1905 ed., 37) describe a kind of snake in Sicily which twines around children and does them no harm if they are legitimate, but bites and poisons bastards.

The serpent appearing on certain coins of the gens Roscia (Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the Brit. Mus. 1 (1910), 422 ff.; 3, pl. 43-44) has reference not to this incident, but to the sacred snake at Lanuvium (cf. 2, 66 infra), for whose mantic significance see Galieti in Bull. Comm. arch. comunal. 44 (1916), 12-13.

- 2. ad haruspices rettulit: cf. 1, 36, n. (haruspices convocavit).
- 2. nihil: -neminem; cf. Laurand, Etudes sur le Style des Discours de Cic. (1907), 281, and n. 1; but our passage seems to disprove his statement that Cicero abandoned this idiom in the latter years of his life.
- 2f. clarius . . . nobilius: coupled also in Parad. 41; de Har. Resp. 35; 2 Verr. 1, 63; Phil. 2, 71.
- 3. hanc speciem: the infrequency of representations of prodigies in art is remarked by Steinhauser, Der Prodigien-

glaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 22, n. 11. Whether this representation included both child and nurse, as Winckelmann supposed, or only the child and the snake, cannot be determined.

3. Pasiteles: this emendation of Winckelmann (Gesch. der Kunst (1764). 343-344) has been generally received. Pasiteles is mentioned by Pliny (N. H. 35, 156, following Varro): laudet (sc. M. Varro) et Pasitelen qui plasticen matrem caelaturae et statuariae sculpturaeque dixit et, cum esset in omnibus iis summus, nihil umquam fecit ante quam finxit; 36, 39-40: Romanus Iunius Pisciculus, ut tradit Varro, admirator et Pasitelis, qui et quinque volumina scripsit nobilium operum in toto orbe. natus hic in Graeca Italiae ora et civitate Romana donatus cum iis oppidis, Iovem fecit eboreum in Metelli aede qua campus petitur . . . fecisse opera complura dicitur; quae fecerit nominatim non refertur. On his versatility and his work from actual life cf. Waldstein in Amer. Journ. of Arch. 3 (1887), 6-7; Brunn, Gesch. d. gr. Künstler, 1 (1889), 415-416. Gardner (Handbook of Greek Sculpture, 2 (1897), 509) draws an interesting comparison between what we know of his work and that of Boethus. The Pasiteles of Paus. 5, 20, 2, must, as Frazer (ad loc.) notes, not be confused with this sculptor, as is done by Thoresen (ad h. loc.).

3f. noster . . . Archias: on Cicero's fondness for Archias cf. pro Arch. 12 ff. In that speech (17-18) Archias and Roscius are brought into connection with one another.

4. expressit . . . versibus: cf. in Pison. 70.

quam tum terrae cavernis includunt, tum hominum naturis implicant. Nam terrae vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturae Sibyllam. Quid enim? non videmus quam sint varia terrarum genera? ex quibus et morti-

[231]4. quid . . . expectamus: cf. 1, 84. [231]6. longe lateque diffundunt: cf. Fin. 2, 115: longe lateque diffusi; Leg. 1, 34: late longeque diffusam. For the thought see 2, 29.

- 1. terrae cavernis: chthonic power, as opposed to that which is (1, 17) aetheris aeterni saepta atque inclusa cavernis.
- 2. terrae vis: cf. 1, 38, n. (vis illa terrae).
- 2. Sibyllam: on the Sibyls see 1, 4, n. (Sibyllinis . . . versibus); for the Delphic one Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 179-182; Buchholz in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Sibylla (1910), 798-799.

3f. mortifera: cf. Arist. de Mund. 4 p. 395 b 26-30: και των πνευμάτων πολλά πολλαχοῦ γῆς στόμια ἀνέφκται ὧν τὰ μὲν ένθουσιαν ποιεί τούς έμπελάζοντας, τα δέ άτροφείν, τὰ δὲ χρησμφδείν, ώσπερ τὰ ἐν Δελφοίς και Δεβαδία. τα δε και παντάπασιν άναιρεῖ, καθάπερ τὸ & Φρυγία; Plin. N. H. 2, 207-208: spiritus letales aliubi aut scrobibus emissi aut ipso loci situ mortiferi, aliubi volucribus tantum, ut Soracte vicino urbi tractu, aliubi praeter hominem ceteris animantibus, nonnumquam et komini, ut in Sinuessano agro et Puteolano. spiracula vocant, alii Charonea, scrobes mortiferum spiritum exhalantes, item in Hirpinis Ampsancti ad Mephitis aedem locum qui intravere moriuntur; simili modo Hierapoli in Asia, Matris tantum Magnae sacerdoti innoxium (the last part of this is taken from Varro, according to Isid. Etym. 14, 9, 2); Sen. N. Q. 3, 21, 1: in quosdam specus qui despexere moriuntur; tam velox malum est ut transvolantes aves deiciat; talis est aër, talis locus, ex quo letalis aqua distillat; cf. Galen, de Usu Part. 7 (vol. 3, 540); Comm. 1 in Hippocr. Epidem. 1 (vol. 17, 1, 10): Ενίστε δὲ ἐκ βαράθρων τῶν καλουμένων χαρωνείων πνευμάτων πλεοναζόντων. ταθτα μέν οδν τῷ βλάπταν τὸν άξρα καί τὰς νόσους έργάζεται; Paus. 5, 5, 9: τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἰωνίας ἐστὶν ὑδασι τὸ αὐτὸ αἴτων, ὁπόσων ἡ ἀτμὶς ὁλέθριὸς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπψ. On such ἄορνα or Averna see Lucr. 6, 738-768; also the numerous passages dealing with Lake Avernus, e.g., Plin. N. H. 31, 21; Serv. Aen. 3, 442.

For vents by which chthonic influences were supposed to reach the upper world see Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 370-377; 3 (1880), 366; Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 815, who mentions (in addition to Italian instances) eleven such entrances to Hades (Plutonia, Charonia). See also the list of Waser, Bürchner, and Ruge in P.-W. s.v. Charoneia, Charonion (1899), 2183-2184, and especially that of Rohde, Psyche, 1, 4 ed. (1907), 213, n. 1; 214, who treats their connection with psychopompeia (cf. 1, 132, n. (psychomantia) infra) and chthonic worship; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 3, 364. Greek katabothra were also thus regarded; cf. Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 120. Of all these spots the most famous (as noted by Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 373-376) were in Asia Minor, where three, Acharaca, Limon(?), and Hierapolis, are all found in or near the valley of the Macander, within a radius of about fifty miles. It was probably of two or all three of these that Q. Cicero says quae vidimus, for we know from the letters of Marcus that the route by which he himself went to the province of Cilicia in 51 B. C. passed close by them; cf. especially ad Att. 5, 20, 1: Ephesum ut venerim nosti . . . Laodiceam pridie Kal. Sext. venimus, ibi morati biduum . . . idem dein Apameae, etc.; cf. ad Att. 5, 13 (from Ephesus); 5, 14 (from Tralles); ad Fam. 3, 5, 1: Tralles veni a.d. VI Kal. Sextilis; 5, 15, 1: Laodiceam veni pridie Kal. Sext.; and for this journey in general see Hunter in Journ. of Rom. Stud. 3 (1913), 73-97 (with map). Quintus was with his fera quaedam pars est, ut et Ampsancti in Hirpinis et in Asia Plutonia,

brother in Cilicia, and if he did not actually accompany him on this trip he probably reached that province by the same route, and a glance at the map will show that the course here outlined passes close to the *Plutonia* of the Maeander valley. Cf. 1, 2, n. (praefuimus).

For the Plutonia near Hierapolis cf. Strab. 12, p. 579; 13, pp. 629-630: 'Iepà πόλις δπου . . . το Πλουτώνιον . . . το δέ Πλουτώνιον υπ' όφρυϊ μικρά της υπερκειμένης όρεινής στόμιον έστι σύμμετρον όσον άνθρωπον δέξασθαι δυνάμενον, βεβάθυνται δ' έπὶ πολύ· πρόκειται δέ τούτου δρυφάκτωμα τετράγωνον δσον ήμιπλέθρου την περίμετρον τούτο δέ πληρές έστιν όμιχλώδους παχείας άχλύος ώστε μόγις τοδδαφος καθοράν. τοῖς μέν οὖν κύκλω πλησιάζουσι πρός τον δρύφακτον άλυπός έστιν δ άήρ, καθαρεύων έκεινης της άχλύος έν ταίς νηνεμίαις. συμμένει γάρ έντος του περιβόλου. τῷ δ' εἴσω παριόντι ζώψ θάνατος παραχρήμα άπαντά ταθροι γοθν είσαχθέντες πίπτουσι και εξέλκονται νεκροί, ήμεις δε στρουθία ξπέμψαμεν και ξπεσεν εύθύς έκπνεύσαντα· οι δ' άπόκοποι Γάλλοι παρίασιν άπαθεις, κτλ.; Dio Cass. 68, 27, 3: είδον έγω τοιοθτον έτερον & 'Ιερά πόλει της 'Ασίας, και έπειράθην αὐτοῦ δι' ὁρνέων, αὐτός τε ὑπερκύψας καὶ αύτος ίδων το πνεθμα. κατακέκλειται γάρ έν δεξαμενή τινι, καὶ θέατρον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ὠκοδόμητο, φθείρει τε πάντα τὰ ξιμίνιχα πλήν τῶν ἀνθρώπων των τα αίδοια αποτετμημένων (cf. Suid. s.v. 'Aδιαβήνη); Amm. Marc. 23, 6, 18. Chandler (Journeys in Asia Minor and Greece (1817), 272) says that though he did not see the Plutonium near Hierapolis an old Turk assured him that it was still often fatal to goats which approached it. Cf. Ramsay (Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, 1 (1895), 86; Frazer, Golden Bough, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 203-216, especially 204, n. 4.

On incubation as practised at *Plutonia* see Hamilton, *Incubation* (1906), 94-96.

1. Ampsancti: cf. Virg. Aen. 7, 563-571: est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis, / nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris, / Ampsancti valles; densis hunc fron-

dibus atrum / urguet utrimque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus / dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens. / hic specus horrendum et saevi spiracula Ditis / monstrantur, ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago / pestiferas aperit fauces, quis condita Erinys, / invisum numen, terras caelumque levabat. The derivation of the name is explained by Serv. Aen. 7, 125: hoc est apud nos 'ac' quod apud Graecos &u. hinc est Amsancti valles id est undique sancti (cf. 7, 565; Norden, Ennius u. Vergilius (1915), 23, and n. 3), and in 7, 563 he gives a further description: hunc locum umbilicum (cf. 2, 115 infra) Italiae chorographi dicunt, est autem in latere Campaniae et Apuliae, ubi Hirpini sunt, et habet aquas sulphureas, ideo graviores quia ambitur silvis. ideo autem ibi aditus esse dicitur inferiorum quod gravis odor iuxta accedentes necat, adeo ut victimae circa hunc locum non immolarentur sed odore perirent ad aquam adplicatae, sciendum sane Varronem enumerare quot loca in Italia sint huiusmodi, etc.; Plin. N.H. 2, 208 (quoted in the preceding note). The lake is noted also by Claud. de Rapt. Proserp. 2, 350; Vib. Seq. p. 153 Riese: Ampsanctus Lucaniae cuius halitus volucres necat; and it comes to be proverbial for the ill-smelling, as in Sid. Ep. 3, 13, 8; Aug. op. imperf. c. Iul. 1, 48; Mar. Merc. in Verba Iuliani (Migne, Patr. Lat. 48, 127). Cf. Mommsen in C.I.L. IX, p. 91.

For modern accounts of the spot see Hamilton in Lond. Geogr. Journ. 2, 62 (extracted by Conington on Virg. Aen. 7, 563); Hülsen in P.-W. s.v. Ampsanctus (1894), 1980-1981; Pais, Storia di Roma, 1, 2 (1899), 405, n. 1; Nissen, Ital. Landeskunde, 1 (1883), 271; 2 (1902), 819-820. The pond lies near the Appian Way, between Aeclanum and Compsa; it is now called le Mufite, between Rocca S. Felice and Villamagna, and is about 20x30 paces in size. "The water bubbles up with an explosion resembling distant thunder... On one side . . . is a constant and

quae vidimus, et sunt partes agrorum aliae pestilentes, aliae salubres, aliae quae acuta ingenia gignant, aliae quae retunsa; quae omnia fiunt et 1. vidimus Pesrce, videmus C.

rapid stream of the same blackish water rushing into it from under . . . a barren rocky hill," under which the pond is, "but the fall is not more than a few feet. . . . A little above are apertures in the ground [in a wooded ravine, according to Nissen], through which warm blasts of sulphuretted hydrogen gas are constantly issuing with more or less noise" (Hamilton. l.c.). This gas is poisonous at close range (Nissen, op. cit. 2, 820); and here are the most powerful gas-springs in Italy (id. 1, 271, in an important chapter on volcanic phenomena in Campania). temple of Mephitis near by is now replaced by a shrine of S. Felicità (id. 2,

Norden (op. cit. 24, n. 1) remarks that the phrase lacus Ampsanctus is nowhere used and that classical writers prefer the plural form Ampsancti (cf. Gabii, Labici, Corioli. Circei, etc.

1. pestilentes . . . salubres: often contrasted, e.g., 1, 130; Off. 3, 54; de Pat. 7; Rep. 2, 11; cf. the contrast of pestilentia and salubritas in 1, 131; 2, 30.

2. aliae quae acuta, etc.: cf. N.D. 2, 17: an ne hoc quidem intellegimus omnia supera esse meliora, terram autem esse instmam, quam crassissimus circumfundat aër; ut ob eam ipsam causam, quod etiam quibusdam regionibus atque urbibus contingere videmus, hebeliora ut sint hominum ingenia propler caeli pleniorem naturam, hoc idem generi humano evenerit, quod in terra, hoc est, in crassissima regione mundi, conlocati sunt? 2, 42: licet videre acutiora ingenia et ad intelligendum aptiora eorum qui terras incolant eas in quibus aër sit purus ac tenuis quam illorum qui utantur crasso caelo atque concreto; cf. 2, 93-94 infra for the effect of temporary weather conditions on children being born; de Fat. 7: inter locorum naturas quantum intersit videmus; alios esse salubris, alios pestilentis, in aliis esse pituitosos et quasi redundantis, in aliis exsiccatos atque

aridos. . . . Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo eliam acutiores putantur Attici, crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani et valentes. The remark of Mayor (on N.D. 2, 17) that this theory probably originated with Heraclitus rests, unfortunately, solely upon emendation, for the reading of Heracl. fr. 118 Diels (=76 Bywater) is, in the MSS., not οδ γη ξηρή ψυχή σοφοτάτη και άριστη, but αύγή (or αύη) κτλ. Hippocr. de Aëre, Aquis, et Locis deals in detail with the effects of climate upon the physical character of man, mentioning, for example, the differences between the residents of Asia and those of Europe (pp. 547; 553 Kühn), the differences in diverse parts of Asia (pp. 554-555), the husky voices of those living in the thick atmosphere near the Phasis (p. 552), and giving a good summary of such physical effects (pp. 566-568): ὄκου μέν γάρ ή γή πιθηρά καί μαλθακή και ξυυδρος . . . Ευταθθα και οί άνθρωποι σαρκώδεις είσι και άναρθροι και ύγροι και άταλαιπωροι και την ψυχήν κακοί ώς έπι το πολύ. το τε βάθυμον και το ύπνηρόν έστιν έν αύτέοισιν. ές τε τάς τέχνας παχέες, ού λεπτοι ούδ' όξέες. δκου δ' έστιν ή χώρη ψιλή τε και άνώχυρος και τρηχείη και ύπο τοῦ χειμώνος πιεζομένη καί ύπο τοῦ ήλίου κεκαυμένη, ένταθθα δὲ σκληρούς τε καὶ ίσχνούς καὶ διηρθρωμένους και έντόνους και δασείς. τό τε έργατικὸν όξὸ ένθεν εν τῆ φύσει τῆ τοιαύτη καὶ τό άγρυπνον, τά τε ήθη και τὰς όργὰς αίθάδεας και ιδιογνώμονας, του τε άγριου μαλλον, μετέχοντας ή τοῦ ἡμέρου, ές τε τὰς τέχνας δξυτέρους τε καί συνετωτέρους και τά πολέμια auelvous edophoeis, και τάλλα τα έν τη γή φυόμενα πάντα άκόλουθα δντα τῆ γῆ; cf. Pöhlmann, Hellenische Anschauungen über den Zusammenhang zwischen Natur u. Geist (1879), 10 ff., who cites Hdt. 9, 122 (φιλέων γάρ έκ των μαλακών χωρέων μαλακούς άνδρας γίνεσθαι); Plat. Leg. 5, p. 747 d-e (μηδὲ τοῦθ' ήμας λανθανέτω περί τόπων, ώς οὐκ εἰσίν άλλοι τινές διαφέροντες άλλων τόπων πρός τό γεννάν άνθρώπους άμείνους και χείρους . . . οι δέ δίδδατα, οί δὲ καὶ διὰ ταύτην την ἐκ τῆς γῆς ex caeli varietate et ex disparili adspiratione terrarum.

τροφήν αναδιδούσαν, ου μόνον τοίς σώμασιν άμείνω και χείρω, ταις δε ψυχαις ουχ ήττον δυναμένην πάντα τὰ τοιαθτα έμποιείν, κτλ.); Tim. p. 24 c (ή θεός προτέρους δμάς διακοσμήσασα κατώκισεν, εκλεξαμένη τον τόπον εν δ γεγένησθε, τήν εύκρασίαν τῶν ὡρῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κατιδούσα, δτι φρονιμωτάτους ανδρας οίσοι); Critias, p. 109 c; cf. also Eur. Med. 829-830 (of the Athenians): aled διά λαμπροτάτου / βαίνοντες άβρως αίθέρος; Megasthenes ap. Diod. 2, 36 (=F. H.G. 2, 402): elvat 82 abrods (sc. the inhabitants of India) συμβαίνει και πρός τας τέχνας έπιστήμονας, ώς αν άξρα μέν έλκοντας καθαρόν, ύδωρ δέ λεπτομερέστατον πίνοντας; Arist. Pol. 4, p. 1327 b 23; Physiogn. 2, p. 806 b 15; Probl. 14, 1; 14, 8; 14, 15; 14, 16; Polyb. The theory also appears very definitely in the teaching of Panaetius; cf. Procl. ad Plat. Tim. p. 50 b: The δά εθκρασίαν των ώρων τήν των φρονίμων οίστικήν Παναίτιος μέν και άλλοι τινές των Πλατωνικών έπι των φαινομένων ήκουσαν, ώς τής 'Αττικής διά τάς ώρας του έτους εὐ κεκραμένας επιτηδείως έχουσης πρός την των φρονίμων ἀνδρῶν ἀπογέννησω. From Panaetius the idea doubtless made its way through Posidonius to our passage, for Strabo (2, pp. 102-103) attacks Posidonius for such a view (cf. Corssen, De Posidonio Rhodio (1878), 31-32), and says: al γάρ τοιαθται διατάξεις οθκ έκ προνοίας γίνονται, καθάπερ οὐδὲ αὶ κατά τὰ Εθνη διαφοραί, οὐδ' al διάλεκτοι, άλλά κατά περίπτωσυ και συντυχίαν και τέχναι δέ και δυνάμεις και έπιτηδεύσεις άρξάντων τινών κρατούσιν al πλείους & δποιφούν κλίματι. Εστι δέ τι καί παρά τὰ κλίματα, ώστε τὰ μέν φύσει έστίν ξπιχώριά τισι τὰ δ' Εθα καὶ ἀσκήσαι. οὐ γὰρ φύσει 'Αθηναίοι φιλόλογοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' οθ και οι έγγυτέρω Θηβαίοι, άλλά μάλλον 1θει, ετλ.; Galen, Hipp. Plac. p. 464 Kühn (=F.H.G.3, 288): συνάπται δ' ελκότως τοίς λόγοις τούτοις ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τὰ κατά φυσιογνώμονα φαινόμενα . . . καὶ κατά τὰς χώρας οὐ σμικρώ τινι διενηνοχέναι τοῦς ήθεσι τοὺς άνθρώπους els δειλίαν και τόλμαν ή τό φιλήδονόν τε και φιλόπονον, ώς των παθητικών κινήσεων της ψυχής επομένων άει τη διαθέσει του σώματος ην έκ της κατά το περιέχον κράσεως οθ κατ' όλίγον άλλοιοῦσθαι; id., quod Animi Mores, 8-11 (pp. 798-822 Kühn) with a long discussion. So Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 244: Boeolum in crasso iurares aëre natum; cf. Pind. Ol. 6, 90; Plut. de Esu Carn. 1, 6 (who lays the Athenian charge of Boeotian density to the large appetites of the Boeotians); Roberts, The Ancient Bocotians (1895), 1-9; but the theory is perhaps parodied in Hor. Sat. 2, 8, 6-7. For further illustrations of this belief cf. Vitruv. 6, 1, 9: item propter tenuitatem caeli meridianae nationes ex acuta fervore mente expeditius celeriusque moventur ad consilium cogitationes. septentrionales autem gentes insusae crassitudine caeli propter obstantiam aëris umore refrigeratae stupenies habeni menies, etc.; Sen. de Ira, 2, 15, 5: fere itaque imperia penes eos fuere populos qui mitiore caelo utuntur. in frigora septemtrionemque vergentibus inmansuela ingenia sunt, ut ail poeta [Frag. Poet. Rom. 359, no. 25 Baehrens] suoque simillima caelo; Curt. 7, 3, 6: locorum asperitas hominum quoque ingenia duraverat; 8, 9, 20: ingenia hominum, sicut ubique, apud illos (sc. Indos) locorum quoque situs format; Juv. 10, 50: vervecum in patria crassoque sub aëre masci; cf. Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 244 quoted above; the place which Juvenal here has in mind is Abdera (cf. N. D. 1, 120); Serv. Aen. 6, 724: Afros versipelles, Graecos leves, Gallos pigrioris videmus ingenii: quod natura climatum facit, sicut Ptolomaeus deprehendil, etc.; Veget. Mil. 1, 2 (contrasting the temperaments of northern and southern peoples); Cassiod. Var. 12, 15: fruitur (sc. Scyllacium) luce perspicua; aëris quoque temperatione dotata, apricas hiemes, refrigeratas sentit aestates . . . hinc et homo sensu liberior est, quia temperies cuncta moderatur. patria siquidem fervens leves efficit et acerbos, frigida tardos et subdolos; sola temperata est quae mores hominum sua

80. Fit etiam saepe specie quadam, saepe vocum gravitate et cantibus ut pellantur animi vehementius, saepe etiam cura et timore, qualis est illa

Flexanima tamquam lymphata aut Bacchi sacris

- 4. aut Awalus, ut C.
- 4. Bacchi Palatinus unus teste Grutero, baccha C, sed in B posterior a in ras.

qualitate componit. hinc est quod antiqui Athenas sedem sapientium esse dixerunt, quae aëris puritate peruncta lucidissimos sensus ad contemplativam partem felici largitate praeparavit. See also several selections in Stob. Flor. 101, 16 ff.; other passages noted by Wendland, Philo's Schrift über die Vorsehung (1892), 81, nn. 3-4; and Newman on Arist. Pol. 4 (1902), p. 1327 b 23 ff.; Adam on Plat. Rep. 4 (1905), p. 435e; Roger Bacon, Op. maius (Bridges' ed. 1, 138; 250; 2, 216). For the views of Bodin on the relation of climate to national temperament see Renz in Geschicht. Unters. herausg. von Lamprecht, 3, 1 (1905), 47-61; cf. Mme. de Staël, De la Littérature (1800), ch. 11.

Modern treatments are those of Semple, Influences of geogr. Environment (1911; based on the works of Fr. Ratzel), especially 620-622; Huntington, Civilisation and Climate (1915), who, however, notes (pp. 121 ff.) that unbroken clear weather is less conducive to efficiency than changeable weather with the stimuli from storms. See also Koller, The Theory of Environment, 1 (1918), esp. 7 ff.; 80 ff.

[234]2. retunsa: a figurative use found also in Claud. in Eutrop. 2, 47; Hier. Ep. 69, 4, 5.

[235]1. disparili: in Republican Latin only here and in Varr. R. R. 2, 11, 4.

[235]1. adspiratione: elsewhere in Cicero of the sky (1, 130 infra) or the air (N.D. 2, 83). On the Stoic view of the effects upon life of the exhalation of the spiritus in the earth, see Sen. N.Q. 6, 16.

1. fit: seldom in so emphatic a position, and usually introduced by ex quo or ita (cf. 1, 126), yet in Off. 1, 146 we find the same use as here; cf. Rep. 6, 10.

1. specie quadam: cf. 1, 81.

If. vocum gravitate et cantibus: cf. 1, 114, and there, as here, not by hendiadys (as some editors suppose), but of two distinct things, whether cantibus here refer to instrumental music (as in Tusc. 5, 104; N.D. 2, 146) or to vocal music as distinct from ominous spoken words (cf. 1, 102). On such εθουσιασμός see Iambl. de Myster. 3, 9, p. 117 Parthey; cf. Diels in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1915, 7 (1916), 78, n. 3.

- 2. pellantur animi: cf. Fin. 2, 32; N.D. 1, 106; Off. 3, 41; Parad. 27.
 - 2. cura et timore: cf. 2, 114.
 - 3. illa: cf. 1, 40, n. (illa).
- 4. flexanima, etc.: cf. Varr. L.L. 7, 87: apud Pacuium [lines 422-423 Ribbeck]: 'flexanima tamquam lymphata < aut Bacchi sacris commota.' lymphata > dicta a lympha; < lympha> a Nympha... in Graecia commota mente quos νυμφολήπτους appellant, ab eo lymphatos dixerunt nostri. The fragment is probably from the Teucer (Ribbeck, Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung, 1 (1887), 169), from which a fragment already quoted may come; cf. 1, 24, n. (profectione, etc.); Zillinger, Cic. u. d. altröm. Dichter (1911), 130-131 for Cicero's other quotations from that play.

The words Teucrum . . . suum indicate either the mother or the wife of Teucer as here represented. The latter, Eune or Eue, daughter of Cyprus, is mentioned but once in literature (Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 450), and it is far more probable that, as Ribbeck supposes, we have here a reference to the former, Hesione, and that the moment described is that in which she is frantically trying to induce Telamon to allow Teucer to remain. The interpretation of Ernesti

Commota in tumulis Teucrum commemorans suum.

XXXVII. Atque etiam illa concitatio declarat vim in animis esse divinam. Negat enim sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse

and some other editors that this refers to Tecmessa, wife of Ajax, lamenting the death of Ajax, appears impossible.

The word flexanima is clearly here used in a passive sense, although in Pacuv. Hermiona, 177 Ribbeck (quoted in de Or. 2, 187), it is active in meaning; cf. Friedrich on Catull. 64, 330.

[236]4. lymphata: cf. the passage from Varro quoted in the preceding note; Paul. ex Fest. p. 120 M.: lymphae dictae sunt a nymphis. vulgo autem memoriae proditum est quicumque speciem quandam e fonte, id est effigiem nymphae, viderint furendi non fecisse finem; quos Graeci νυμφολήπτους vocant. Latini lymphaticos appellant. Nympholepsy is one of the forms of ενθουσιασμός or ecstatic possession (cf. Hesych. s.v. νυμφόληπτοι οι κατεχόμενοι Νύμφαις. μάντεις δέ είσι, και ἐπιθειαστικοί), and that caused by the Nymphs seems akin to that caused by Bacchus with which it is here coupled; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 356-357; 2 (1880), 263; 3 (1880), 85 (on inspiration by the Muses); Rohde, Psych 2, 4 ed. (1907), 68, n. 2; 374, n. 2. The prophecies of the Boeotian Bacis seem to have been of this sort; cf. 1, 34, n. (Bacis). For lymphatus used in connection with the worship of Bacchus cf. Catull. 64, 254-255: quae tum alacres passim lymphata mente furebant / Euhoe bacchantes. The connection of inspired prophecy with the power of Bacchus is also noted by Eur. Bacch. 298-301: τό γάρ βακχεύσιμον / καί τό μανιώδες μαντικήν πολλήν έχει / δταν γάρ δ θεός ές τὸ σωμ' έλθη πολύς, / λέγειν το μέλλον τούς μεμηνότας ποιεί.

[236]4. sacris: it is not quite clear whether this is a noun (referring to the rites of Bacchus) or an adjective modifying tumulis, but since tumulis seems to need some modifier it is perhaps better to take it in the latter sense. The ecstatic enthu-

siasm of the Bacchic worshippers is too well known to require comment.

1. tumulis: in the sense of collibus as in 1, 18. The connection of Bacchic orginatic rites with hills is abundantly attested, as by the localization of many such on Mt. Cithaeron (Virg. Aen. 4, 303; Stat. Theb. 4, 371; etc.) and other mountains, also by the epithets applied to Dionysus (Bruchmann, Epitheta Deorum quae apud Poetas Graccos leguntur (1903), 90 for epithets in $\delta \rho(\epsilon) \iota$.). The romantic elements in the Greek nature seem to have found their principal outlet in connection with such orginatic rites and the part played in them by the inspiration of natural scenery is worthy of note.

2. illa: pointing forward; cf. 1, 14, n. (illa).

2. concitatio: cf. 1, 34, n. (concitatione).

2. vim . . . divinam: cf. 1, 118; 2, 29; 2, 35; 2, 117; 2, 124; N.D. 2, 167: nemo igitur vir magnus sine aliquo affiatu divino umquam fuit; Tusc. 1, 64: ne haec quidem notiora et illustriora carere vi divina videntur, ut ego aut poetam grave plenumque carmen sine caelesti aliquo mentis instinctu putem fundere, aut eloquentiam sine maiore quadam vi fluere; pro Arch. 18: poetam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino spiritu inflari; Sen. Ep. 41, 2: bonus vero vir sine deo nemo est . . . in unoquoque virorum bonorum 'quis deus incertus est, habitat deus.'

3. negat enim: cf. de Or. 2, 194: saepe enim audivi poetam bonum neminem (id quod a Democrito et Platone in scriptis relictum esse dicunt) sine inflammatione animorum existere posse et sine quodam adflatu quasi furoris. Diels (Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 2, 3 ed. (1912), 66) compares Hor. Ep. 2, 3, 295-297: ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte / credit et excludit sanos Helicone poetas / Democri-

posse, quod idem dicit Plato. Quem, si placet, appellet furorem, dum modo

tus; cf. Clem. Strom. 6, 168: και δ Δημόκριτος όμοιως 'ποιητής δέ άσσα μέν άν γράφη μετ' ενθουσιασμού και ιερού πνεύματος, καλά κάρτα έστιν'; Dio Cass. 36, 1: δ μέν Δημόκριτος περί 'Ομήρου φησίν ούτως' ' "Ομηρος φύσεως λαχών θεαζούσης έπέων κόσμον έτεκτήνατο παντοίων, ώς ούκ ένδν άνευ θείας καί δαιμονίας φύσεως ούτως καλά και σοφά ξπη λογάζεσθαι. This view of Democritus was probably set forth in his work meel motheries (Diog. L. 9, 48; cf. 1, 5, n. (Democritus) supra). Zeller (Die Philos. d. Griechen, 1, 2, 5 ed. (1892), 941) suggests that this belief was perhaps connected by Democritus with his other theories by assuming that certain more favorably organized souls receiving a greater richness of elδωλα were thrown by them into a more lively motion, and that in this lay the poetic talent. This is, of course, a very different view from that of the demonic theory of furor. Of the style of Democritus himself Cicero says (Orat. 67): video visum esse nonnullis Platonis et Democriti locutionem, etsi absit a versu, tamen quod incitatius feratur . . . potius poema putandum quam comicorum poetarum.

1. dicit Plato: this theme is developed at length in the Ion, especially pp. 533e-534a (after a simile drawn from the magnet): ούτω δὲ καὶ ἡ Μοῦσα ἐνθέους μὲν ποιεί αυτή, διά δὲ τῶν ἐνθέων τούτων ἄλλων **Ε**θουσιαζόντων όρμαθός έξαρταται. πάντες γάρ οί τε των έπων ποιηταί οι άγαθοι ούκ έκ τέχνης άλλ' ένθεοι όντες και κατασχόμενοι πάντα ταῦτα τὰ καλά λέγουσι ποιήματα, καί οι μελοποιοί οι άγαθοι ώσαυτως, ώσπερ οί κορυβαντιώντες ούκ ξμφρονες δντες δρχούνται, ούτω και οι μελοποιοί ούκ ξμφρονες όντες τά καλά μέλη ταθτα ποιοθσιν, άλλ' ἐπειδάν έμβωσιν els την άρμονίαν και els τον ρυθμόν, βακχεύουσι και κατεχόμενοι, ώσπερ αι βάκχαι άρθονται έκ τών ποταμών μέλι και γάλα κατεχόμεναι, ξμφρονες δε ούσαι ού, και τών μελοποιών ή ψυχή τοῦτο ἐργάζεται, διτερ αὐτοί λέγουσι, κτλ.; A pol. p. 22b-c: ξγνων οὖν αὖ καὶ περὶ των ποιητών & όλίγω τούτο, ότι ού σοφία

ποιοίεν α ποιοίεν, άλλα φύσει τινί και ένθουσιά ζοντες ώσπερ οι θεομάντεις και οι χρησμφδοί, κτλ.; Phaedr. p. 245a: τρίτη δὲ ἀπὸ Μουσῶν κατοκωχή τε καὶ μανία, λαβοθσα άπαλήν καὶ άβατον ψυχήν, έγείρουσα και εκβακχεύουσα κατά τε φδάς και κατά την άλλην ποίησιν, . . . δς δ' αν ανευ μανίας Μουσών έπι ποιητικάς θύρας άφίκηται, πεισθείς ώς άρα έκ τέχνης Ικανός ποιητής ἐσόμενος, άτελής αύτός τε και ή ποίησις ύπο τής των μαινομένων ή τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος ήφανίσθη; Leg. p. 682a: θείον γάρ οὖν δή καὶ τὸ ποιητικόν ἐνθεαστικόν δν γένος δμυφδούν; p. 719c: παλαιός μύθος . . . ὅτι ποιητής, ὁπόταν ἐν τῷ τρίποδι τῆς Μούσης καθίζηται, τότε ούκ ξμφρων έστίν; cf. Meno, p. 99c-d; Finsler, Platon u. die aristotel. Poetik (1900), 172-191.

Aristotle admits the theory, at least in part; cf. Poet. 17, p. 1455 a 32 ff.: διό εύφυους ή ποιητική έστιν ή μανικού. τούτων γάρ οι μέν εθπλαστοι οι δέ έξεταστικοι είσι»; while in Probl. 30, 1 melancholia is made in part responsible for poetic (as for other sorts of) talent (cf. 1, 81 infra; Tusc. 1, 80), and this seems to agree well with the notion of divination as associated with pathological states, especially approaching death (as in 1, 63 supra). Cf. also Hor. Sat. 2, 3, 321-322: poemata . . . / . . . si quis sanus secit, sanus sacis et tu; Ep. 1, 19, 3-4: male sanos / adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poetas; Ov. Fast. 6, 5-6: est deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo; / impetus hic sacrae semina mentis habet; Sen. de Tranq. 17, 10: nam sive Graeco poetae credimus (cf. Anacr. 8; Hor. Carm. 4, 12, 28): 'aliquando et insanire iucundum tst,' sive Platoni 'frustra poeticas fores compos sui pepulit.' sive Aristoteli 'nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura dementiae fuit'; non polest grande aliquid et super ceteros loqui nisi mota mens; Isid. Etym. 8, 7, 3: poetae Latine vates olim et scripta eorum vaticinia dicebantur, quod vi quadam et quasi vesania in scribendo commoverentur . . . etiam per furorem divini eodem erant nomine, quia et ipsi quoque pleraque versibus efferebant.

is furor ita laudetur ut in Phaedro Platonis laudatus est. Quid? vestra oratio in causis, quid? ipsa actio potest esse vehemens et gravis et copiosa nisi est animus ipse commotior? Equidem etiam in te saepe vidi et, ut ad leviora veniamus, in Aesopo, familiari tuo, tantum ardorem vultuum

This connection of mantic and poetic inspiration is perhaps suggested in a fragment of Strabo (7, fr. 19).

[238]1. quem: attracted from the gender of concitatio, now cut off by an intervening sentence, to that of the predicate furorem.

- laudetur: Phaedr. p. 244a: τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῶν γίγνεται διὰ μανίας, θεία μέντοι δόσει διδομένης.
- 2. oratio . . . actio: the distinction between these words appears constantly in Cicero's oratorical works, e.g., Orat. 54: tibi enim tantum de orationis genere quaerenti respondi etiam breviter de inveniendo et collocando—ne nunc quidem solum de orationis modo dicam, sed etiam de actionis; Brut. 239: erat (sc. Cn. Pompeius) oratione satis amplus, rem prudenter videbat, actio vero eius habebat et in voce magnum splendorem et in motu summam dignitatem; cf. de Or. 1, 17-18. Oratio here corresponds to 'style' and actio to 'delivery.'
- 2. vehemens et gravis et copiosa: of these qualities the first is occasionally, and the last two are frequently praised by Cicero in his oratorical works; cf. also the couplet graviter et copiose in Tusc. 2, 61; Fin. 4, 5.
- 3. commotion: on this feeling incases in court cf. Ac. 2, 64, and Reid's note.
- 3f. ut ad leviora veniamus: cf. Fin. 2, 107: haec leviora ponam; also de Or. 1, 18: histrionum levis ars; 1, 129: in artificio perquam tenui et levi quanto plus adhibeatur diligentiae quam in hac re, quam constat esse maximam. saepe enim soleo audire Roscium, etc. The low social status of the theatrical profession at Rome, largely recruited from slaves, but in the case of great actors like Roscius and Aesopus occasionally raised to more intimate relations with prominent men, is discussed by Navarre in Daremb. et Saglio,

Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Histrio (1900), 229; Warnecke in P.-W. s.v. Histrio (1913), 2117; 2125-2127; Michaut, Hist. de la Comédie rom. 1 (1912), 369-370.

- 4. Aesopo, familiari tuo: cf. Charis. Inst. gram. (G.L. K. 1, 130): familiare ab hoc familiare si de homine, familiari si de re. familiari pro familiare . . . Cicero quoque in divinatione libro I 'in Aesopo familiari tuo.' Claudius Aesopus, next to Roscius the greatest contemporary Roman actor, is often familiarly mentioned by Cicero; cf. Ribbeck, Röm. Tragödie (1875), 671-675; Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Clodius Aesopus (1900), 67; Henry in Univ. of N. C. Studies in Philology, 16 (1919), 352-355.
- 4. ardorem vultuum: cf. N.D. 2, 107: ardor oculorum; pro Balb. 49; pro Lig. 9; Vell. 2, 35, 3: ardore oris. Hor. Ep. 2, 1, 82 applies to Aesopus the adjective gravis.
- 4. vultuum: this passage appears to indicate that Aesopus, sometimes at least, played without a mask, which seems partly contradictory to the story told by Fronto (p. 147 Naber): tragicus Aesopus fertur non prius ullam suo induisse capiti personam antequam diu ex adverso contemplaretur pro personae vultu gestum sibi capessere ac vocem, etc. Now it appears that Roscius acted in comedy sometimes with and sometimes without a mask, according to Gow in Journ. of Rom. Stud. 2 (1912), 65-66, who cites as evidence (1) a passage in Diomed. de Art. gram. 3, 9, 7 (G.L.K. 1, 489, 10-13), which says: personis vero uti primus coepit Roscius Gallus, praecipuus histrio; (2) de Or. 3, 221: sed in ore sunt omnia, in eo autem ipso dominatus est omnis oculorum; quo melius nostri senes, qui per-sonatum ne Roscium quidem magno opere laudabant. Cf. also Donat. de Comoedia, 6, 3: personati primi egisse dicuntur

atque motuum ut eum mentis vis quaedam abstraxisse a sensu videretur.

81. Obiciuntur etiam saepe formae quae reapse nullae sunt, speciem autem offerunt, quod contigisse Brenno dicitur eiusque Gallicis copiis, cum

eum mentis vis . . . a sensu videretur Postgate (eum vis quaedam mentis . . . a sensu videretur Posse),
 eum vis quaedam . . . a sensu mentis videretur C (cum vis . . . H), tum vis quaedam . . . a sensu mentes videretur Dovies, eum vis quaedam . . . a statu mentis videretur Moser.

2. quae reapse vulg., quaere abse ABH, quae res ab se V.

comoediam Cincius Faliscus, tragoediam Minucius Prothymus (a reading which Gow, op. cit. 67-68, defends against emendation). Whatever the date of the introduction of masks, however, since Roscius sometimes did and sometimes did not employ them in comedy there seems to be no reason why Aesopus may not have sometimes acted without them in tragedy, despite the doubt of Gow, op. cit. 77, n. 1. Possibly differences in the rôle to be played or performance before a small group at some private gathering may have permitted the abandonment of the customary mask.

1. eum: Cicero's display of animus commotion is here put in the background by that of Aesopus. Important is Plut. Cic. 5, which says that Aesopus was so carried away by the part of Atreus which he was acting that he struck a slave with his sceptre with such force as to kill him.

1. mentis vis quaedam: the MS. reading a sensu mentis is a strange expression, for which the codices offer no variant. The words sensu mentis are not easily intelligible, and among the sixteen examples of vis quaedam in Cicero's philosophical works there is no case in which vis is not turther qualified, either by an adjective or by a following relative clause. I have accordingly suggested (in Class. Philol. 13 (1918), 210-211) that by the simple transfer of mentis to another position earlier in the sentence these two difficulties might be simultaneously avoided, reading ut eum vis quaedam mentis abstraxisse a sensu videretur. (In the archetype the word mentis was probably omitted, then added in the margin, and finally inserted in the wrong place.) This order has been further improved by the suggestion of Postgate (Class. Philol. 13 (1918), 410) who would place mentis in the position which I have adopted in the text, and who explains its having dropped out of its proper place by the similarity of ending of mentis and vis. In support of the expression mentis vis may be cited a similar passage in pro Arch. 18: poetam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino spiritu inflari; cf. 1, 129 infra: quanta sit animi vis seiuncta a corporis sensibus.

2. obiciuntur: a word often used of apparitions; cf. 1, 60; 2, 129; 2, 143; de Fat. 43.

2. formae: see note on quod contigisse Brenno infra; N.D. 2, 6: saepe visae formae deorum.

2. reapse: cf. Sen. Ep. 108, 32: reapse dici a Cicerone, id est, re ipsa, in commentarium refert (BC. grammaticus), nec minus sepse, id est se ipse. But the real derivation of the word, which was apparently obsolescent at the time of Cicero, is re+eapse; cf. Sommer, Handbuch d. lat. Laut-und Formenlehre, 3 ed. (1914), 431. For cases of its use in Cicero and for that of other similar obsolescent expressions see Parzinger, Beiträge z. Kenntnis d. Entwickl. d. ciceronisch. Stils (1910), 105. In two other cases (Rep. 1, 2; de Am. 47) reapse is used, as here, like the Greek ξργφ, contrasted with some other expression (oratione, specie; here speciem) suggesting the Greek λόγω; cf. 1, 17, n. (verbo . . . falsis . . . vocibus . . . re vera).

2. nullae: for such uses of nullus in the predicate, with the meaning 'non-existent,' 'dead,' or 'absurd,' sometimes modified by tam or quam, see 1, 65; 1, 85; 2, 16; 2, 138; Merguet, Lexikon s. d. phil. Schriften, 2 (1892), 770; de Sen. 74; 79; Fin. 5, 72; Plaut. Truc. 197; Ter. Andr.



fano Apollinis Delphici nefarium bellum intulisset. Tum enim ferunt ex oraclo ecfatam esse Pythiam:

Ego providebo rem istam et albae virgines.

608; Virg. Aen. 7, 51; Catalept. 11 (14), 7; Sen. ad Polyb. de Cons. 9, 3; Tac. Ann. 4, 17, 1; Justin, 2, 12, 10; Min. Fel. Oct. 10, 4; Aug. C. D. 5, 9; etc.

[240]3. quod contigisse Brenno: Brennus (not, as some have thought, a generic term, but an individual name; cf. Holder, Altceltischer Sprachschatz (1896), 517-518), of the tribe of the Πραῦσοι (Strab. 4, p. 187), in the latter part of 279 B.C. (on the date see Stähelin, Gesch. d. kleinasiat. Galater, 1 ed. (1897), 4, n. 1), led a Gallic host into Greece, and there threatened Delphi. Some authors (Strab. l.c.; Val. Max. 1, 1, ext. 9) say that Brennus reached the shrine, but at any rate the Gauls were eventually repelled with losses, as the legendary accounts say by supernatural intervention in earthquake and storms; cf. Niese in P.-W. s.v. Brennos (1899), and the authorities there cited; also Polyb. 2, 20; 2, 35 (rationalistic in attitude); Paus. 1, 4, 4; 8, 5, 8; and especially 10, 23, 1-2: Βρέννω δὲ καὶ τῆ στρατιά τῶν τε Ελλήνων οι ès Δελφούς άθροισθέντες άντετάξαντο, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις άντεσημαινε τὰ έκ τοῦ θεοῦ ταχύ τε καὶ ὧν Ισμεν φανερώτατα. ή τε γάρ γη πάσα, δσην έπειχεν ή των Γαλάτων στρατιά, βιαίως και έπι πλείστον έσειετο τής ήμέρας, βρονταί τε καί κεραυνοί συνεχείς έγίνοντο . . . τά τε των ήρώων τηνικαθτά σφισιν έφάνη φάσματα (cf. the formae mentioned by Cicero), ὁ Υπέροχος καὶ ὁ Λαόδοκός τε καί Πύρρος· οἱ δὲ καὶ τέταρτον Φύλακον έπιχώριον Δελφοίς άπαριθμοῦσιν ήρωα, κτλ.; 10, 23, 4: τὰ δὲ ἐν τῆ νυκτὶ πολλῷ σφας ξμελλεν άλγεινότερα επιλήψεσθαι. βίγος τε γάρ Ισχυρόν και νιφετός ήν όμου τῷ βίγει, πέτραι τε άπολισθάνουσαι τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ μεγάλαι και κρημνοί καταρρηγνύμενοι σκοπόν βαρβάρους είχον, κτλ. The incident is also mentioned by Cicero, pro Font. 30.

- 1. nefarium bellum: a phrase used seventeen times in the orations.
 - 2. ecfatam: cf. 1, 41, n. (ecfatus).
- 3. ego providebo, etc.: cf. Paroemiogr. Gr. 1, 403: έμοι μελήσει ταθτα και

λευκαίς κόραις βαρβάρων τινών στρατευομένων έπί Δελφούς έρωτώμενος δ θεός ταῦτα έφη. βστερον δὲ ἐφάνη μετὰ 'Αθηνᾶς καὶ 'Αρτέμιδος, ών και ιερά έστιν εν Δελφοίς, προσιόντων ύπαντών τοις πολεμίοις. Suidas (s.v. έμολ μελήσει) has almost verbally the same account, and the verse appears in Schol. Ar. Nub. 144 (cf. Pomtow, Quaest. de Orac. Caput selectum (1881), 7, n. 2); Aristid. Or. 4, p. 338 fin.; Tzetz. Chil. 11, 394 (who notes expressly that it is in iambic verse; for oracles in iambics cf. Pomtow, 1.c.). The substance is also given by Diod. 22, 9: ή δὲ Πυθία τοῖς Δελφοῖς ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκε· προστάττειν τὸν θεόν, έᾶν τὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὸν κόσμον των θεών άνηκοντα κατά χώραν έν τώ μαντείφ· φυλάξειν γάρ άπαντα τόν θεόν καί μετ' αύτοῦ τὰς λευκάς κόρας; cf. Wolff, ed. of Porphyr. de Phil. ex Orac. haur. (1856), 70-71; Hendess, Oracula Graeca (1877), 13-14; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 3 (1880), 192-194; Pomtow, l.c.; Weniger in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 10 (1907), 243-245.

Similar accounts describe the attack upon Delphi by the forces of Xerxes; cf. Hdt. 8, 36: οι Δελφοί . . . έμαντεύοντο περί τῶν ἰρῶν χρημάτων . . . ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφέας ούκ ξα κινέειν, φάς αύτος ίκανος είναι τών ἐωυτοῦ προκατῆσθαι; Diod. 11, 14, 3; cf. Joann. Saresb. Policr. 6, 17. Again, in 370-369 B.C., when Delphi was threatened by Jason of Pherae, according to Xen. Hell. 6, 4, 30: λέγεται δὲ ἐπερομένων τῶν Δελφών τι χρή ποιείν . . . άποκρινασθαι τόν θεὸν ὅτι αὐτῷ μελήσει; cf. Crusius in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Hyperboreer (1890), 2810; Hendess, l.c. Cf. the destruction by a sand-storm of the army sent by Cambyses against Ammon (Sen. N. Q. 2, 30, 2). These stories are doubtless part of a more or less conventionalized priestly tradition. Delphi presented, of course, a rich bait to spoilers, and fragments are preserved of two works on objects pillaged Ex quo factum ut viderentur virgines ferre arma contra et nive Gallorum obrueretur exercitus.

XXXVIII. Aristoteles quidem eos etiam qui valetudinis vitio furerent et melancholici dicerentur censebat habere aliquid in animis praesagiens

thence (Theopompus in F. H. G. 1, 308-309; Alexandrides in F. H. G. 3, 106-107). [241]3. providebo rem: cf. 2, 70: in providendis rebus.

[241]3. albae virgines: several explanations of this oracle (doubtless composed post eventum; cf. Crusius, l.c.; id., Die delphischen Hymnen (1894), 86, n. 119) have been offered. That of Cicero, that the albae virgines are snowflakes, is in harmony with the grandine et frigore of Justin, 24, 8, 10; the ruperos of Paus. 10, 23, 4; with Schol. Callim. in Del. 175: ό 'Απόλλων χαλάζη χρησάμενος άπώλεσε τούς πλείους αὐτῶν; and especially with a Delphic hymn to Apollo (Weil in Bull. Corresp. Hell. 18 (1894), 355; Crusius, Die delphischen Hymnen (1894), 85, whose restoration I here quote): <ξγνω> δὲ Γαλ<ατῶν στρατὸς εὖ θεὸν τ>όμ μαντοσύ < ναις κλυτόν, συγκυφθείς δ>ς ώλεθ' ύγρα χί<ονι, καὶ μετ' 'Αρτέμιδος φρι>κτόν Παλ- $\lambda \dot{a} \dot{o} o s < \dot{\epsilon} \gamma \chi o s$, $> \kappa \tau \lambda$. For the comparison between snow-flakes (by their purity suggesting virginity) and maidens see the Chione story told by Serv. Aen. 4, 250, and his remark: nives, repraesentantes virginis vitam priorem.

Another interpretation, probably due to Timaeus (Crusius in Roscher, l.c.), is found in Justin, 24, 8, 5 ff.: dum omnes opem dei suppliciter inplorant iuvenem supra humanum modum insignis pulchritudinis comitesque ei duas armatasque virgines ex propinquis duabus Dianae Minervaeque aedibus occurrisse, etc.; Diod. 22, 9, 5: δυτων δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει δυείν νεῶν παντελώς άρχαίων 'Αθηνάς προνάου καί *Αρτέμιδος, ταύτας τὰς θεούς ὑπέλαβον εἶναι τάς διά του χρησμού προσαγορευομένας λευκάς xôpas (cf. Paus. 10, 15, 2); see also the mention of Pallas and Artemis in the Delphic hymn above quoted. Crusius (l.c.) suggests a combination in one legend of several elements: (1) the Hyperborean heroes Hyperochus and Laodocus (of the version of Pausanias); (2) the connection of the Hyperboreans with Chione and Boreas; and (3) a possible identification of the snow-flakes with Hyperoche and Laodice, Hyperborean maidens described in Hdt. 4, 33-35. For another explanation see Herzog in Comptes Rendus of the Académie des Inscriptions, 1904, 170-171. Weniger (l.c.) holds them to have been sipes. For still other less probable views see Wolff, op. cit. 71; Pomtow, op. cit. 19, n. 38.

1. ex quo factum: cf. 1, 32, n. (ex quo factum est ut).

3. Aristoteles: Probl. 30, 1, p. 954 a 34 ff. (the composite and non-Aristotelian character of the Problemata need not have been known to Cicero, who might well have quoted from them): πολλοί δὲ καί διά τὸ ἐγγὺς είναι τοῦ νοεροῦ τόπου τὴν θερμότητα ταύτην νοσήμασιν άλίσκονται μανικοίς ή ένθουσιαστικοίς, δθεν Σίβυλλαι καί Βάκιδες και οι ένθεοι γίνονται πάντες, δταν μή νοσήματι γένωνται άλλά φυσική κράσει; 30, 14, p. 957 a 32 ff.: οἱ δὲ μελαγχολικοὶ διά τοῦτο ἐξάττουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις, δτι πλείονος της θερμασίας ούσης μάλλον του μετρίου ή ψυχή & κινήσει, σφοδροτέρας δέ της κινήσεως ούσης ού δύνανται καθεύδειν; Eth. Eud. 7, 14, p. 1248 a 39-40: διό οἱ μελαγχολικοὶ καὶ εύθυόνειροι; de Div. per Somn. 2, p. 463 b 15 ff.: πάνυ γάρ εὐτελεῖς ἄνθρωποι προορατικοί είσι και εύθυόνειροι, ώς ού θεοῦ πέμποντος, άλλ' δσων ώσπερ αν el λάλος ή φύσις έστι και μελαγχολική, παντοδαπάς δψεις δρώσιν. Zeller (Die Philos. d. Griechen, 2, 2, 3 ed. (1879), 551, n. 4) thinks that Cicero's quotation is not from the two passages last quoted, and may not be the view of Aristotle himself but his report of the explanation given by others for the phenomenon; if, however, it is his own view it shows the

atque divinum. Ego autem haud scio an nec cardiacis hoc tribuendum sit nec phreneticis; animi enim integri, non vitiosi est corporis divinatio. 82.
Quam quidem esse re vera hac Stoicorum ratione concluditur: 'Si sunt di neque ante declarant hominibus quae futura sint, aut non diligunt homines,

1. haud welg., haut A2V2, aut A1HV1.

strength of Platonic doctrines still influencing him. Cf. also 1, 5, n. (Peripateticis). With the statements of Aristotle cf. Plut. de Def. Orac. 50: αίτια δ' ἡ κρᾶσις τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν ἡ τῶν μελαγχολικῶν πολυόνειρος καὶ πολυφάνταστος, ἢ καὶ δοκεῖ τὸ εἰθυόνειρον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν; αἰν. Colot. 28: τὶ μᾶλλον ἐναργὲς οὕτως ἐστὶ καὶ πεπιστευμένον, ὡς τὸ παρορῶν καὶ παρακούειν ἐν πάθεσιν ἐκστατικοῖς καὶ μελαγχολικοῖς ὅντα, κτλ. For criticism of the theory see Iambl. de Myster. 3, 25, p. 158 Parthey.

[242]3. valetudinis vitio: cf. de Sen. 35.
[242]4. melancholici: cf. Tusc. 3, 11:
quem nos furorem μελαγχολίαν illi (sc.
Graeci) vocant. quasi vero atra bili solum
mens ac non saepe vel iracundia graviore
vel timore vel dolore moveatur. For the
Latin adjective here used see Tusc. 1, 80.

1. divinum: cf. 1, 58, n. (divinius). If. cardiacis . . . phreneticis: sometimes mentioned together, as in Tert. de An. 43; Firm. Math. 3, 5, 29; but separated by medical writers. So Cels. 3, 18 distinguishes three kinds of insanity: (1) delirium (phrenesis), (2) melancholy (tristitia quam videtur bilis atra contrahere), and (3) insanity proper, itself of two Borts: quidam imaginibus . . . falluntur ... quidam animo desipiunt. But he continues (3, 19): his morbis praecipue contrarium est id genus quod καρδιακόν a Graecis nominatur; quamvis saepe ad eum phrenetici transeunt . . . id autem nihil aliud est quam nimia imbecillitas corporis quod stomacho languente immodico sudore digeritur. As to the nature of this disease views differed; e.g., Cass. Fel. 64: est autem cardiaca passio distensio membranae cordis; Corp. Gloss. 3, 598, 38: passio cordis, non stomachi; with which contrast Celsus, as quoted above, and Chalcid. in Plat. Tim. 224: cum constet illam passionem non cordis esse sed stomacki; cf. Greg. Nyss. de Hom. Opif. 12: οὐ γὰρ τής καρδίας άλλά του στόματος τής κοιλίας δριμυσσομένου, els την καρδίαν το πάθος υπ' άπειρίας άνάγουσι (and see the passage just before this, on phrenesis). The reason why Cicero (or his source) here combined cardiacis and phreneticis with melancholici is doubtless this: liver, heart, and midriff had at one time or another been regarded as especial seats of life and intelligence (cf. 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis) supra), and the explanation of prophecy as due to a disorder of one of these seats is denied by Quintus, who couples with his denial an assertion that it is also not due to disorders of either of the others.

- 2. animi...integri...vitiosi...
 corporis: note the chiastic antithesis.
 For the insistence on the *integritas* of the
 mind in divination cf. 1, 60. Christ
 unnecessarily brackets corporis.
- 3. ratione concluditur: cf. Ac. 1, 32: dialecticae disciplina, id est, orationis ratione conclusae; also Madvig on Fin. 1, 30, who defines conclusio rationis as syllogismus et argumentatio per syllogismos procedens; Mayor on N. D. 1, 89.
- 3. si sunt di, etc.:=S.V.F. 2, no. 1192. This argument is answered at length in 2, 101-102; 104-106, and what may be said in refutation of the individual points here raised will be there discussed. For such involved reasoning, which was a good deal employed by the Stoics, see N. D. 2, 16; 2, 21-22. With the thought cf. also Leg. 2, 32-33: si enim deos esse concedimus, eorumque mente mundum regi, et eorum numen hominum consulere generi et posse nobis signa rerum futurarum ostendere, non video cur esse divinationem negem. sunt autem ea quae posui; <ex> quibus id quod volumus efficitur et cogitur.

aut quod eventurum sit ignorant, aut existumant nihil interesse hominum scire quid sit futurum, aut non censent esse suae maiestatis praesignificare hominibus quae sunt futura, aut ea ne ipsi quidem di significare possunt; at neque non diligunt nos (sunt enim benefici generique hominum amici), neque ignorant ea quae ab ipsis constituta et designata sunt, neque nostra nihil interest scire ea quae eventura sint (erimus enim cautiores si sciemus),

6. eventura sint ABV, Christ, ventura sint H (teste Deilero), eventura sunt O, Bailer, Maller.

For similar passages see S.V.F. 2, nos.

1187-1195. [243]4. quae futura sint: cf. 1, 127; N.D. 2, 153.

[243]4. non diligunt homines: cf. Tert. de An. 46: Stoici deum malunt providentissimum humanae institutioni inter cetera praesidia divinatricum artium et disciplinarum somnia quoque nobis indidisse, peculiare solacium naturalis oraculi. Galen (de nat. Facult. 1, 12) speaks of some who think that τοῖς θεοῖς οὐδὲν ἡμῶν μέλει. καταφρονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τῶν όνειράτων καὶ τῶν οἰωνῶν καὶ τῶν συμβόλων καὶ πάσης ἀστρολογίας.

1. ignorant: cf. the interesting chapter in which Augustine (C. D. 5, 9) attacks Marcus Cicero's views on divination, and says: nam confiteri esse Deum et negare praescium futurorum apertissima insania est, and, again, qui enim non est praescius omnium futurorum non est utique Deus. The belief in the omniscience of the gods is expressed from as early as the time of Homer, Od. 4, 379: θεοί δέ τε πάντα Ισασιν (but see Merry and Riddell's note for instances of the apparent ignorance of the Homeric gods; also Nägelsbach-Autenrieth, Homer. Theologie, 3 ed. (1884), 26-28; Moore, Religious Thought of the Greeks (1916), 10-11). Cf. Alex. Aphrod. de Fat. 30: ἄτοπον γάρ τὸ λέγειν έκείνους (ες. τούς θεούς) άγνοείν τι των έσομένων. Yet for contrary views of Chrysippus see Arnold, Roman Stoicism (1911), 208.

1. existumant nihil interesse: cf. Ps.-Luc. de Astrol. 28-29: άλλοι δὲ άστρολογίαν άψευδέα μέν, ἀνωφελέα δ' εἶναι λέγουσιν οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ μαντοσίνη ἀλλάσσεσθαι ὀκόσα τῆσι μοίρησι δοκέσντα ἐπέρχεται . . άλλὰ τοὺς χρεομένους τάδε ώφελέει, τὰ μέν ἐσθλὰ εἰδότας ἀπιξόμενα πολλὸν ἀπόπροσθεν εὐφρανέει, τὰ δὲ φαῦλα εὐμαρέως δέχονται οὐ γάρ σφισω άγνοέουσι» ἐπέρχεται άλλ' ἐν μελέτη καὶ προσδοκίη ῥηίδια καὶ πρηέα ἡγέτται. In N. D. 3, 14 Cotta maintains: saepe autem ne utile quidem est scire quid futurum sit; miserum est enim nihil proficientem angi nec habere ne spei quidem extremum et tamen commune solacium; cf. Aesch. Prom. V. 624: τὸ μἡ μαθεῖν σοι κρεῖσσον ἡ μαθεῖν τάδε.

2. non . . . esse suae maiestatis: cf. 1, 118. The word maiestas is several times used by Cicero, as here, in connection with the divine dignity.

2. praesignificare: in classical Latin only here, but (like praesignificatio) also found in the patristic writers.

4. sunt enim benefici: cf. Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 9: amat enim benignitas numinis, seu quod merentur homines seu quod tangitur corum adfectione kis quoque artibus (sc. auspiciis, etc.) prodere quae inpendent; Clem. Strom. 1, 17, p. 55 Stählin (=S.V.F. 2, 1184): τῆς γὰρ θείας σοφίας και ἀρετῆς και δυνάμεως ἔργον ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον τὸ ἀγαθοποιεῖν (φύσις γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν αδτη τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς τοῦ πυρὸς τὸ θερμαίνειν και τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ φωτίζειν), κτλ. On beneficence as a Stoic virtue see Arnold, Roman Stoicism (1911), 307.

5. neque ignorant: foreknowledge of the future, therefore, is naturally followed by revelation of it. So Mart. Cap. 1, 6, speaks of *Mantice* as the eldest daughter of *Pronoca*.

5. designata: cf. 2, 127; Tim. 46, and Plasberg's note.

6. eventura sint: for the subjunctive see Frank in Amer. Journ. of Philol. 25 (1904), 428-446; Bräunlich in Class. Philol. 13 (1918), 70-71, who is undecided between 'attraction' by the infinitive and a con-

neque hoc alienum ducunt maiestate sua (nihil est enim beneficentia praestantius), neque non possunt futura praenoscere. 83. Non igitur sunt di nec significant futura; sunt autem di; significant ergo; et non, si significant, nullas vias dant nobis ad significationis scientiam (frustra enim significarent), nec, si dant vias, non est divinatio; est igitur divinatio.'

XXXIX. 84. Hac ratione et Chrysippus et Diogenes et Antipater utitur. Quid est igitur cur dubitandum sit quin sint ea quae disputavi verissima, si ratio mecum facit, si eventa, si populi, si nationes, si Graeci, si barbari, si maiores etiam nostri, si denique hoc semper ita putatum est, si summi philosophi, si poetae, si sapientissimi viri, qui res publicas constituerunt, qui urbes condiderunt? An dum bestiae loquantur exspecta-

3. et non, si Lambinus, et si non C.

fusion between relative clause and indirect question as the explanation.

[244]6. erimus... cautiores: cf. note on existumant nihil interesse above; 1, 119, n. (ut videret... non ut caveret); 2, 21; N. D. 2, 163: multa etiam pericula depulsa sunt (that is, by means of divination).

1. alienum . . . maiestate: for the distinction in meaning of the different idioms used with alienus see Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 371-372.

2. praenoscere: as editors have noted (see Christ ad h. loc.; Thoresen, ed. (1894), append. 222), we should here expect a verb of foretelling rather than one of foreknowing, but there is no reason to suspect the MS. reading, supported as it is by 2, 102; 2, 105.

2f. non igitur sunt di nec significant: cf. Madvig, 3 ed. of *de Finibus* (1876), 810, n. 1.

3. sunt autem di, etc.: on such forms of argument cf. Top. 53 ff. The following passage is in 2, 41 compressed: si di sunt est divinatio; sunt autem di; est ergo divinatio; cf. 1, 10, n. (ut et si divinatio sit).

4. vias . . . ad significationis scientiam: cf. 2, 55.

6. Chrysippus et Diogenes et Antipater: cf. 1, 6, nn. (duobus libris; quem subsequens; duo Antipater). As Heeringa well remarks (Quaest. ad Cic. de Div. Libros duos pertin. (1906), 13), Cicero is doubtless here following Posidonius, but has forgotten to add his name to the list of those whose ideas Posidonius was probably citing.

7. utitur: for the singular verb, cf. Mayor on N. D. 3, 43; Lebreton, Études sur la Langue et la Gram. de Cic. (1901), 20-21.

7. quid est igitur cur dubitandum sit: cf. Fin. 1, 46: quid est cur dubitemus; Merguet, Lexikon z. d. phil. Schriften, 1 (1887), 591.

8ff. si...si...qui...qui: cf. the thirteen times repeated cum in pro Rab. 21, and the repetition of num in de Sen. 23.

8. ratio . . . eventa: for this antithesis cf. 1, 5; 2, 27; also 1, 12, n. (eventa).

8. mecum facit: cf. 2, 118: cum Philippo facere; Fin. 2, 44: populus cum illis facit.

8. populi . . . nationes: cf. 2, 81; Off. 2, 26: regum, populorum, nationum.

9. barbari: cf. 1, 47, n. (barbaris).

9. semper: cf. 1, 1, n. (consensu).

10f. constituerunt . . . condiderunt: for such homoeoteleuta cf. Laurand, Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic. (1907), 122-125.

11. dum bestine loquantur: cf. Fin. 71: si infantes pueri mutae etiam bestiae paene loquuntur . . . nihil esse prosperum nisi voluptatem; 2, 18: quam etiam pecudes, si loqui possent, appellarent voluptatem;

. mus, hominum consentiente auctoritate contenti non sumus? 85. Nec vero quicquam aliud adfertur cur ea quae dico divinandi genera nulla sint, nisi quod difficile dictu videtur quae cuiusque divinationis ratio, quae causa sit. Quid enim habet haruspex cur pulmo incisus etiam in bonis extis dirimat tempus et proferat diem? quid augur cur a dextra corvus, a sinistra cornix faciat ratum? quid astrologus cur stella Iovis aut Veneris coniuncta

Filastr. Div. Haeres. 88, 7: signa fecerunt magna et prodigia, ut et pecudes et canes et bestiae loquerentur. 'Dumb animals' were proverbial; cf. Rep. 3, 19: mutis . . . beluis; N. D. 2, 133; also the portents from speaking animals (1, 73, n. (hinnitum) supra), and perhaps the use of the Greek word $\delta \lambda \sigma \gamma \sigma \nu$ (possibly associated with $\lambda \delta \gamma \sigma s$). For the expression of impatience here used cf. 1, 79.

- 2. quicquam aliud adfertur cur: cf. 2, 52; de Fat. 43; Tusc. 1, 30.
 - 2. nulla: cf. 1, 81, n. (nullae).
- 3. difficile dictu: cf. N. D. 2, 138; Tusc. 2, 19; de Am. 12; and, for the subject, 1, 12, n. (eventa).
- 4. pulmo incisus: the earliest mention of the consultation of the lungs among other exta (Jastrow in Encycl. Brit. 20, 11 ed. (1911), 103; cf. 2, 29 infra; also 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis); Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 2 (1906), 45). The incision here mentioned is not one caused by the sacrificial knife, but is, as Thulin (op. cit. 32) remarks of the analogous caput iocineris... caesum, a natural division between lobes; cf. Thulin, op. cit. 45, n. 1. See also Lucan, 1, 622-623: pulmonis anheli / fibra latet parvusque secat vitalia limes—an unfavorable sign.
 - 4. bonis extis: cf. 2, 38.
- 5. dirimat tempus: a phrase found only here, yet cf. Serv. Ecl. 8, 29: quo dies nuptiarum dirimatur. The verb is usually employed with rem (e.g., Leg. 2, 31) or some similar word as an object, and is perhaps a technical term; so Ammianus speaks of dirimentibus auspiciis (14, 10, 9; 21, 13, 8).
- 5. proferat diem: cf. ad Att. 13, 13, 4: si . . . volent proferre diem.

- 5. a dextra corvus, etc.: cf. 1, 12, n. (a laeva). This passage is perhaps the one meant by Probus in Virg. Ecl. 9, 13: bonum augurium erat si corvus dextra corniz sinistra volaret, ut Cicero divinarum [sic]: quorum a dextra corvus a sinistra corniz facit augurium.
 - 6. faciat ratum: cf. 2, 80.
- 6. stella lovis, etc.: cf. Manetho, Apotelesm. 2, 446-458: Av per Zavi ouranty (εc. Μήνη) ή άβροκόμω Κυθερείη, / ἐσθλή καὶ δώτειρα βίου πλούτοιό τε πολλοῦ, / 4ν δὲ Κρόνον προλιπούσα κενόν δρόμον έξανύησιν, / # και "Αρη μετέπειτα συνάπτη, πάγχυ κακίστη, / αύχμηρούς τεύχει γάρ άναγκαίου βιότοιο, / . . . πολλάκι δ' ώκυμόρους τε καί 🖢 νεότητι θανόντας; Firm. Mathes. 4, 1, 8: geniturae dominus et vitae dator ex lunae coniunctionibus invenitur; id. 4, 2-6 deals with prognostics from the conjunction of the moon with Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, and Venus. As a sample may be quoted 4, 3, 1: si luna se Iovis adplicaverit stellae et crescens lumine ista se societate coniunxerit vel ad Iovem feratur, faciet felices, gloriosos, divites, multorum et magnorum fundamentorum et latissimarum possessionum dominos, etc., and 4, 4, 1, init.: si se luna Martis applicaverit stellae et crescens lumine Martis se societate coniunxerit vel ad Martem feratur et sit nocturna genitura, facit calidos, periculosos, violentos, sed qui frequentibus soleant rationibus decipi et quorum vita sit maximis periculis mancipata, etc.; Schol. Lucan, 1, 660: mitem autem Iovem dixit et salubrem Venerem secundum mathesis disciplinam. nam Iovis et Veneris planetae benignae sunt, Martis et Saturni malignae, etc. These commonplaces of astrology are often incidentally alluded to, e.g., Virg. Georg. 1, 336: frigida Saturni . . . stella; Hor. Carm. 2, 17, 22-

cum luna ad ortus puerorum salutaris sit, Saturni Martisve contraria? Cur autem deus dormientes nos moneat, vigilantes neglegat? Quid deinde causae est cur Cassandra furens futura prospiciat, Priamus sapiens hoc idem facere non queat? 86. Cur fiat quidque quaeris. Recte omnino; sed non nunc id agitur; fiat necne fiat, id quaeritur. Ut si magnetem lapidem

3. est P. Victorius, sit C.

24: te Iovis impio / tutela Saturno refulgens / eripuit; Lucan, 1, 661-662: Veneris salubre / sidus; Juv. 6, 569-570: quid sidus triste minetur / Saturni, quo laeta Venus se proferat astro; thus salutaris is a title of Jupiter in Fin. 3, 66.

Bouché-Leclercq, L'Astrologie grecque (1899), 404-457, discusses the prognostics of the different planets as to length of life, bodily form, temperament, social status, and family relations of those being born.

- 1. ad: cf. de Or. 3, 227: illud ad firmandam est vocem salutare; Plin. N. H. 31, 65: ad ictus venenatos salutaris intellegitur; so also with salubris: Cato, R. R. 156, 1: ad omnes res salubre est; cf. the uses of ad in expressions stating the properties of drugs (Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v. ad, 543-544).
- cur autem, etc.: cf. 2, 110; 2, 126;
 and, for a somewhat similar spirit, 2, 114.
 2f. quid...causae est: cf. Ac. 1, 10;
 Tusc. 5, 32.
- 3. Cassandra: cf. 1, 67, n. (adest, etc.); 1, 89.
- 3. furens . . . sapiens: cf. 1, 66, n. (sapiens); so in 2, 110 sapiens is offset to insanus.
- 4. cur fiat quidque: cf. 1, 109; 2, 46.
 5. non nunc id agitur: cf. Tusc. 4, 3;
 5, 12: nec id nunc agitur; Ac. 2, 88.
- 5. fiat necne fiat: cf. N. D. 3, 17: sint necne sint; Fin. 4, 29; 4, 31; 5, 16.
- 5. ut: 'for example'; cf. Madvig on
- Fin. 4, 30; Reid on Ac. 2, 33.
 5. magnetem lapidem: lapidem is here either subject (modified by magnetem)
- or predicate. Plin. N. H. 20, 1; 34, 147; 36, 127, uses the expression magnes lapis.

 In Greek the magnet is known as μάγνης λίθος, μαγνήτις λίθος, Μαγνησία

In Greek the magnet is known as μάγγης λίθος, μαγγήτις λίθος, Μαγγησία λίθος, Ἡρακλεία λίθος, Ἡρακλείλτις, σιδηρίτις, and simply λίθος (cf. Plin. 36, 127); see

Lucr. 6, 908-909: quem (sc. lapidem) Magneta vocant patrio de nomine Grai, / Magnetum quia fit patriis in finibus ortus. But Plin. l.c. says: magnes appellatus est ab inventore, ut auctor est Nicander. Of the five sorts, however, which Pliny (N. H. 36, 128) mentions, one is from the Thessalian Magnesia and one from Magnesia on the Macander.

On the numerous ancient speculations as to the power of the magnet see the article of Fritzsche in Rhein. Mus. N. F. 57 (1902), 363-391, and the works there cited. Among the scientists and philosophers interested in the magnet were Thales (Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 6, no. 3), Empedocles (id. 1, 221, no. 89), Democritus (id. 2, 3 ed. (1912), 53, no. 165; cf. Diog. L. 9, 47, who speaks of a work of Democritus περί της λίθου), Plato (Tim. p. 80c; cf. Ion, p. 533e), Aristotle (de Anim. 1, 2, p. 405 a 20-21), Theophrastus (de Lapid. 5, 29; Hist. Pl. 9, 18, 2), Epicurus (Usener, Epicurea (1887), 208-211), Lucretius (6, 906-1089), Pliny (*U.cc.*), and Isidore (Etym. 16, 4, 1; 16, 13, 3; 16, 21, 4). Numerous allusions to it and comparisons with it occur in other writers as well; e.g., Claudian's poem on the magnet (Carm. Min. 29). Ps.-Alex. Aphrod. (cited by Fritzsche, op. cit. 365) considers magnets among the άλυτα παντελώς, as being θεφ μόνφ γνώριμα, τφ και την τούτων ούσιαν ὑποστήσαντι, and Augustine (C. D. 21, 4) tells of his surprise at first seeing a magnet, and says in regard to another marvel, hoc miraculum si de aliquo Indico lapide legeremus aut audiremus et in nostrum experimentum venire non posset, profecto aut mendacium putaremus aut certe granditer miraremur. In C. D. 21, 5 he draws a comparison similar to that of

esse dicam, qui ferrum ad se adliciat et attrahat, rationem cur id fiat adferre nequeam, fieri omnino neges. Quod idem facis in divinatione, quam et cernimus ipsi et audimus et legimus et a patribus accepimus. Neque ante philosophiam patefactam, quae nuper inventa est, hac de re communis vita dubitavit, et, posteaquam philosophia processit, nemo aliter philosophus sensit in quo modo esset auctoritas. 87. Dixi de Pythagora, de Democrito, de Socrate, excepi de antiquis praeter Xenophanem neminem, adiunxi veterem Academiam, Peripateticos, Stoicos; unus dissentit Epicurus. Quid vero hoc turpius quam quod idem nullam censet gratuitam esse virtutem?

1. attrahat exc. Pith. et O, trahat ABH, trahat at V, sed at supra lin.

Cicero: homines infideles, qui cum divina vel praeterita vel futura miracula praedicamus, quae illis experienda non valemus ostendere, rationem a nobis flagitant rerum, quam quoniam non possumus reddere (excidunt enim vires mentis humanae) existimant falsa esse quae dicimus, etc.

1. adliciat et attrahat: cf. de Am. 50: nihil esse quod ad se rem ullam tam alliciat et attrahat quam ad amicitiam similitudo. Pliny, in the three places cited, uses, not attraho, but traho, and the simple verb is more common in Cicero than the compound, but the passage quoted from the de Amicitia seems to justify the retention of the compound verb here.

4. nuper: cf. N. D. 2, 126: ea quae nuper, id est paucis ante saeculis, medicorum ingeniis reperta sunt, where Plasberg compares Tac. Dial. 16, 9: quod spatium temporis . . . si ad naturam saeculorum ac respectum inmensi huius aevi perquam breve et in proximo est (cf. Gudeman's note); Tusc. 5, 7: quam rem (sc. philosophiam) antiquissimam quom videamus nomen tamen esse confilemur recens, etc. See also Just. Mart. Cohort. ad Graecos, 12: ἀναγκαῖον δὲ οίμαι καὶ τοὺς χρόνους σκοπείν καθ' οθς οἱ καθ' ὑμᾶς γεγόνασι φιλόσοφοι, δπως γνώτε ότι νέος σφόδρα και βραχύς έστω ο τούτους υμίν ένεγκών χρόνος, κτλ. Cf. 1, 99, n. (modo); Off. 1, 25.

4f. communis vita: cf. 1, 50, n. (vita communis).

5f. nemo . . . philosophus: cf. 2, 132; N. D. 1, 78; 2, 96.

6. dixi: 1, 5-6; but it will be noted that the account there given is in the mouth not of Quintus but of Marcus, in his introductory sketch. Such evidences of haste in composition appear also in N. D. 2, 73: hesterno die dictum est; 3, 18: nudius tertius dicta sunt (although elsewhere the three books of the de Natura Deorum are represented as the dialogue of but a single day); and a case of the confusion of speakers, exactly analogous to our passage, is noted by Plasberg in Ac. 1, 46 (exposui).

9. hoc turpius quam: similar cases of double comparison in Cicero are collected by Jeep in Neue Jahrb. 81 (1860), 616; Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 2 ed. (1914), 469. Cf. de Or. 1, 169: quid ergo hoc fieri turpius aut dici potest, quam, etc.; 2, 38; 2, 302; N. D. 1, 38 (and Mayor's note); Fin. 1, 19: quo nihil turpius physico quam . . . dicere (and see Madvig's note). Greek parallels will be found in Plat. Crit. p. 44c; Phaedo, p. 89d; Gorg. p. 500c. For the ruling of Epicurus out of court on the basis of beliefs distasteful to the speaker, cf. 1, 5, n. (balbutientem); Fin. 2, 70.

9. idem nullam censet: cf. Usener, Epicurea (1887), 312 ff. The word gratuitam means 'disinterested,' as opposed to utilitarian; cf. Fin. 2, 99: innatam... komini probitatem gratuitam, non invitatam voluptatibus nec praemiorum mercedibus evocatam. The view of Epicurus is briefly expressed by Diog. L. 10, 138:

XL. Quis est autem quem non moveat clarissumis monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas? Calchantem augurem scribit Homerus longe optumum eumque ducem classium fuisse ad Ilium, auspiciorum credo scientia, non locorum. 88. Amphilochus et Mopsus Argivorum reges fuerunt, 3. ad Ilium Guildmus (ex Hom. Il. 1, 71), ad illum B, at illum AHV, at dillum B.

διά δὲ τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ τὰς άρετὰς αἰρεῖσθαι, οὐ δι' αὐτάς.

- 1. quis est, etc.: cf. Fin. 5, 62: quis est ... qui non moveatur; 2 Verr. 1, 74: quis enim esset ... qui ... non moveretur.
 - 1. monumentis: cf. 1, 12.
- 1. testata: cf. Gell. 15, 13, 7: testata itidem et interpretata eadem ratione dixit M. Tullius in primo libro de divinatione, ut testor interpretorque verba communia videri debeant. Other cases of testor with a passive meaning are found in ad Att. 1, 16, 2, and in several places in the orations (Merguet, Lexikon z. d. Reden des Cic. 4 (1884), 743); cf. 1, 53, n. (esse interpretatum).
- 2. consignata: cf. Rep. 1, 25: die quem apud Ennium et in maximis annalibus consignatum videmus. The figurative use is not found outside Cicero until the time of the patristic writers who frequently employ it; cf. the Greek $\sigma\phi\rho\alpha\gamma$ i $\zeta\omega$ and compounds.
- 2. Calchantem, etc.: similar lists of diviners are found in Leg. 2, 33 (Polyidus, Melampus, Mopsus, Amphiaraus, Calchas, Helenus); N. D. 2, 7 (Mopsus, Tiresias, Amphiaraus, Calchas, Helenus; all called augures); and in many other writers, perhaps the most elaborate being that in Clem. Strom. 1, 21.

Calchas is described by Hom. II. 1, 68-72: τοῖσι δ' ἀνέστη / Κάλχας Θεστορίδης, οἰωνοπόλων δχ' ἄριστος, δς είδει τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα, / καὶ νήεσσ' ἡγήσατ' 'Αχαιῶν 'Τλιον είσω / ἡν διὰ μαντοσύνην, τήν οὶ πόρε Φοῖβος 'Απόλλων; 13, 701: Κάλχας... θεοπρόπος οἰωνιστής; Eur. I. Τ. 662-663: τόν τ' ἐν οἰωνοῖς σοφάν / Κάλχαντ'. According to Quint. Smyrn. 9, 330-332 he dealt also in haruspicine (καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀγαθοῖσιν ἐπεφράσατ' οἰωνοῖσιν, / ἡὲ καὶ ἐν σπλάγχνοισιν ἐπεδρακεν' οὐ γὰρ ἄιδρις / μαντοσύνης ἐτέτυκτο' θεὸς δ' ὧς ἡδεε πάντα),

or even in astrology (according to 12, 4-6: εὖ εἰδώς ἀνὰ θυμόν ὑπ' ἐννεσίης Ἐκάτοιο / πτήσιας οίωνων ήδ' άστέρας άλλα τε πάντα / σήμαθ', δσ' άνθρώποισι θεῶν Ιότητι πέλονται; cf. Sen. Tr. 354-357: arte qui reseras polum, / cui viscerum secreta, cui mundi fragor / et stella longa semitam flamma trahens / dant signa fati); also an Etruscan mirror shows a winged Calchas holding the liver of a victim; cf. Gerhard, Etrusk. Spiegel (1840), pl. 223; Lenormant in Gaz. Arch. 6 (1880), 112; Blecher, De Extispicio (1905), pl. 2, fig. 3. These traditions are probably not early, however. On the various legends connected with Calchas see Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 41-44; 3 (1880), 345-346; Stoll and Immisch in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Kalchas.

3. classium: plural perhaps because of the different units constituting the Greek fleet; cf. 2, 63, where Cicero translates vijes by Argolicis . . . classibus; Fin. 2, 112: Xerxes cum tantis classibus tantisque equestribus et pedestribus copiis; Virg. Aen. 2. 30: classibus hic locus.

4. Amphilochus: the son of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle, and according to Bethe (Theban. Heldenlieder (1891), 57, n.), probably a doublet of the former, being worshipped in Asia Minor as Amphiaraus in Greece, and the two coinciding at Oropus. After various experiences (for which see Stoll in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Amphilochos (1884), 305), he took part in the Trojan expedition, but after it, foreseeing trouble, he did not return with the Greeks, according to Quint. Smyrn. 14, 365-369: μοῦνος δὲ θεοπροπίας εδ είδως / 'Αμφίλοχος, θοός νίδς άμυμονος 'Αμφιαράου, / μίμνεν δμώς Κάλχαντι περίφρονι τοίσι γάρ ήεν / αίσιμον άμφοτέροισιν έης άπο τηλόθι γαίης / Παμφύλων Κιλίκων τε ποτί πτολίεθρα νέεσθαι. They went to

sed iidem augures, iique urbis in ora marituma Ciliciae Graecas condiderunt; atque etiam ante hos Amphiaraus et Tiresias, non humiles et obscuri neque eorum similes, ut apud Ennium est,

Clarus, where Calchas died from shame at a defeat in the art of prophecy at the hands of Mopsus. Strabo says (14, p. 668): φησί δ' Ἡρόδοτος (7, 91) τοὺς Παμφύλους των μετά 'Αμφιλόχου καί Κάλχαντος είναι λαών μιγάδων τινών έκ Τροίας συνακολουθησάντων τούς μέν δή πολλούς ένθάδε καταμείναι, τινάς δὲ σκεδασθήναι πολλαχοῦ τῆς γής. Καλλίνος δέ τον μέν Κάλχαντα έν Κλάρφ τελευτήσαι τον βίον φησί, τούς δέ λαούς μετά Μόψου τον Ταύρον ύπερθέντας τούς μέν & Παμφυλία μείναι τούς δ' & Κιλικία μερισθήναι και Συρία μέχρι και Φοινίκης. Cf. Hdt. 3, 91: Ποσιδηίου πόλιος, την 'Αμφίλοχος ο 'Αμφιάρεω οίκισε έπ' οδροισι τοῖσι Κιλίκων τε καί Σύρων; but especially connected with him is an oracle at Mallus in Cilicia, of which Pausanias says (1, 34, 2): μαντείον αψευδέστατον των έπ' έμου. Of Mallus Strabo remarks (14, p. 675): κτίσμα 'Αμφιλόχου και Μόψου τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος καί Μαντούς. περί ων πολλά μυθολογείται, κτλ., and for other evidence as to the connection with Mallus see Bethe in P.-W. s.v. Amphilochos (1894), 1938; also Wolff, De novissima Orac. Aetate (1854), 30; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 3 (1880), 341-345, who discusses the history of the oracle. For the later life of Amphilochus, including his death struggle with Mopsus (see Höfer in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Mopsos, 3209), and for his connection with other sites see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2 (1880), 28-29; 3 (1880), 341-345; Stoll, op. cit. 306. The Argive descent of the population of Mallus is noted by Arrian, Anab. 2, 5; for similar Argive influence in other towns of the coast of Asia Minor cf. Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 1 (1906), 329-330.

[249]4. Mopsus: probably not Semitic in derivation, as Preller thought (Höfer in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Mopsos (1897), 3210). This Mopsus was the son of Manto (daughter of Tiresias), and,

according to one tradition, of Apollo, and is probably to be distinguished from the homonymous Argonaut, who was also noted as an augur (Apollon. Rhod. 1, 65-66; 1, 1086-1087; 3, 543; 3, 918; etc.; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 37, n. 3). He appears as a seer at Clarus, where he defeated Calchas in prophecy (see the preceding note). For his colonization see Callinus ap. Strab. 14, p. 668 (quoted above). Associated with him were Mopsuestia, Monsucrene, Monsopia (a name for Pamphylia), Aspendus, Rhodia, and Phaselis (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 3, 343, and n. 2; Höfer, op. cit. 3209; Gruppe, op. cit. 1, 328); an epigram on one of his towns is found in Anthol. Pal. 9, 698. For his oracular powers see the works above cited; also Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 36-38. Only Cicero appears to connect him with Argos.

[249]4. reges: cf. Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 829: Mopsus regnavii in Cilicia. For the combination in one person of the functions of prophet and king, as in the case of Melampus, Amphiaraus, and Helenus, cf. Lobeck, Aglaophamus, 1 (1829), 265; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 67 ff.; also Frazer, Golden Bough, 1, 3 ed. (1913), 44-51; 332-372 (on priestly kings and magicians as kings).

- 2. ante hos: the priority of Amphiaraus is inferred from his having been the father of Amphilochus; that of Tiresias from his being the grandfather of Mopsus.
- 2. Amphiaraus: cf. note on Amphia-raum infra.
- 2. Tiresias: cf. note on de altero . . . Homerus infra.
- 3. apud Ennium: cf. 1, 40, n. (apud Ennium). The line has been placed by Zillinger (Cic. u. die altröm. Dichter (1911), 119) and others in the Telamon, following directly the quotation from that play

Qui sui quaestus causa fictas suscitant sententias, sed clari et praestantes viri qui avibus et signis admoniti futura dicebant; quorum de altero etiam apud inferos Homerus ait 'solum sapere, ceteros umbrarum vagari modo'; Amphiaraum autem sic honoravit fama Graeciae

given in 1, 132. By Vahlen (second edition of Ennius (1903), 195, line 394) it is listed among the fragments of uncertain Ennian plays, because the subject appears to have been a commonplace; cf. Soph. O. T. 387-389: ὑφεἰς μάγον τοιόνδε μηχανορράφον, / δόλιον άγύρτην, δοτις ἐν τοῖς κὲρδεσιν / μόνον δέδορκε, τὴν τέχτην δ' ἔφυ τυφλός; Antig. 1055: τὸ μαντικὸν γάρ πῶν φιλάργυρον γένος; Acc. 169-170 Ribbeck: nil credo auguribus qui aures verbis divitant / alienas, suas ut auro locupletent domos; also 1, 132, n. (sed superstitiosi, etc.) infra.

1. qui . . . quaestus causa: cf. 1, 92; 1, 132; 2, 85.

2. futura dicebant: cf. 2, 70.

3. de altero . . . Homerus: Od. 10, 492-495: ψυχῷ χρησαμένους Θηβαίου Τειρεσίαο, / μάντησς άλαοῦ, τοῦ τε φρένες ἔμπεδοί εἰσι· / τῷ καὶ τεθτηῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνεια /. οἰφ πεπνῦσθαι· τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀἰσσουσιν; cf. 1, 52, n. (Homericum . . versum). On Tiresias see Schell in Neue Jahrb. Supplementb. 17 (1851), 54-100; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2 (1880), 29-34. Three derivations for the name are: (1) from τεῖρος, τέρας (rejected by Boisacq, Dict. tym. de la Lang. gr. (1916), 948; yet cf. Stein, Τέρας (1909), 48-49); (2) from τείρω, 'wear out' (with hunger, old age, etc.); (3) from τηρέω (Schell, op. cit. 96).

For his origin see Apollod. Bibl. 3, 6, 7, 1-2: η δὶ παρὰ Θηβαίοις μάντις Τειρεσίας, Εύήρους και Χαρικλοῦς νύμφης, ἀπό γένους Ούδαίου τοῦ Σπάρτου, γενόμενος τυφλός τὰς όράσεις. οδ περί τῆς πηρώσεως και μαντικής λέγονται λόγοι διάφοροι (the symbolism of this myth is discussed by Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 29-30). His blindness, long life, etc., are treated by Schell, op. cit. 94. Though blind (cf. 2, 9) like the diviners Phineus and Euenius (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 40; 2, 93-94), he practiced divination in many forms, by observation of the stars (Ps.-Luc. de

Astrol. 11), extispicine (Stat. Theb. 10, 667), interpretation of portents (Eur. Bacch. 248-249), by sacrifices (Soph. Antig. 1005-1015; Eur. Bacch. 257; Stat. Theb. 10, 589 ff.), but especially by augury (Aesch. Sept. 24-26; Soph. Antig. 998-1004; Eur. Phoen. 767; 834-840; Bacch. 257; Ael. Hist. An. 8, 5). For the divine sources of his mantic powers see Schell, op. cit. 94-95. His daughter was Manto (cf. µápris), mother of Mopsus (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 34-36), and herself with prophetic endowment.

4. Amphiaraum: on the derivation of this name see Wolff in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Amphiaraos (1884), 303. He was the son of Oecles (or according to later myths of Apollo) and Hypermnestra: connected in race with the seer Melampus (cf. 1, 91, n. (familias duas) infra); the husband of Eriphyle and father of Amphilochus, whose doublet he at times appears (Bethe in P.-W. s.v. Amphiaraos (1894), 1887). His gift of prophecy he acquired by incubation at Phlius (Paus. 2. 13, 7). He took part in the Argonautic expedition, Calydonian Hunt, and the campaign of the Seven against Thebes, during which he was swallowed up by the earth; cf. Wolff, op. cit. 298; for representations in art see Bethe, op. cit. 1892-1893. Note also Bouché-Leclercq. op. cit. 2, 24-28.

Later he was considered as a divine prophet (Wolff, op. cit. 298); cf. Soph. El. 839-841: νῦν ὑπὸ γαίας / . . / πάμψυχος ἀνάσσα (and cf. the schol.), that is, he was a chthonic deity. He was worshipped at various places, including Thebes (the Theban stories relating to him are noted in Bethe, op. cit. 1890-1891), Argos (id. 1888-1890), and especially at Oropus (Wolff, op. cit. 300-301; Bethe, op. cit. passim), where he was called Zeus Amphiaraus. For incubation (1, 96, n.

deus ut haberetur, atque ab eius solo, in quo est humatus, oracla peterentur. 89. Quid? Asiae rex Priamus nonne et Helenum filium et Cas1. in quo est humatus del. Hottinger, ab cius solio in quo est humatus Poister, ab solo in quo est humatus Moser.

(excubabant) infra) in his worship there see Wolff, op. cit. 301; Hamilton, Incubation (1906), 80-87. This shrine, recognized by Croesus (Hdt. 1, 52; 1, 92), and active till the time of Constantine (Wolff, De novissima Orac. Aetate (1854), 30-31; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 3, 334-339), is described by various ancient authors, notably Strabo (9, 1, 22; 9, 2, 10-11), Pausanias (1, 34), and Philostratus (Heroic. 3, 16; Imag. 1, 26, 1), and an account of the excavations there is given by Bethe in P.-W. s.v. Amphiareion (1894), 1893-1897; to which add Frazer on Paus. 1, 34, 1 (1898), with bibliography on p. 473; Versace in Athen. Mittheil. 33 (1908), 247-272; Lattermann in Athen. Mittheil. 35 (1910), 81-102. The credulity of the worshippers there was perhaps parodied in a comedy of Aristophanes called Amphiaraus (Athen. p. 158c); cf. 1, 74, n. (apud Lebadiam Trophonio); N. D. 3, 49.

1. deus ut haberetur: cf. N. D. 2, 7; 3, 49: an Amphiaraus erit deus et Trophonius.

1. ab eius solo in quo est humatus: troublesome words, explained in various ways, namely (1) by changing eius to eo (as Hottinger, without MS. authority, suggested); (2) by omitting eius (so Moser advised); (3) by assuming a noun such as loci to have dropped out after eius; (4) by considering, as did Hottinger, that the words in quo est humatus are a redundant expression simplifying and explaining the unusual phrase eius solo, which must then refer either to the soil in which he was buried or to that consecrated (and thus belonging) to him. With the last explanation we might well consider the relative clause as a gloss; yet cf. Val. Max. 8, 15, ext. 3, quoted in the next note.

1. humatus: cf. Val. Max. 8, 15, ext. 3: eadem gens summo consensu ad Amphiaraum decorandum incubuit, locum in quo humatus est in formam condicionemque

templi redigendo atque inde oracula capi instituendo. No objection need be felt to humatus on the ground that Amphiaraus did not receive regular burial, for from the manner of his death the term receives its own appropriateness. But cf. also Leg. 2, 57.

1f. oracla peterentur: cf. 1, 76; 1, 95. 2. Asiae: for this word as applied to the realm of Priam cf. Virg. Aen. 2, 557: regnatorem Asiae; cf. id. 2, 193; 3, 1; Sen. Agam. 203; 788; Juv. 10, 266.

2. nonne: on the deferred position see Reid on Ac. 2, 86. It so occurs in the second sentence below, and in 2, 51; 2, 96; 2, 114; 2, 144.

2f. Helenum . . . et Cassandram: of the numerous household of Priam (cf. Tusc. 1, 85) at least four had prophetic power: Helenus, Cassandra, Aesacus (Apollod. Bibl. 3, 12, 5, 1; Lycophr. 224-225, and schol.; Knaack in P.-W. s.v. Aisakos (1894), 1047), and Oenone (Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 285, n. 3; 2 (1880), 52, n. 1). The twins Helenus and Cassandra received their gift of prophecy when children, by incubation in the temple of Apollo. There the attendants of Priam (according to Tzetz. ad Lycophr. hypoth. p. 5 Scheer): τŷ έπαύριον . . . τῷ ναῷ προσελθόντες β' δφεις έπηωρημένους τοις παισίν εύρον και τά αισθητήρια τούτων καθαίροντας, μηδέν δε λυμαινομένους αύτούς. 'Απόλλων δέ τις χρησμολόγος καί μάντις ύπαρχων εν τῷ ἐηθέντι ἰερῷ τοῦ Ἡλίου μαντικούς είπε γενέσθαι τούς παίδας, δς καί λαβών αύξοντας έδίδασκε την μαντικήν, κτλ. So also Eustath. and Schol. A on Hom. Il. 7, 44; cf. 1, 79, n. (puerum . . . amplexu). On Helenus see further Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 45-48; Engelmann in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Helenos (1890); Süss in P.-W. s.v. Helenos (1912). Homer describes him (Il. 6, 76) as Il peaulons Έλωνος, οίωνοπόλων δχ' άριστος; cf. Virg. Aen. 3. 360-362: qui tripodas Clarii laurus. qui sidera sentis, / et volucrum linguas et sandram filiam divinantes habebat, alterum auguriis, alteram mentis incitatione et permotione divina? Quo in genere Marcios quosdam fratres nobili loco natos, apud maiores nostros fuisse scriptum videmus. Quid? Polyidum Corinthium nonne Homerus et aliis multa et filio ad Troiam proficiscenti mortem praedixisse commemorat? Omnino apud veteres,

4. Polyidum Marsus, polybum C.

praepetis omina pinnae, / fare age; and many writers mention him as a diviner. For Cassandra cf. 1, 67, n. (adest, etc.).

- 1. alterum . . . alteram: they represent artificial and natural divination, respectively; cf. 1, 12, n. (duo sunt enim).
 - 2. incitatione: cf. 2, 111.
 - 2. permotione: cf. 2, 9.
- 2. Marcios quosdam fratres: cf. Liv. 25, 12, 2 (of 212 B.C.): religio deinde nova obiecta est ex carminibus Marcianis. vates hic Marcius inlustris fuerat, et cum conquisitio priore anno ex senatus consulto talium librorum fieret in M. Aemili praetoris urbani, qui eam rem agebat, manus venerant. is protinus novo praetori Sullae tradiderat. ex huius Marci duobus carminibus alterius post rem factam editi comprobata auctoritas eventu alteri quoque cuius nondum tempus venerat adferebat fidem. There follows a prediction of the battle of Cannae, and an utterance advising the establishment of games in honor of Apollo (restored from Livy's prose to Saturnian verse by Havet, De Saturnio Lat. Versu (1880), 415; cf. Thulin, Italische sakrale Poesie u. Prosa (1906), 64-66). Festus (p. 165 M.) cites the carmine Cn. Marci patis as evidence for an archaic form, and most writers speak of but a single Marcius (see the references in Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 536, n. 6; to which add Amm. Marc. 14, 1, 7; Zonar. 9, 1), as does Cicero in 1, 115 infra; but in 2, 113 he again uses the plural; Serv. Aen. 6, 70, says ex responso Marciorum fratrum, quorum extabant, ut Sibyllina, responsa (cf. id. Aen. 6, 72); and Symm. Ep. 4, 34 remarks: Martiorum quidem vatum divinatio caducis corticibus inculcata est. The pluralizing of Marcius is explained by Schanz (Gesch. d. rom. Litt. 1, 1, 3 ed. (1907), 27) as probably suggested

by two prophetic utterances ascribed to him. No date is assigned for his life, and, as Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4 (1882), 129-130, well points out, he belongs in the legendary period, and was probably created under the influence of Hellenism, as is shown by his connection with the Sibylline books and by his zeal for the cult of Apollo. The word quosdam which Cicero uses in describing the brothers is in recognition of their somewhat shadowy character. The fragments of the Carmina Marciana (including vaticinia and praecepta) will be found in Baehrens, Frag. Poet. Rom. (1886), 36; 294-295. These carmina Wissowa (in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 821) thinks are not native Italic compositions but rather Greek Sibylline verses in a Latin translation.

3. nobili loco natos: cf. pro Arch. 4; 2 Verr. 5, 111.

4. Polyidum: one of the race of Melampus (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2 (1880), 12-29), the pedigree being given in Eustath. on Il. 13, 663: Μελάμποδος υίος δ & 'Οδυσσεία Μάντιος. οὐ Κλείτος, ου Κοίρανος, ου Πολύειδος, ου Εύχηνωρ καί Κλείτος, οι θήβας έλόντες σύν τοις έπιγόνοις elτα els Τροίαν ξρχονται, και θνήσκει μέν Εύχήνωρ ὑπ' 'Αλεξάνδρου. For traditions connected with him (the most famous being his restoration to life of Glaucus, son of Minos) see Stoll in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Polyeidos, 2646-2647. The Homeric passage here cited is Il. 13, 663 ff.: ήν δέ τις Εύχήνωρ, Πολυίδου μάντιος υίδς, / άφνειδς τ' άγαθός τε, Κορινθόθι οίκία ναίων, / δς δ' εὐ είδως κῆρ' όλοὴν επί νηδς ξβαινε. / πολλάκι γάρ οί ξειπε γέρων άγαθὸς Πολύιδος / νούσφ ὑπ' άργαλέη φθίσθαι οίσ' & μεγάροισι / ή μετ' 'Αχαιών νηυσίν ύπό Τρώεσσι δαμήναι, κτλ. The name Polyidus, qui rerum potiebantur idem auguria tenebant; ut enim sapere sic divinare regale ducebant. Testis est nostra civitas, in qua et reges augures et postea privati eodem sacerdotio praediti rem publicam religionum auctoritate rexerunt. XLI. 90. Eaque divinationum ratio ne in barbaris quidem gentibus neglecta est, siquidem et in Gallia Druidae sunt, e quibus

- 1. idem ABV, Christ, Baiter, .i. H, ildem O, Maller.
- 2. ducebant. testis Hottinger, ducebant (tenebant A) ut testis C, ducebatur testis Auratus, Christ.

like Mantius, Manto, etc., was probably suggested by his powers of divination; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 140, n. 2. According to Ael. Hist. An. 8, 5, his predictions were made from the observation of birds. He is mentioned by Cicero in Leg. 2, 33 with others of the group of diviners here named; cf. Reitzenstein, Drei Vermutungen zur Gesch. d. röm. Litt. (1894), 29. For further information see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2, 21-24.

[253]4. ad Troiam: for the use of the preposition cf. Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 477-478; 1, 95, n. (a Dodona) infra. The preposition here expresses motion toward rather than arrival at the city.

- 1. rerum potiebantur: cf. Rep. 1, 49; 3, 46.
- 1. auguria tenebant: cf. Cato ap. Gell. 1, 12, 17: si volo augurium optime tenere.
- 1. sapere . . . divinare: knowledge of the present (or the past) and of the future are here united.
- 2. testis est: cf. Off. 2, 26: testis est Phalaris; Leg. Manil. 30.
- 2. et reges augures: cf. Valeton in *Mnemos*. 19 (1891), 410, and n. 5 on kings as augurs and the use of augurs by the kings; also 1, 3 supra.
- 3. eodem sacerdotio praediti: cf. de Sen. 61: M. Lepidum eodem sacerdotio praeditum; de Dom. 136; Phil. 2, 80.
- 3f. religionum auctoritate: different in meaning from 1, 92: religionis auctoritate, the plural here referring to the rites of religion.
- 4. rexerunt: not by the coincidence of magistracy and augurate in the same hands (otherwise privati would not be mentioned), but by the influence which

these *privati* by virtue of their mantic office had upon the conduct of public affairs.

- 4. divinationum: for the plural cf. 1, 34, n. (duo genera divinationum).
- 4. ratio: i.e., the principle of the combination of regal and augural power, as with Diviciacus and the Persian kings, or that of the strong influence of augurs on political affairs.
 - 4. ne in barbaris, etc.: cf. 1, 2; 1, 47.
- 5. Druidae: the numerous derivations proposed for this word are discussed by Holder, Altceltischer Sprachschatz, 1 (1896), 1321-1322; Callegari, Il Druidismo nell' antica Gallia (1904), 15, n. 1; Ihm in P.-W. s.v. Druidae (1905), 1736-1737; cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, 2, 3 ed. (1911), 363, n. 2; 11, 3 ed. (1913), 76, n. 1.

The most important passages dealing with the Druids (especially to be noted is Caes. B. G. 6, 13-14) are quoted by Holder, op. cit. 1321-1330, and Callegari, op. cit. For a bibliography of modern works see Callegari, op. cit. 109-113; Ihm, op. cit. 1737-1738; to which add Reinach, Orpheus (Eng. tr. 1909), 121-122; Holmes, Caesar's Conquest of Gaul (1911), 32-36; 523-525; Jullian in Rev. des Études anc. 21 (1919), 102-110.

Diod. 5, 31, 2-3 makes three divisions among the Gauls: ποιηται μελώ», οδε βάρδους όνομάζουσιν . . . φιλόσοφοι τέ τινές είσι και θεολόγοι . . . οδε δρουίδας όνομάζουσιι χρώνται δὲ και μάντεσιν, άποδοχῆς μεγάλης άξιοῦντες αὐτούς οδτοι δὲ διά τε τῆς οἰωνοσκοπίας και διά τῆς τῶν ιερείων θυσίας τὰ μέλλοντα προλέγουσι, και πῶν τὸ πλῆθος έχουσιν ὑπήκοον (cf. Strab. 4, p. 197; Amm. Marc. 15, 9, 8). On their history (Caes. B. G. 6, 13, 11: disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata

ipse Diviciacum Haeduum, hospitem tuum laudatoremque, cognovi, qui et naturae rationem, quam $\phi \omega \omega \lambda \alpha \gamma lav$ Graeci appellant, notam esse sibi profitebatur et partim auguriis, partim coniectura, quae essent futura dicebat, et in Persis augurantur et divinant magi, qui congregantur in fano commentandi causa atque inter se conloquendi, quod etiam idem vos

2. φυσιολογίαν sulg., physiologiam sel phisiologiam C.

esse existimatur), organization, beliefs, control of education, and influence on public affairs, see the works cited. For their interest in divination see 1, 26, n. (Deiotarum) supra; Tac. Ann. 14, 30: hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant; Strab. 4, p. 198: Επαυσαν αύτους 'Ρωμαΐοι . . . των κατά τάς θυσίας και μαντείας θπαναντίων τοῦς παρ' ἡμῦν νομίμοις. ἄνθρωπον γάρ κατεσπεισμένον παίσαντες els νώτον μαχαίρα εμαντεύοντο εκ τοῦ σφαδασμοῦ. Also Diod. 5, 31, 3 (quoted above); Mela, 3, 19: quid dii velint scire profitentur; Luc. 1, 452-453: solis nosse deos et caeli numina vobis / aut solis nescire datum; Dio Chrysost. Or. 49, 8 (p. 95 von Arnim): Κελτοί δ' οθς δυομάζουσι δρυίδας και τούτους περί μαντικήν δυτας; Hippolyt. Philosophum. 25 (Doxogr. Gr. 574): τούτους Κελτοί ώς προφήτας και προγρωστικούς δοξάζουσιν διά τό έκ ψήφων και άριθμών Πυθαγορική τέχνη προαγορεύειν αύτοις τινα . . . χρώνται δέ Δρυτδαι και μαγείαις. And cf. Plin. N. H. 30, 13; Tac. Hist. 4, 54; Vopisc. Aurel. 44, 4; Numer. 14, 1-15, 5.

On the interest of Posidonius in the Druids (resulting from his visit to Gaul) and his influence upon Greek and Roman accounts of them see Mannhardt, Der Baumkultus (1875), 526 (cf. Reinach in Rev. arch. 22 (1913), 109); Partsch in Berl. philol. Woch. 23 (1903), 809; Norden, Agnostos Theos (1913), 92, n. 1 (and works there cited); Geffcken in Hermes, 49 (1914), 330-331.

1. Diviciacum: on the spelling and derivation of the name see Holder, op. cit.

1, 1260-1262, who holds that the Celtic form was Deiviciacos. This man was the brother of Dumnorix and was a prince of the Haedui, mentioned by Cicero only here but frequently appearing in Caesar's Gallic War as a supporter of the Romans.

For a discussion as to his possible influence upon Caesar's account of the Druids see Holmes, op. cit. 525-526.

- 1. Haeduum: on the spelling and derivation see Holder, op. cit. 1, 65-70, who thinks Aiduos was the Celtic form. But the Latin spelling may well have been with an initial k; cf. Holmes, op. cit. 843-844, and works there cited.
- 1. hospitem tuum: doubtless on the occasion of his.visit to Rome in 61 B.C. (Caes. B. G. 6, 12, 5). The appeal is made to Marcus Cicero upon much the same ground as in the case of the other Celt, Deiotarus, in 1, 26.
- 2. naturae rationem: cf. N. D. 1, 20: physiologiam, id est, naturae rationem (and see Mayor's note). Physiologia also occurs in 2, 37 infra. Cf. Caes. B. G. 6, 14, 6: multa praeterea de sideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum natura, de deorum immortalium vi ac potestate disputant et iuventuti tradunt; Mela, 3, 19; Strab. 4, p. 197: δρυζδαι δὲ πρὸς τῆ φυσιολογία καί την ηθικήν φιλοσοφίαν άσκοῦσι; Diod. 5, 31, 2 (quoted in note on Druidae supra); and Dio Chrysost. Or. 49, 8; Amm. Marc. 15, 9, 8: ingeniis celsiores quaestionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti; Callegari, op. cit. 71 ff.
- 2. quam . . . Graeci appellant: cf. 1, 1, n. (μαντικήν).
- 3. auguriis: cf. Justin, 24, 4, 3: augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent; Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere (1888), 23-25 for augury among the Celts (also Ael. V. H. 2, 31); de la Ville de Mirmont, L'Astrologie chez les Gallo-Romains (1904), 13-14.
 - 4. magi: cf. 1, 46, n. (magos).
- 4f. in fano: in a consecrated place (as in Liv. 10, 37, 15: fanum tantum, id

quondam facere Nonis solebatis. 91. Nec quisquam rex Persarum potest esse qui non ante magorum disciplinam scientiamque perceperit. Licet autem videre et genera quaedam et nationes huic scientiae deditas. Telmessus in Caria est, qua in urbe excellit haruspicum disciplina; itemque 3-4. Telmessus O, Maller (cf. 1, 94), telmessus ABV, Christ, Bailer, tedmessus vel tedmessus B.

est, locus templo effatus), for the Persians did not have temple buildings (Hdt. 1, 131; Cic. Rep. 3, 14; Leg. 2, 26; etc.).

[255]5. commentandi causa: cf. de Am.
7: proximis Nonis, cum in hortos D.
Bruti auguris commentandi causa ut
adsolet venissemus, tu non adfuisti, qui
diligentissime semper illum diem et illud
munus solitus esses obire. These gatherings of the augurs were, of course, quite
distinct from their public functions on the
arx (Valeton in Mnemos. 19 (1891), 408).
See also Regell, De Augurum publicorum
Libris (1878), 24.

[255]5. vos: of the augurs; cf. 1, 25: vestra.

- 1. solebatis: the custom had evidently been abandoned; cf. 1, 25, n. (nunc...ignorantur).
- 1. nec quisquam rex, etc.: Davies well compares Philo, de special. Leg. 3, 18: την μεν οδυ άληθη μαγικήν, όπτικην έπιστήμην οδσαν, η τά της φόσεως έργα τρανοτέραις φαντασίαις αδγάζεται, σεμνήν και περιμάχητον δοκοῦσαν είναι, οδκ ιδιῶται μόνον άλλά και βασιλεῖς και βασιλείων οι μέγιστοι και μάλιστα οι Περσῶν διαπονοῦσιν οὕτως ὥστ' οδδένα φασιν ἐπι βασιλείαν δύνασθαι παραπεμφθηναι παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰ μη πρότερον τοῦ μάγων γένους κεκοινωνηκῶς τυγχάνοι (cf. Plat. Alcib. 1, p. 121e, quoted by Apul. Apol. 26, who notes that magic inter prima regalia docetur, nec ulli temere inter Persas concessum est magum esse, haud magis quam regnare).
- 2. disciplinam . . . perceperit: cf. N. D. 1, 11; Val. Max. 1, 1, 1.
- 3. genera: here in the sense of 'families' (cf. 2, 116: genus Aeacidarum, and numerous other passages in Cicero for the singular, though the plural in this sense is rare) or possibly in the sense of 'classes' (cf. 1, 46: magos . . . quod genus sapientium . . . kabebatur in Persis).

3f. Telmessus: on the spelling (variants are Telmissus, Telmesus, Telemessus, etc.) see Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 59, n. 1; Hicks in Journ. of Hell. Stud. 14 (1894), 380. This Carian community or κοινόν, rather than a distinct town (cf. Hicks, op. cit. 379; Cicero who says qua in urbe had doubtless never seen the place), is to be distinguished from a Lycian city of the same name, which perhaps also had an oracle; cf. Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 931, n. 4. Its site has been fixed by an inscription published by Hicks (op. cit. 377-380; cf. Paton and Myres in Journ. of Hell. Stud. 14, 373-377) as near the village of Ghiöl, in the peninsula of Myndus (see the map in Journ. of Hell. Stud. 16 (1896), 236), about seven miles N.W. of Halicarnassus (cf. Suid. s.v. Τελμισσείς οὐτοι οἰκοῦσιν & Καρία, άπέχοντες ξ' στάδια 'Αλικαρνασσού ώς Πολέμων; also Paroemiogr. Gr. 2, 663, no. 24, quoted below, for a different statement). It was already famous in the time of Croesus, who consulted its seers (Hdt. 1, 78; 1, 84). Pliny (N. H. 30, 6) calls it religiosissimam urbem; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1 (1879), 292, and n. 5; 2 (1880), 75-78.

The forms of divination ascribed to the Telmessians are (1) extispicine, as Cicero here says; cf. Hesych. s.v. πύλαι 'Αριστοφάνης Τελμισσεῦσιν (540 Koch) † ἀπὸ τῶν θυτῶν λέγει ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἐπισκέπτονται τὰς ἐκτροπὰς τοῦ ἡπατος καὶ τὰς φλέβας; Arr. Anab. 4, 4, 3; (2) augury, according to Ar. Telmiss. 537 Kock (ap. Athen. 7, p. 308-309): μελανοπτερύγων κορακίνων; cf. Arr. Anab. 2, 26, 4 fl.; (3) according to the Christian writers they practiced or even invented divination by dreams (the evidence is given by Myres in Journ. of Hell. Stud. 14 (1894), 378, n. 1; to which add Schol. Greg. Naz. Or. 1 c. Iulian. 71, in

Elis in Peloponneso familias duas certas habet, Iamidarum unam, alteram
1. Iamidarum wulg., iam indarum C.

Migne, Patr. Gr. 36, 1022); (4) if we may judge from the accounts of the Telmessian Aristander, who accompanied Alexander the Great, the interpretation of portents was the form most employed (cf. 1, 94 infra); Arr. Anab. 1, 11, 2; 1, 25, 8; 2, 18, 1; 3, 2, 2; 3, 7, 6; 3, 15, 7; 4, 15, 8; but cf. Körte in Jahrb. des kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 5 Ergänzungsheft (1904), 14. Arrian further remarks (2, 3, 3): elvai yap roùs Τελμισσέας σοφούς τὰ θεῖα έξηγεῖσθαι καί σφισιν άπο γένους δεδόσθαι αύτοις και γυναιξί kal waiol the martelar, and in 2, 3, 4 he says of a Telmessian girl: είναι γὰρ και αὐτὴν τοῦ μαντικοῦ γένους. From this and the inscription cited above Hicks, op. cit. 379, reasons that 'it is probable that only those who belonged to the ancient years founded by the prophetic god had the franchise of the sourés, but that all members of that yes, men, women, and children (if we are to trust Arrian), claimed the gift of prophecy.'

For the eponymous Telmessus cf. 1, 39, n. (Galeotae); Paroemiogr. Gr. 2, 663, no. 24: Τελμισσείς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Καρία · ἀντί τοῦ δοῦλοι παροικούσι δούλοις και πένησι πένητες άπέχοντες στάδιον 'Αλικαρνάσου, ώς Πολέμων. Teλμισσός δε πόλις εν Λυκία άπο Τελμισσού τού 'Απόλλωνος και μιας των 'Αντήνορος θυγατέρων, 🛔 έμιγη els κύλικα μεταβαλών. διό και τερατοσκόπον αυτήν εποίησεν, ώς Διονόσιος & Κτίσεσι. This statement is perhaps a mistake, ascribing to the Lycian Telmessus an origin belonging to the Carian, for the connection of Apollo with Telmessus is attested by the inscription in Journ. of Hell. Stud. 14(1894), 378, e.g., lines 3-4: τὸν ᾿Αρχαγέτην τοῦ γένους 'Απόλλωνα Τελμισσή, and by that in Journ. of Hell. Stud. 16 (1896), 234, lines 7-8: 'Απόλλωνα Τελεμεσσοῦ μεδέοντα, and cf. lines 36-37. Further see Clem. Protrept. 3, pp. 34-35 Stählin: τον 🖢 τῷ Τελμησσῷ βωμον του 'Απόλλωνος' μνήμα είναι και τουτον Τελμησσού του μάντεως Ιστορούσιν (cf. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 2, 6, p. 71d; Arnob. 6, 6). The play of Aristophanes entitled Telmesses (Kock 528-541) perhaps parodied the superstitions associated with the place and its people; cf. 1, 74, n. (*Tro*phonio).

[256]4. in Caria est: the place being known for nothing save its mantic reputation and being in danger of confusion with the Lycian city this explanatory phrase is added.

[256]4. qua in urbe: see the note on Telmessus supra.

- 1. Elis: Halliday (Greek Divination (1913), 95) observes that the soothsayers of historic Greece are not from the larger states, but usually from the less highly civilized ones of western Greece.
- 1. families dues: important for the history of these families is the article of Weniger in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 18 (1915), 53-115; cf. also Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 62-70; 335-336. Philostratus says (Vit. Apollon. 5, 25): δ δὲ 'Απολλώνιος, "οὶ δὲ 'Ιαμίδαι," εἶπε, "καὶ οἰ Τελλιάδαι και οι Κλυτιάδαι και το των Μελαμποδιδών μαντείον έλήρησαν, & λώστε, τοσαῦτα μέν περί πυρός είπόντες, τοσαύτας δὲ άπ' αὐτοῦ ξυλλεξάμενοι φήμας," κτλ. The family of the Telliadae, however, are little known, and apparently not regularly coupled with the other two; cf. Weniger, op. cit. 66; 79-82. The history of the Iamids (id. 67-76) is treated by Pindar in the sixth Olympian ode (addressed to the Iamid Agesias), who tells (43 ff.) of the birth of its eponymous hero Iamus and the prediction (50-51) that he περί θνατών δ' Ισεσθαι μάντιν έπιχθονίοις έξοχον, οὐβέ ποτ' Εκλείψειν γενεάν. The pedigree of the Clytidae (Weniger, op. cit. 77-79) is given by Paus. 6, 17, 6: Μελάμποδος γάρ ήν τοῦ Αμυθάονος Μάντιος, τοῦ δὲ 'Οῖκλῆς, Κλυτίος δὲ 'Δλκμαίωνος τοῦ 'Αμφιαράου του 'Οϊκλέους' έγεγόνει δέ τῷ 'Αλκμαίωνι ὁ Κλμτίος έκ τῆς Φηγέως θυγατρός και ès την 'Ηλιν μετώκησε, κτλ. (but cf. Frazer's note on this passage).

From the numerous inscriptions found at Olympia and published by Dittenberger and Purgold (Die Inschriften von Clutidarum, haruspicinae nobilitate praestantes. In Syria Chaldaei cognitione astrorum sollertiaque ingeniorum antecellunt. 92. Etruria autem de caelo tacta scientissume animadvertit eademque interpretatur.

1. Clutidarum Lombinus, glutidarum C, Clytidarum O cum Ursino.

Olympia (1896), nos. 58-141) there can be reconstructed (Weniger, op. cit. 53-59) the succession of the Iamids and Clytids at Olympia from the middle of the first century B.C. to 5 A.D.; from 61-93; and from 113-265 A.D. During the earlier period the names of one Iamid and one Clytid appear in the inscriptions of the sacrificial priests; later usually two of each family. A list of the names of known members of the families is given by Weniger, op. cit. 114-115, who also (82-104) discusses their forms of divination, of which empyromancy was the most usual; cf. Philostr. I.c.; Schol. Pind. Ol. 6, 7: δι' έμπύρων 🖢 "Ηλιδι 'Ιαμίδαι έμαντεύοντο. With the hereditary principle appearing in the Iamidae and Clytidae compare the Telliadae (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2 (1880), 70-71), and the custom at the oracle of Clarus, where Tacitus (Ann. 2, 54) says that the priest was certis e familiis et ferme Mileto accitus, or that at the shrine of the Paphian Venus (Tac. Hist. 2, 3), where ita pactum ut familiae ulriusque posteri caerimoniis praesiderent. Many instances of inherited mantic power among the Greeks are cited by Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 79-81. A tendency in this direction in the Roman augurate is perhaps to be seen in Tac. Ann. 2, 83. So in Scotland second sight is said to be hereditary; cf. Defoe, Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell (1720), passim.

[257]1. unam, alteram: note the chiasmus.

1. Clutidarum: this form does not appear in the Elean inscriptions (Weniger, op. cit. 59), although attested for the unrelated Clytidae of Chios (Frazer on Paus. 6, 17, 6; cf. Weniger, op. cit. 59, n. 3). The form customary at Olympia is Κλυτιάδης, which also appears in Hdt. 9, 33. The MSS. in our passage agree in the spelling with u, although the usual

transcription of the Greek v was at this time y (Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausführ. Gram. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 10); cf. Syria immediately below.

1. Syria: here = Assyria; cf. Hdt. 7, 63: οὖτοι δὲ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἐκαλέωντο Σύριοι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων 'Ασσύριοι ἐκλήθησαν, in a note on which Rawlinson calls attention to the entirely different derivation of the two words (from Tsur and Asskur respectively), and notes that they are carelessly used by both Greek writers (cf. Stephanus, Thes. Gr. Ling. s.v. Σύροι) and Roman (e.g., Tusc. 1, 101; Fin. 2, 106; Mela, 1, 62; Suet. Iul. 22).

1. Chaldaei: cf. 1, 2, n. (Chaldaei non ex artis). For the hereditary character of their divination cf. Diod. 2, 29, 4: παρά μὲν γάρ τοῦς Καλδαίοις ἐκ γένους ἡ τούτων φιλοσοφία παραδέδοται, και παῖς παρά πατρὸς διαδέχεται . . . διὸ και γονεῖς ἔχοντες διδασκάλους ἄμα μὲν ἀφθόνως ἄπαντα μανθάνουσιν, ἄμα δὲ τοῦς παραγγελλομένοις προσέχουσι πιστεύοντες βεβαιότερον; Jastrow, Relig. Babyloniens u. Assyriens, 2 (1912), 969, n.; Moore, Hist. of Relig. 1 (1913), 228.

2. antecellunt: cf. Diomed. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 374, 19): item (sc. Cicero) de divinatione primo antecellunt. A favorite word in Cicero, many examples being cited in Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v.

2. Etruria: cf. 1, 3; 1, 35; Sen. N. Q. 2, 32: Tuscos quibus summa est fulgurum persequendorum scientia; Diod. 5, 40, 2: τὰ περί τὴν κεραυνοσκοπίαν μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐξειργάσαντο; Dion. Hal. 9, 6, 4: οι τε μάντεις ἀκριβέστερον τῶν ἄλλοθι που δοκοῦντες ἐξητακέναι τὰ μετάρσια, πόθεν τε αι τῶν κεραυνῶν γίνονται βολαί και τίνει αὐτοὺς ὑποδέχονται μετά τὰς πληγὰς ἀπιώντας τόποι, θεῶν τε οις ἐκαστοι ἀποδίδονται και τίνων ἀγαθῶν ἡ κακῶν μηνυταί. The large subject of Etruscan fulgural interpretation has been most fully treated by Thulin, Die etruskische Disciplin, 1 (1906), 13-128.

quid quibusque ostendatur monstris atque portentis. Quocirca bene apud maiores nostros senatus tum cum florebat imperium decrevit ut de principum filiis X ex singulis Etruriae populis in disciplinam traderentur,

3. X ex Christ, Boller, Maller, sex CO, seni malebat Orelli, X singulis Davies, ut deni principum filii ex singulis Madvig, Thoresen.

[258]3. de caelo tacta: cf. 2, 47; 2, 149; also 1, 93: de caelo fiebant.

[258]3. scientissume: cf. Fin. 4, 21; Rep. 1, 22.

- 1. monstris . . . portentis: cf. 1, 3, n. (monstris).
- 2. cum florebat imperium: probably written before the death of Caesar. The date to which Cicero refers is thought by Thulin (in P.-W. s.v. Haruspices (1912), 2437) to be the second century B. C.
- 2. decrevit, etc.: cf. Val. Max. 1, 1, 1: maiores . . . portentorum depulsiones Etrusca disciplina explicari voluerunt . . . tantum autem studium antiquis non solum servandae sed etiam amplificandae religionis fuit ut florentissima tum et opulentissima civitate decem principum filii senatus consulto singulis Etruriae populis percipiendae sacrorum disciplinae gratia traderentur; Leg. 2, 21: prodigia, portenta ad Etruscos karuspices, si senatus iussit, deferunto, Elruriaque principes disciplinam doceto. Some have tried to connect with this Liv. 9, 36, 3-4: habeo auctores vulgo tum Romanos pueros sicul nunc Graecis ila Etruscis litteris erudiri solitos, sed propius est vero praecipuum aliquid fuisse in eo (sc. M. Fabio) qui se tam audaci simulatione hostibus inmiscuerit, but litteris is hardly an appropriate term for the Etruscan discipline.
- 3. principum: cf. Censor. de Die nat. 4, 13: in agro Tarquiniensi puer dicitur divinus exaratus nomine Tages, qui disciplinam cecinerit extispicii, quam lucumones tum Etruriae potentes exscripserunt (cf. 2, 50 infra); Comm. Bern. Luc. 1, 636: hic duodecim principum pueris disciplinam aruspicinae dictavit. And Cicero writes (ad Fam. 6, 6, 3) to A. Caecina, who came from Volterra, . . . ratio quaedam Tuscae disciplinae quam a patre, nobilissimo atque optimo viro, acceperas. Cf. Tac. Ann. 11, 15: rettulit deinde ad senatum super collegio

haruspicum, ne vetustissima Italiae disciplina per desidiam exolesceret; saepe adversis rei publicae temporibus accitos, quorum monitu redintegratas caerimonias ... primoresque Etruriae sponte aut patrum Romanorum inpulsu retinuisse scientiam et in familias propagasse, etc. On the aristocratic tendencies of the art see also Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 100-101; 107, n. 1; Thulin in P.-W. s.v. Haruspices (1912), 2437; and for the habit of passing instruction in it from father to son cf. C. I. L. XIII, 3694 (from Trier); XIV, 164 (from Ostia).

- 3. filis: these were, of course, Etruscans, not Romans (Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 3 (1909), 143, n. 2; id. in P.-W. s.v. Haruspices (1912), 2441); in the empire Etruscan birth was no longer essential.
- 3. X ex: the MSS. here agree in the reading sex, which has found little favor among editors. The most elaborate reviews of the different suggestions made will be found in Moser's edition (ad h. loc.) and in the first work of Thulin just cited); cf. id. in Ruggiero, Disionario epigrafico, s.v. Haruspex.

The number of principal Etruscan cities, and, in particular, the number associated with haruspices, being twelve (cf. Fest. p. 359 M.: Tages . . . puer dicitur discipulinam aruspicii dedisse duodecim populis Etruriae; Comm. Bern. Luc. 1, 636, quoted in the note on principum supra), the question is as to the number of boys by which this number is to be multiplied. Since we know of an ordo LX harus picum, first mentioned in C. I. L. VI. 32439 (of the end of the Republic or beginning of the empire), scholars have been tempted to emend with some reference to that. So Traube (in Furtwängler, Antik. Gemmen, 3 (1900), 271) thinks that the real number has been lost and wrong ne ars tanta propter tenuitatem hominum a religionis auctoritate abduceretur ad mercedem atque quaestum. Phryges autem et Pisidae et Cilices et Arabum natio avium significationibus plurimum obtemperant, quod idem factitatum in Umbria accepimus.

restorations made in Cicero ((s) ex) and Valerius Maximus (de(cem)), and he would restore V as the proper numeral $(5 \times 12 = \text{the } 60 \text{ of the } ordo)$. Thulin (in Ruggiero, l.c.) would find some relation to the ordo, of which he here sees the beginning, whether the number was later reduced from 120 to 60 (but additions, rather than reductions, in the number of priesthoods are the rule!), or whether the correct reading is V, as Traube suggested. It should, however, be noted, that this action of the senate is not the appointment of the members of the ordo, but merely a measure to insure a supply of eligible candidates (and it is noteworthy that Cicero does not state whether this is a selection made once for all or one to recur at regular intervals). Even granted, then, that the establishment of an ordo of sixty was contemplated, it would not be surprising if the number put in training had considerably exceeded that total, and might, with allowance for deaths, physical disqualifications, and choice of other careers, have been as large as 120 (X ex singulis). This latter number is easily explained palaeographically (Schenkel ap. Bormann in Jahresh. d. österr. arch. Inst. 2 (1899), 134, n. 5), and agrees most closely with the testimony of Valerius Maximus, which, though far from infallible, is: he best guide that we here have. Fowler (Relig. Experience of the People (1911), 308) remarks: "This was the last service that the degenerate Etruscan people rendered to its conquerors, and a more degrading one it is impossible to imagine."

1. ars tanta: cf. Fin. 1, 72.

1. tenuitatem hominum: cf. pro Sex. Rosc. 86: tenuitas hominis eius modi est ut dissimulari non queat; and Cicero often, especially in the orations, uses tenuis of those of alender means.

2. ad mercedem atque quaestum: cf. 1, 132; Tac. Ann. 4, 62.

2. Phryges: cf. Clem. Strom. 1, 74, p. 48 Stählin: πτήσεις δὲ δρνίθων παρεφυλάξαντο πρώτοι Φρύγες; Greg. Naz. Or. 1 in Iulian. 109: the olderstuche be there; obe άλλων ή Φρυγών, τών πρώτων περιεργασμένων δρνίθων πτήσιν τε και κινήματα; Theodoret. Gr. Affect.1: "Apaßes re kal Pobyes olumoσκοπικήν ἐπενόησαν πρώτοι(cf. Georg. Monach. Chron. 2, 18, p. 74 de Boor); Suid. S.V. οἰώνισμα καὶ οἰωνισμοί· αὶ διὰ τῶν πτηνών περιεργίαι. διαίρεσις οίωνιστικής. ταύτην εύρον πρώτοι Φρύγες; Isid. Elym. 8, 9, 32: auguria autem avium Phryges primi invenerunt; Hugo de S. Vict. Erudit. Didascal. 6, 15: auguria Phryges invenerunt; Joann. Saresb. Policr. 1, 13, p. 409b. Cf. also Juv. 6, 585: divitibus responsa dabunt Phryx augur et Indae; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist, de la Div. 1 (1879), 132, n.

Pliny, however, ascribes (N. H. 7, 203) the invention of augury to Car the Carian, and Suid. s.v. Τηλέγονος to Telegonus; cf. Aesch. Prom. V. 488-492, where Prometheus claims the distinction of being its revealer to mortals.

2. Pisidae et Cilices: cf. 1, 2, nn. (Cilicum, Pisidarum); 1, 94.

3. Arabum natio: important is a fragment of Appian published by Miller in Rev. arck. 19 (1869), 102-103 (=fr. 19 Mendelssohn), entitled repl 'Αράβων μαντείας, and describing the meeting with an Arab and his predictions from the cawing of a crow. Cf. Porphyr. de Abstin. 3, 4: "Αραβει μὲν κοράκων ἀκούουσιν; Philostr. Vit. A pollon. 1, 20: ἐστι γὰρ τῶν 'Αραβίων ἄδη κοινόν καὶ τῶν ὁρνίβων ἀκούων μαντευομένων, ὁπόσα οὶ χρησμοί, ξυμβάλλονται δὲ τῶν ἀλόγων σιτούμενοι τῶν δρακόντων οὶ μὲν καρδίαν φασίν, οὶ δὲ ἦπαρ; Clem. Strom. 1, 74, p. 48 Stählin: "Ισαυροι δὲ καὶ "Αραβει ἐξεπόνησαν τὴν οἰωνιστικήν; Euseb. ads.

XLII. 93. Ac mihi quidem videntur e locis quoque ipsis qui a quibusque incolebantur divinationum oportunitates esse ductae. Etenim Aegyptii et Babylonii in camporum patentium aequoribus habitantes, cum ex terra nihil emineret quod contemplationi caeli officere posset, omnem curam in siderum cognitione posuerunt, Etrusci autem, quod religione inbuti studiosius et crebrius hostias immolabant, extorum cognitioni se maxume dedide-

- 2. etenim Manutius, ut enim C.
- 2. Aegyptii et Manutius, Aegyptii ut C.
- 4. posset vulg., possit C.

Hierocl. 10: ξχομεν δή οὖν πρός τοῖς καταλελεγμένοις καὶ τοὺς ᾿Αραβίων σοφοὺς διδασκάλους τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰωνιστικὴν τάνδρὸς ἐπιστήμης, κτλ.; Theodoret. Gr. Affect. 1 (quoted in note on Phryges supra); Georg. Monach. l.c.; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 132, and n. 3; Miller, op. cit. 106, n. 1; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 246.

k [260]3. significationibus . . . obtemperant: cf. 2, 20; 2, 21.

[260]4. factitatum: cf. 2, 97.

[260]4. Umbria: cf. 1, 94. References to the observation of birds are found abundantly in nos. I and VI of the Eugubian Tablets; e.g., 1a1: aves anzeriates = avibus observatis (cf. 2a16; 6a1; etc.); 1b8: avif azeriatu = avis observato (cf. 1b10; etc.); cf. Bréal, Les Tables Eugubines (1875), followed by Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4 (1882), 169-174; Bücheler, Umbrica (1883), passim. A Latin inscription from Gubbio (C. I. L. XI, 5824) reads: L. Veturius Rufio avispex extispicus sacerdos publicus et privatus. For non-Roman Italic augurs cf. 1, 105; 1, 132; 2, 70.

1. ac mihi: the following two sections parallel very largely 1, 2-3 supra, astrology, augury, and haruspicine being mentioned in each, and the Egyptians, Babylonians, Etruscans, Cilicians, and Pisidians appearing in each. Omission, however, of reference to oracles in the present catalogue, of the names of the Arabs, Phrygians, Umbrians, and Carians in 1, 2-3, and of Pamphylians, Greeks, and Romans in this list, as well as the differing order of citation and different emphasis laid, show that the two, though perhaps drawn from a common author,

are probably from two different passages in his works. These sections also parallel not a little in 1, 90-92; cf. Heeringa, Quaest. ad Cic. de Div. Lib. duos pertin. (1906), 19-20.

- 1. locis . . . qui: cf, 1, 40, n. (locos).
- 2. divinationum: for the plural cf. 1, 34, n. (divinationum).
- 3. in camporum, etc.: cf. 1, 2, n. (Assyrii), and the passage from Favorinus there quoted.
- 3. aequoribus: in this sense mostly poetical, the earliest instance being Enn. Ann. 137 Vahlen: tractatus per aequora campi, which is imitated by Lucr. 3. 1002; Virg. Ecl. 9, 57 (see scholium); Aen. 7, 781; 12, 710; Sil. Ital. 5, 376; Stat. Theb. 10, 739; Carm. epigr. no. 1526, A, 1; Thes. Ling. Lat. 1, 1023; cf. Non. p. 65 M.: aequor ab aequo et plano Cicero Academicorum lib. II (fr. 3) vocabulum accepisse confirmat: quid tam planum videtur quam mares e quo etiam aequor illud poetae vocant. This might indicate that the word gives a poetic touch in the present passage; cf. Laurand, Études sur le Style des Discours de Cic. (1907), 82-83.
- 4. contemplationi . . . officere: cf. Off. 3, 66: demoliri ea quorum altitudo officeret aus piciis.
- 4f. curam . . . posuerunt: cf. Tusc. 5, 2.
- 5. religione inbuti: cf. N.D. 1, 55: tanta inbueremur superstitione; Liv. 5, 1, 6 (of the Etruscans): gens itaque ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus quod excellerent arte colendi eas; Arnob. 7, 26: genetrix et mater superstitionis Etruria.

runt, quodque propter aëris crassitudinem de caelo apud eos multa fiebant, et quod ob eandem causam multa inusitata partim e caelo, alia ex terra oriebantur, quaedam etiam ex hominum pecudumve conceptu et satu,

2. inusitata AHV, Christ, invisitata B (sed altere i eras.), Baiter, Maller, Thoresen.

[261]6. crebrius hostias immolabant: cf. Varr. ap. Isid. Elym. 14, 4, 22: Tuscia autem a frequentia sacrificii et turis dicta, and roll 660at.

- 1. aëris crassitudinem: cf. Sen. N. Q. 2, 30, 3-4: si quid tale intervenit nubem fecit solidiorem et crassiorem . . . illa frangi potest et edere sonum . . . est enim, ut diximus, nubes spissitudo aëris crassi. Also Plin. N. H. 2, 136: crebra in Italia (sc. fulmina), quia mobilior aër mitiore hieme et aestate nimbosa semper quodammodo vernat vel autumnat. Italiaeque partibus iis quae a septentrione descendunt ad teporem, qualis est urbis et Campaniae tractus, iuxta hieme et aestate fulgurat: Lvd. de Ost. p. 96, 6 ff.: enl be tis 'Ιταλίας ώς μάλιστα (SC. κεραυνοί βάλλονται). εύκρατος γάρ σχεδόν παρά πᾶν χωρίον ὁ κατ' exclume and, KTA.
 - 2. de caelo: cf. 1, 92.
- 2. inusitata: the weight of MS. evidence is in favor of this form, rather than invisitata. Both words are used by Cicero; for invisitatus cf. 2, 138; Off. 3, 38; for inusitatus Ac. 1, 24; Fin. 3, 5; 3, 15.
- 2. partim . . . alia: so in N.D. 1, 66; 1, 103; Rep. 4, 3; Fin. 4, 18; de Am. 45.
- 2. e caelo: for a collection of different types of such (many being already treated in these notes) see 1, 97; Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern (1903), 7-12; Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 3 (1909), 88-93.
- 2. ex terra: cf. 1, 75, n. (corona); Wülker, op. cit. 20-21; Thulin, op. cit. 3, 94-98, for vegetable growths; on seismic and other chthonic portents see Wülker, op. cit. 18-19; Thulin, op. cit. 3, 86-88.
- 3. hominum pecudumve conceptu et satu: cf. 2, 60; 2, 149; in addition to the foaling of mules (1, 36, n. (partus . . . mulae) supra), the birth of hermaphrodites (1, 98, n. (ortus androgyni) infra), and the classes of misbirths mentioned in

1, 121, any sort of unusual or teratological birth might be significant: Thus twins (cf. von Negelein in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 5 (1902), 271-273; Spiess in the same journal, 15 (1912), 162-166), triplets (Obseq. 14; cf. Dion. Hal. 3, 22, 10), quadruplets (Plin. N. H. 7, 33; Solin. 1, 51), births of five children (Jul. Capit. Anton. P. 9, 3; Phlegon, Mirab. 28-29 Westermann; but this Arist. Hist. An. 7, 4, p. 584 b 33 ff. does not treat as portentous, even citing one case where one mother bore twenty children at four different times, for which see also de Gen. An. 4, 4, p. 770 a 34 ff.; Antig. Hist. mirab. 119; Phlegon, Mirab. 28; Gell. 10, 2, and the parallels cited in the note of Hosius), or of seven boys together (Paul. Diac. de Gestis Langob. 1, 15); six kids born at once (Liv. 35, 21, 3); Siamese twins (Obseq. 12; 14; 25; 51; Oros. 5, 6, 1; Hier. Ep. 72, 2, 2; Aug. Enchirid. 87; C.D. 16, 8; Anthol. Lat. 2, 2 ed. (1906), no. 791, 24-26 Riese; Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 475-476); children with too many members (Wülker, op. cit. 14), or animals so born (e.g., Liv 30, 2, 11; 31, 12, 7; 32, 1, 11; 32, 9, 3; 32, 29, 2; Dio Cass. 78, 25); children with too few limbs or parts (Wülker, ibid.), or animals similarly born (e.g., Liv. 40, 2, 4; 40, 45, 4; 42, 20, 5; etc.); women bearing young of a different species (1, 121; Plin. N. H. 7, 34; Obseq. 57; App. B. C. 1, 83; Chron. Pasch. p. 248 P.), or lower animals born differing from the species of the parent (Liv. 23, 31, 15; Ael. V. H. 1, 29; Joseph. Bell. Iud. 6, 5, 3; Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 3, 8, 3; Zonar. 9, 3; Isid. Elym. 11, 3, 5), or hybrid animals, the hybridity usually appearing in the fact that the head is like that of one parent (often human), while the rest of the animal follows the other (Wülker, op. cit. 15; Liv. 27, 11, 5; 31, 12, 7; 32, 9, 3; Tac. Ann. 12, 64; compound animals

ostentorum exercitatissimi interpretes exstiterunt. Quorum quidem vim, ut tu soles dicere, verba ipsa prudenter a maioribus posita declarant. Quia enim ostendunt, portendunt, monstrant, praedicunt, ostenta, por-

such as centaurs (2, 49 infra) may perhaps owe their origin to such monstrosities; cf. Jastrow, Relig. Babyloniens u. Assyriens, 2, 2 (1912), 943, n. 1; Wilke, Einfluss des Sexuallebens auf die Mythologie u. Kunst der Indoeur. Völker in Mitth. d. anthrop. Ges. in Wien (1912), 1-48; Current anthrop. Lit. 1 (1912), 242);—on these and other animal misbirths of a supposedly portentous character see Obsequens, passim; Aug. C. D. 16, 8; Isid. Etym. 11, 3; Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 475-478; Wülker, op. cit. 15-16; Thulin, op. cit. 115-123; Stein, Tépas (1909), passim; Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 13-14; also Schwalbe, Morphologie der Missbildungen (1906-1909; with bibliography); Creighton and Mitchell in Encycl. Brit. 18, 11 ed. (1911), 740-745. For astrological influences causing the birth of monsters see Bouché-Leclercq, L'Astrologie grecque (1899), 399-400. On Vedic omens from misformed animals see Weber in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.hist. Kl., 1858, 323; 333; 341; 342; for birth omens in Babylonia see Jastrow, op. cit. 2, 2, (1912), 836-891 (for lower animals), and 891-946 (for human beings); id. in Religionsgesch. Versuchungen u. Vorarbeiten, 14, 5 (1914), reviewed by Schulz in Wochenschr. f. kl. Philol. 33 (1916), 73-80; Dennefeld, Babylonischassyrische Geburtsomina (1915).

The Pseudo-Aristotelian Problemata (10, 61) discuss the question διὰ τὶ τέρατα τἰκτουσι μάλιστα τὰ τετράποδα τὰ μὴ μεγάλα, δυθρωπος δὰ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα ἤττον, οἰον ἴπποι καὶ δνοι, κτλ. The supernatural character of such prodigies was attacked by Anaxagoras (Plut. Pericl. 6; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 37-38). See also 2, 60 infra; Isid. Etym. 11, 3, 1: portenta esse Varro ait quae contra naturam nata videntur; sed non sunt contra naturam.

quia divina voluntate fiunt, cum voluntas creatoris cuiusque conditae rei natura sit.

[262]3. conceptu et satu: an easy case of hysteron proteron; for the expression cf. Tim. 39: Caeli satu Terraeque conceptu generatos editosque.

1. exercitatissimi: on the eminence of the Etruscans in divination cf. Diod. 5, 40; Dion. Hal. 9, 6; Sidon. Carm. 5, 261; 9, 189.

1f. vim . . . declarant: cf. 2, 144.

2. ut tu soles dicere: cf. N.D. 2, 7: praedictiones vero et praesensiones rerum futurarum quid aliud declarant nisi hominibus ea ostendi, monstrari, portendi, praedicil ex quo illa ostenta, monstra, portenta, prodigia dicuntur; Serv. Aen. 3, 366 (=Gram. Rom. Frag. ed. Funaioli, fr. 440): Varro sane ita definit: ostentum quod aliquid hominibus ostendit; portentum quod aliquid futurum portendit; prodigium quod porro dirigit; miraculum quod mirum est; monstrum quod monet; Aug. C.D. 21, 8 fin.: monstra sane dicta perhibent a monstrando; quod aliquid significando demonstrent, et ostenia ab ostendendo, et portenta a portendendo, id est praeostendendo, et prodigia quod porro dicant, id est futurum praedicant; with which Isid. Etym. 11, 3, 3 agrees. Dietrich, De Ciceronis Ratione etymologica (1911), 44-45, shows that Cicero's etymologies are here in considerable part, at least, independent of Varro's (as repeated from an earlier form by Servius (or, more exactly, the Scholia Danielis) and from a later by Augustine). For ancient attempts to classify these words and give their etymologies see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4 (1882) 77, and n. 1 (to which add Suet. fr. 284 Reifferscheid), who well refuses to differentiate sharply between essentially synonymous terms.

2. posita: Cicero, as Thoresen remarks, apparently holds to the doctrine that the origin of words may be due to

tenta, monstra, prodigia dicuntur. 94. Arabes autem et Phryges et Cilices, quod pastu pecudum maxume utuntur campos et montes hieme et aestate peragrantes, propterea facilius cantus avium et volatus notaverunt; eademque et Pisidiae causa fuit et huic nostrae Umbriae. Tum Caria tota praecipueque Telmesses, quos ante dixi, quod agros uberrumos maximeque fertiles incolunt, in quibus multa propter fecunditatem fingi gignique possunt, in ostentis animadvertendis diligentes fuerunt.

XLIII. 95. Quis vero non videt in optuma quaque re publica plurimum auspicia et reliqua divinandi genera valuisse? Quis rex umquam fuit, quis populus, qui non uteretur praedictione divina? neque solum in pace sed in bello multo etiam magis, quo maius erat certamen et discrimen salutis. Omitto nostros, qui nihil in bello sine extis agunt, nihil sine auspiciis domi [habent auspicia]; externa videamus. Namque et Athenienses

13. domi; externa Schuets, Kock, Müller, Thoresen, domi habent auspicia externa B, dum habent auspicia externa AV, dum haberent auspicia externa H, externa Devies, O, domi habent: externa Christ, Boiler, domi, si habent auspicia; externa Devies (Philologus, 65 (1906), 319). An domi—dum habent auspicia; externa?

θέσις rather than to φύσις; cf. Plat. Crat. p. 390d; 397b-c.

[263]3f. ostendunt... dicuntur: cf. N.D. 2, 7: declarant... hominibus ea ostendi monstrari portendi praedici. ex quo illa ostenta, monstra, portenta, prodigia dicuntur; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4 (1882), 77-78, who regards portenta (=ostenta) as inanimate, monstra as biological in character, and prodigia as the acts or movements of human beings.

[263]3f. praedicunt . . . prodigia: the real etymology (Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 614-615) is from prod(pro) +*agiom(cf. aio, ad-agium, etc.). With the etymology given by Cicero cf. N.D. 2, 7 (quoted in the preceding note); Fest. p. 138 M.: prodigium velut praedicium et quasi praedicium; p. 229: prodigia quod prodicunt futura, permutatione g litterae, nam quae nunc cappellatur ab antiquis g vocabatur; Varr. ap. Serv. Aen. 3, 366 (quoted in note on ut tu soles dicere supra).

- 1. Arabes . . . Phryges . . . Cilices: cf. 1, 92.
- 2. pastu pecudum: cf. N.D. 2, 99; 2, 161; de Sen. 54. For the appeal of the free, out-of-door life of shepherds to the philosopher Posidonius see Geffcken in Hermes, 49 (1914), 331. Cf. also 1, 2 supra.

- 3. cantus . . . notaverunt: cf. N.D. 3, 14: cornicis cantum notavit (see Mayor's note), where, as here and in 2,91, the verb means to 'note the fulfilment of.'
 - 4. Pisidiae . . . Umbriae: cf. 1, 92.
- 5. Telmesses: cf. 1, 91, n. (Telmessus).
- 5. agros uberrumos: cf. Nep. Ages. 3, 1: ea regio (sc. Caria) iis temporibus multo putabatur locupletissima.
- 9. rex: cf. 1, 3; 1, 26-27; 1, 32; 1, 37; 1, 88; 1, 89; 1, 91; 2, 52; etc.
- 11. certamen et discrimen: cf. de Or. 1, 3: devenimus in medium rerum omnium certamen alque discrimen.
- 12. omitto nostros: the converse of 1, 3: ut omittam ceteros populos, noster quam multa genera conplexus est.
- 12. nihil in bello, etc.: cf. 1, 3, n. (militiae); 1, 28; 2, 76.
- 13. habent auspicia: troublesome words, which cannot be retained without emendation, but which, on the other hand, are difficult to explain as a gloss. Perhaps the suggestion which I have offered in the critical note above (though without sufficient confidence to include it in the text) may meet the needs of the case, and with it should be compared 2, 76: quam multi anni sunt cum bella a proconsulibus et a propraetoribus administrantur qui auspicia non kabent! Cf. also

omnibus semper publicis consiliis divinos quosdam sacerdotes, quos

µáντεις vocant, adhibuerunt, et Lacedaemonii regibus suis augurem
adsessorem dederunt, itemque senibus (sic enim consilium publicum
appellant) augurem interesse voluerunt, idemque de rebus maioribus semper aut Delphis oraclum aut ab Hammone aut a Dodona petebant. 96.

Lycurgus quidem, qui Lacedaemoniorum rem publicam temperavit, leges
2. μάντεις τωίς., mantis C.

Leg. 3, 10: omnes magistratus auspicium . . . habento.

[264]13. externa videamus: cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).

[264]13. Athenienses: cf. Arist. Resp. Athen. 54, 6: $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\rho\hat{o}$ de kal lerotouds déka, tods êtal tà ékbhata kaloumérous, <00. Tá te $\mu<\alpha\nu>$ teutà lerà biousu, kār te kallerifsai dég, kallerifsai dég, kallerifsai petà tôr μ arteur (and see Sandys' note); 1, 122 infra. Justin, 8, 2, 11 speaks of the constant use of the Delphic oracle by the Athenians.

- 1. publicis consiliis: cf. consilium publicum infra, and often in the orations.
- 2. Lacedaemonii: cf. Hdt. 6, 57: και προξείνους άποδεικνύναι τούτοισι προσκείσθαι τούς αν εθέλωσι των άστων, και Πυθίους αιρέεσθαι δύο έκάτερον, οι δὲ Πίθιοι είσι θεοπρόποι ές Δελφούς, σιτεόμενοι μετά των βασιλέων τὰ δημόσια . . . τὰς δὲ μαντηίας τάς γενομένας τούτους φυλάσσειν, συνειδέναι δέ και τούς Πυθίους: Xen. Resp. Lac. 15, 5: δδωκε (SC. Δυκούργος) δ' αδ και συσκήνους δύο έκατέρω προσελέσθαι, οι δή και Πύθιοι кадобэта; Nic. Damasc. Morum mirab. Coll. 114, 15 (= F.H.G. 3, 459): $\sigma v r e \kappa \pi \ell \mu$ πονται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ μάντεις καὶ Ιατροί καὶ abληταί; also the epitaph by Simonides (94): μνήμα τόδε κλεινοίο Μεγιστία, δν ποτε Μήδοι / Σπερχειόν ποταμόν κτείναν άμειψάμενοι, / μάντιος, δε τότε Κήρας έπερχομένας σάφα είδως / ούκ έτλη Σπάρτης ήγεμόνας προλιπεῖν (though whether this refers to a martis of this particular class may perhaps be questioned); Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 218.
- 3. adsessorem: here first in Latin and only here in Cicero. It probably represents the Greek σύνεδρος οτ πάρεδρος.
 - 3. senibus: the gerusia.

- 4. de rebus maioribus: cf. Nep. Lysand. 3, 1: Lacedaemonii omnia ad oracula referre consuerant; Paus. 3, 4, 4: οι μὰν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον οι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ὥστερ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εἰώθεσαν ἀνάγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀμφισβήτημα τὸ ὁπὲρ Δημαράτου. Cf. Dempsey, The Delphic Oracle (1918), 84, n. 6. For the phrase cf. 1, 122.
- 5. Delphis . . . Hammone . . . Dodona; cf. 1, 3, n. (Pythio). Instances of consultation of Delphi by the Spartans are too numerous to be here cited; cf. Plat. Leg. 3, p. 686a. For the Spartans and Ammon see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2 (1880), 345, and n. 7; and on the oracles given from the shrine at Dodona see 1, 3, n. (Dodonaeo).
- 5. a Dodona: according to Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 478, the preposition is here due to the desire for symmetry with the phrase ab Hammone. Cf. 1, 89, n. (ad Troiam).
- 6. Lycurgus: the legend of Lycurgus has been very fully treated by Meyer, Forschungen s. alt. Gesch. 1 (1892), 213-286, to which add Beloch, Gr. Gesch. 1, 2, 2 ed. (1913), 253-258 (who holds Lycurgus to be a sun-god, and compares other instances of sun-gods as law-givers), with a bibliography (p. 253, n. 1) of other works since Meyer's. Several oracles ostensibly addressed to Lycurgus are given by Meyer (pp. 223-228), of which one (p. 223) may be here quoted: ήκεις & Δυκόεργε έμον ποτί πίονα νηον/ Ζηνὶ φίλος . . . / . . . / . . . / ήκεις δ' εύνομίαν αιτεύμενος· αύταρ έγωγε / δώσω, τήν ούκ άλλη ἐπιχθονίη πόλις έξει. The rationalistic view appears in Ephorus (id. 218-219) as shown by Polyb. 10, 2, 11: Αυκοθργος del προσλαμβανόμενος ταῖς lôlais ἐπιβολαῖς την έκ της Πυθίας φήμην εύπαραδεκτοτέρας καί

suas auctoritate Apollinis Delphici confirmavit; quas cum vellet Lysander commutare eadem est prohibitus religione. Atque etiam qui praeerant Lacedaemoniis, non contenti vigilantibus curis, in Pasiphaae fano, quod

3. Pasiphane welg., pasiphae HV, pasiphe B, pasife A.

πιστοτέρας έποιει τὰς iδίας ἐπινοίας; cf. N.D. 3, 91: nec Lacedaemoniorum disciplinam dicam umquam ab Apolline potius Spartae quam a Lycurgo datam. Herodotus savs (1, 65): οι μέν δή τινες πρός τούτοισι λέγουσι καί φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτησι . ως δ' αύτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Δυκοῦργον . . . Εκ Κρήτης άγαγέσθαι ταῦτα, but by the time of Xenophon (Resp. Lac. 8; Meyer, op. cit. 231) the derivation from Delphi had been officially accepted. Meyer concludes (p. 232) that the establishment of the theory of Delphic origin dates from about 400 B.C., and is due to the efforts of the Spartan conservatives (in opposition to the innovations of Lysander), who strove to prove the Spartan constitution divinely sanctioned, and hence immutable. For Plato's attitude toward such Delphic sanction see Rep. 4, p. 427b; Leg. 1, pp. 624a; 632d; 6, p. 759c; 8, p. 828a.

The purpose of Lysander is set forth by Diod. 14, 13, 2-7 (following Ephorus): δισσείτο καταλύσαι την των 'Ηρακλειδών βασιλείαν καί κοινήν έκ πάντων Σπαρτιατών ποιήσαι τήν αίρεσιν των βασιλέων. ήλπιζε γάρ els èautòr τάχιστα την άρχην ήξειν . . . θεωρών δέ τούς Δακεδαιμονίους μάλιστα τοῖς μαντείοις προσέχοντας, επεχείρησε την εν Δελφοίς προφήτιν διαφθείραι χρήμασι» - Ενόμιζε γάρ, εί χρησμόν λάβοι σύμμαχον ταις ίδιαις ἐπιβολαις, ῥαδίως άξειν έπι τέλος την προαίρεσιν. έπει δέ παμπληθή χρήματα τοῖς περί τὸ μαντεῖον διατρίβουσιν δπισχνούμενος ούκ ξπειθε, ταις έν Δωδώνη περί τό μαντείον οδσαις lepelais προσήνεγκε λόγους περί των αυτών . . . ουδέν δέ πράξαι δυνάμενος Εξεδήμησεν els Κυρήνην, πρόφασιν μέν ώς εύχὰς ἀποδιδούς "Αμμωνι, τῆ δ' ἀληθεία διαφθείραι βουλόμενος το μαντείον . . . οδ μόνον ἀπέτυχε της ἐπιβολής άλλά καὶ συνεξέπεμψαν οι τοῦ μαντείου προεστώτες πρέσβεις τούς κατηγορήσοντας του Δυσάνδρου περί τής του χρηστηρίου διαφθοράς; cf. Plut. Lys. 25; Nep. Lys. 3, 1-2. For the political conservatism of the Delphic oracle cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 3 (1880), 126, and for alleged bribery of the oracle see 2, 118 infra.

[265]6. rem publicam temperavit: cf. Tusc. 1, 2.

- 2. qui praecrant: the ephors; cf. Plut. Cleom. 7: συνέβη δὲ περί τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων ἔνα κοιμώμενον ἐν Πασιφάας ὅναρ ἰδεῖν θαυμαστόν, κτλ. For this use of praesum cf. 1, 2; 1, 58.
- 3. vigilantibus curis: Moser compares Claud. in Eutrop. 1, 362: vigilantibus undique curis.
- 3. in Pasiphase fano: cf. Paus. 3, 26, 1: ἐς Θαλάμας δὲ ἐξ Οιτύλου μῆκος τῆς ὁδοῦ στάδιοι περί τούς δγδοήκοντά είσι, κατά δὲ την όδον Ιερόν έστιν Ίνοθς και μαντείον. μαντεύονται μέν οῦν καθεύδοντες, ὁπόσα δ' Δν πυθέσθαι δεπθώσιν όνειρατα δείκνυσι σφισιν ή θεός. χαλκά δὲ ξστηκεν ἐν ὑπαίθρως τοῦ ἰεροῦ, τής τε Πασιφάης (Παθίης codd.) και 'Ηλίου τό έτερον . . . Σελήνης δὲ ἐπίκλησις καὶ ού θαλαμάταις έπιχώριος δαίμων έστιν ή Πασιφάη (Hapin codd.); cf. Plut. Agis, 9; Cleom. 7; Tert. de An. 46. It has been suggested by Welcker and Rohde (cf. Wide, Lakonische Kulte (1893), 247) that Ino at this shrine displaced Pasiphaë, but Wide, who on pp. 247-250 discusses the various ancient and modern pedigrees and identifications of Pasiphaë, considers both Ino and Pasiphaë as hypostases of Aphrodite; cf. Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 1 (1906), 156, n. 6.

On the site described by Pausanias cf. Frazer's note (1898), which mentions various attempts of modern scholars to locate it; but especially cf. Forster in Ann. Brit. School at Athens, 10 (1904), 161-162, who would place it near the village of Palaiochora, near which he found a dedicatory inscription to Pasiphae, which he gives on p. 173. But, as Wide (op. cit. 247) notes, this region, which is about 25 miles from Sparta and separated from it

est in agro propter urbem, somniandi causa excubabant, quia vera quietis

by the Taygetus range, is not well described by Cicero's words propter urbem, nor would it have been a convenient place for the ephors to visit for the purpose here mentioned. Wide therefore well suggests that this oracle, like some other south-Laconian cults, may have had a branch somewhere nearer Sparta, to which Cicero's words may apply (though Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 2 (1880), 271, n. 1, will not admit an oracle of Pasiphaë near Sparta). Wolf (Vermischte Schriften u. Aufsätzen (1802), 407) suggested that the name of the town of Thalamae might have dropped out after the words propler urbem, but this view, as noted by Wide, hardly obviates the difficulty arising from the inconvenience of consultation by the ephors.

1. excubabant: here probably not of sleeping out-of-doors as in 1, 112, but rather outside the city. The technical words for sleeping in temples vary much in Greek (εγκοlμησιε, etc.), but in Latin incubare is the regular expression; cf. Deubner, De Incubations (1900), 6-8.

Incubation differs from ordinary dream divination (as Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1 (1879), 289, points out) in that it implies, on the part of the consultant, premeditation and a preparatory act. This simplifies the process of interpretation, since the answer given in the dream is to a clearly defined question, and is usually in a somewhat conventionalized and well understood form. The preparatory rites, including regulation of diet, chastity, special garb, prayer, and sacrifice, are described by Deubner, op. cit. 14-18.

The divinities granting replies to this sort of consultation are regularly chthonic, the connection of dreams and oracles with the underworld being well-recognized; cf. 1, 38, n. (vis illa terrae); Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 935, etc.; see also Bouché-Leclercq, op. cis. 2 (1880), 251; 260; for its connection with Egyp-

tian divinities see 1, 132, n. (Isaicos coniectores); 2, 123. Such contact with the earth in sleep is ascribed to the priests at Dodona (Hom. Il. 16, 235; Callim. 4, 286), and to consultants of such oracles; cf. Gruppe, op. cit. 2, 935, n. 7. For the relation between incubation and necromancy see Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit., 2, 290; Gruppe, op. cit. 2, 935-936.

Incubation, though sometimes used for general purposes, as in our passage, was more often medical or iatromantic in character (cf. 2, 123; N.D. 3, 91), and found at the shrines of gods of healing. such as Aesculapius (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 321-325; Gruppe, op. cit. 2, 932, n. 6; Hamilton, Incubation (1906), 8-79; and especially Weinreich, Antike Heilungswunder (1909), 76-170; see the bibliography in Fuchs, Gesch. d. Heilkunde bei den Griechen (1901), 163-164, and that in Gruppe, op. cit. 2, 928, n. 3), or at the tombs or statues of heroes (1, 88, n. (Amphiaraum); Gruppe, op. cit. 2, 933). For the chthonic character of healing see Hamilton, op. cit. 3; also 1, 16, n. (ex somnio).

In the works above cited will be found the essential details of the practice, which had been widespread in time and place. In ancient times we have it attested for Egypt (Hdt. 2, 141; Strab. 17, p. 801; Foucart in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 795); among the Jews (Is. 65, 4; Strab. 16, p. 761; Smith, Religion of the Semites, 2 ed. (1894), 171; Deubner, op. cit. 27; Toy, Introd. to the Hist. of Relig. (1913), 422); the Chaldaeans (Lenormant, La Div. ches les Chaldeens (1874), 130 ff.; but against its use by the Babylonians see Farnell, Greece and Babylon (1911), 302); on the shores of the Caspian (Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Aναριακή); at many sites in Greece (see below); in southern Italy (Tsets. ad Lycophr. 1137; etc.; modern survivals in Hamilton, op. cit. 182-188); in the region of Rome mentioned, but at times proboracla ducebant. 97. Ad nostra iam redeo. Quotiens senatus decemviros ad libros ire iussit! quantis in rebus quamque saepe responsis haruspicum paruit! Nam et cum duo visi soles essent et cum tres lunae

2. quantis in . . paruit, quae verba codices in fine 1, 98 habent, buc reponenda esse vidit Davies.

3. soles essent C, Christ, Baiter, soles sunt Müller, Thoresen.

ably a mere reflection of Greek usage (e.g., Virg. Aen. 7, 86 ff.; Ov. Fast. 4, 649 ff.; Serv. Aen. 3, 12; Schol. Pers. 2, 56; etc.); in Sardinia from the time of Aristotle (Phys. Ausc. 4, 11, p. 218 b 23 ff.; Hamilton, op. cit. 188-189); and among the Celts (Tert. de An. 57). From later and even modern times it is known most abundantly from Greece (Schmidt, Volksl. d. Neugriechen (1871), 77-78; Hamilton, op. cit. 109-223; Lawson, Modern Greek Folklore and ancient Greek Relig. (1910), 61-62), but also from (Hamilton, op. cit. 182-188), Austria (id. 189-190), Ireland, north Africa, and Australia (Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 130), and China (Moore, Hist. of Relig. 1 (1913), 13). For many other medieval and modern instances see Deubner, op. cit. 56-134. The practice, though parodied by Aristophanes (e.g., Plut. 411 ff.; 653 ff.), and exposed to obvious charlatanism, may have served for its day and culture somewhat the same end as hypnotic cures and those of Christian Science; cf. Hamilton, op. cit. preface.

[267] If. quietis oracla: cf. 1, 61: visa quietis; Tac. Ann. 11, 4: nocturnae quietis species; 16, 1: nocturnae quietis imaginem.

1. nostra: cf. 1, 29, n. (ut P. Claudius).

1f. decemviros: cf. 1, 4, n. (decem interpretes). For the method and forms of consultation of the Sibylline books cf. Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens (1903), 31-34, who gives (pp. 33-34) a list of cases of such consultation. The restrictions upon the examination of the books are noted in 2, 112.

2. ad libros ire: a technical phrase, like libros adire; cf. Luterbacher, Prodigienglaube u. Prodigienstil der Römer (1880), 21.

2f. quantis . . . paruit: on the causes and history of the dislocation of this clause see Clark, The Descent of Manuscripts (1918), 355-356.

2f. responsis haruspicum: cf. 1, 3, n. (haruspicum disciplina). The procedure of the haruspices in such cases is described by Wülker, op. cit. 34-37, with a list of instances; cf. Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1 (1906), 84-119; 3 (1909), 117-130.

For the phrase see 2, 45; 2, 52; 2, 53; also Cicero's oration de Haruspicum Responso; cf. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 545, n. 4.

3. nam et, etc.: a long and very loose sentence, finding its proper completion at the end of 1, 98, but broken by parentheses and questions.

In an important passage in N.D. 2, 14 Cleanthes is made the authority for the statement that the belief in the existence of gods is derived, in part, from fulminibus, tempestatibus, nimbis, nivibus, grandinibus, vastitate, pestilentia, terrae motibus et saepe fremitibus, lapideisque imbribus et guttis imbrium quasi cruentis, tum < labibus > aut repentinis terrarum kiatibus, tum praeter naturam hominum pecudumque portentis, tum facibus visis caelestibus, tum stellis iis quas Graeci cometas, nostri cincinnatas vocant, quae nuper bello Octaviano magnarum fuerunt calamitatum praenuntiae, tum sole geminato, quod, ut e patre audivi, Tuditano et Aquilio consulibus evenerat, quo quidem anno P. Africanus sol alter exstinctus est, etc.; cf. Rep. 1, 15; 1, 17; 1, 19; 1, 20; 1, 31-32. This is doubtless taken by Cicero from Cleanthes through the medium of Posidonius; cf. Bywater in Journ. of Philol. 7 (1877), 77. In Sen. N. Q. 7, 20, 2, an interest in some of these same phenomena is ascribed to Posidonius.

et cum faces, et cum sol nocte visus esset et cum e caelo fremitus auditus,

1. visus esset C, Christ, Beiter, visus est Miller, Thereson.

[268]3. duo visi soles: on the phenomenon of the parhelion (sun-dogs) and the paraselene (mock-moons) see Encycl. Brit. 12, 11, ed. (1910), 864-865. It was treated by various ancient philosophers. Thus Plut. Plac. Phil. 3, p. 894 f: 'Αναξαγόρας άνάκλασιν άπό νέφους πυκνοῦ τῆς ήλιακής περιφεγγείας, καταντικρύ δè τοῦ κατοπτρίζοντος αυτήν άστέρος διά παντός Ιστασθαι. παραπλησίως δὲ αίτιολογείται τὰ καλούμενα παρήλια, γινόμενα δέ κατά τόν Портор; id. 2, p. 890a-b (cf. Stob. Ecl. 1, 25, 12; Doxogr. Gr. 349-350): Φιλόλαος δ Πυθαγόρειος δαλοειδή, δεχόμενον μέν τοθ 🖢 τῷ κόσμφ πυρός τὴν άνταύγειαν, διηθούντα δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς, ὥστε προσεοικέναι ήλίω το έν τω ούρανώ πυρώδες το τε δή άπ' αύτοῦ και ἐσοπτροειδές και τρίτον τὴν άπὸ τοῦ ἐσόπτρου κατ' ἀνάκλασιν διάσπειρομένην πρός ήμας αύγήν και γάρ ταύτην προσονομάζομεν ήλιον, οίονει είδωλον ειδώλου; id. p. . 890b-c (Stob. Ecl. 1, 25, 13; Doxogr. Gr. 350): Ἐμπεδοκλής δύο ήλίους, τὸν μὲν ἀρχέτυπον, . . . τον δέ φαινόμενον άνταύγειαν έν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἡμισφαιρίω τῷ τοῦ ἀέρος τοῦ θερμομιγοθε πεπληρωμένω, άπο κυκλοτεροθε τής αρλής κατ' φράκλασιν λιλροπέρμη els τορ ήλιον τον κρυσταλλοειδή, συμπεριελκομένην δέ τή κινήσει του πυρίνου ώς δε βραχέως είρησθαι συντεμόντι, άνταύγειαν είναι τοῦ περί την γην πυρός τον ήλιον; Arist. Meleor. 3, 2, p. 372 a 10-18: παρήλιοι δὲ καὶ βάβδοι γίνονται έκ πλαγίας άει και οδτ' άνωθεν οδτε πρός τῆ γῆ οδτ' ἐξ ἐναντίας, οὐδὲ δὴ νύκτωρ, άλλ' άει περί τον ήλιον, έτι δ' ή αιρομένου ή καταφερομένου τὰ πλεῖστα δὲ πρὸς δυσμάς. μεσουρανούντος δέ σπάνιόν τι γέγονεν, ολον έν Βοσπόρφ ποτέ συνέπεσεν δι' όλης γάρ της ήμέρας συνανασχόντες δύο παρήλιοι διετέλεσαν μέχρι δυσμών. . . τὸ δ' αίτιον τούτων απάντων ταθτό πάντα γάρ άνάκλασις ταῦτ' έστίν, κτλ.; cf. Probl. 15, 12; Sen. N. Q. 1, 11, 2-3: historici soles vocant et binos ternosque apparuisse memoriae tradunt; Graeci parhelia appellant, quia in propinquo fere a sole visuntur aut quia accedunt ad aliquam similitudinem solis . . . sunt autem imagines solis in nube spissa et vicina in

modum speculi; Amm. Marc. 20, 3, 6: sol autem geminus ila videri existimatur si erecta solito celsius nubes aeternorumque ignium propinquitate conlucens orbis alterius claritudinem tamquam e speculo puriore formaverit; Prudent. Hamartig. 85-88: nemo duos soles, nisi sub glaucomate, vidit, etc.

For instances of two suns see Luterbacher, op. cit. 12; Wülker, op. cit. 7; to which add Dio Cass. 65, 8; Claud. in Eutrop. 1, 7; cf. Lydus, de Ostent. p. 9 Wachsmuth; Stat. Theb. 7, 114. According to Theophrastus (de Sign. Tempest. 22) they are a sign of rain; cf. id. 29. The two suns seen by Pentheus (Eur. Bacch. 918; Virg. Aen. 4, 470) are explained by Plutarch (de comm. Notit. 44) as merely due to his confused state. For three suns cf. Luterbacher, l.c.; Wülker, l.c.; to which add Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed. (1906), no. 791, 6; Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 1973 and 2065; Fast. Vind. 1, p. 275 Mommsen; for four suns Greg. Tur. Hist. Franc. 4, 31. For dreams of parhelia see Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 36.

[268]3. tres lunae: cf. Luterbacher, op. cit. 13; Wülker, op. cit. 8; so also two moons: ibid.; Anglo-Saxon Chron. ann. 1106.

1. faces cf. 1, 18, n. (Phoebi fax); 2, 60.

1. sol nocte visus: such lights at night, perhaps some form of aurora polaris, are frequently mentioned, and a list of occurrences is given by Wülker, op. cit. 7-8; cf. Luterbacher, op. cit. 13. Jastrow (in Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, 14, 5 (1914), 51) calls this "perhaps a description of an eclipse when to a frightened populace it might appear as though night had suddenly set in." The apparent reverse is the appearance of the stars by day (e.g., Jul. Capit. Pertinax, 14, 3; Amm. Marc. 20, 3, 1).

1. e caelo fremitus: cf. 2, 60; Wülker, op. cit. 19; to which may be added: de Har. Resp. 20: in agro Latiniensi

et cum caelum discessisse visum esset atque in eo animadversi globi, delata etiam ad senatum labe agri Privernatis, cum ad infinitam alti-

1. visum esset Moser, Christ, Beiler, visum est CO, Müller, Thoresen.

2. labe Ernesti et Modvig, labes CO.

auditus est strepitus cum fremitu; Caes. B. G. 3, 105, 4; Virg. Georg. 1, 474-475; Dion. Hal. 8, 89; Diod. 38/39, 5; Obseq. 14; 57; Tibull. 2, 5, 73; Ov. Met. 15, 783-785; Mela, 3, 95; Petron, 122, lines 134-135; Dio Cass. 47, 1; 51, 17, 5; 54, 9; 61, 14; Val. Max. 1, 6, 12; Plut. Sull. 7; Plin. N. H. 2, 148; Lydus, de Ostent. p. 13 Wachsmuth. These sounds are sometimes chanting, sometimes the sound of weapons, or again that of trumpets and other musical instruments. Is the Christian idea of the 'last trump' perhaps the survivor of this notion? Cf. also 1, 101, n. (voces ex occulto); Parkman, The Old Régime in Canada, ch. 3 (quoting Marie de l'Incarnation).

1. caelum discessisse: cf. 1, 99; 2, 60; Serv. Aen. 9, 20: in auguralibus libris inter ostenta etiam caelum discessisse dicitur. The causes are sought by Arist. Meteor. 1, 5, p. 342 a 34 ff.: palveral δέ ποτε συνιστάμενα νύκτωρ αίθρίας οδσης πολλά φάσματα έν τῷ ούρανῷ οἶον χάσματά τε καὶ βόθυνοι καὶ αἰματώδη χρώματα . . . τὰ δὲ χάσματα άναρρηγνυμένου τοῦ φωτός ἐκ κυανού και μέλανος ποιεί τι βάθος ξχειν δοκείν, κτλ.; Sen. N. Q. 1, 14, 1: sunt chasmata cum aliquod spatium caeli desedit et flammam velut dehiscens in abdito ostentat; Lydus, de Ostent. p. 34 Wachsmuth: γίνεται δὲ καὶ χάσμα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, οδ συμ-Balvorros σάλοι και δήξεις εξ αυτών και διαστάσεις τῆς γῆς γίνονται. Cf. Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 28; Wülker, op. cit. 8; Ov. Fast. 3, 371; Plin. N. H. 2, 96. Perhaps the miracle of the cross in the sky seen by Constantine (Euseb. Vit. Const. 1, 28, and many subsequent writers) was a phenomenon of this kind, which might well have been produced by the sun or the moon shining through rifts of clouds of unusual shape (for which cf. Wülker, op. oit. 11), or by lightning seen against a background of dark cloud; cf. Virg. Aen.

8, 391-392: tonitru cum rupta corusco / ignea rima micans percurrit lumine nimbos.

1. globi: cf. Sen. N. Q. 1, 1, 2: satius erit de re ipsa quaerere quam mirari quid ita Aristoteles (Meteor. 1, 4) globum ignis appellaverit capram, talis enim fuit forma eius qui bellum adversus Persen Paulo gerente lunari magnitudine apparuit. vidimus < nos > quoque non semel flammam ingentis pilae specie . . . vidimus circa divi Augusti excessum simile prodigium, vidimus eo tempore quo de Seiano actum est; nec Germanici mors sine denuntiatione tali fuit. These sometimes appear as globi; cf. Wülker, op. cit. 11; Plin. N. H. 2, 162; Auct. Epit. de Caesar. 43, 8; Folk-Lore, 10 (1899), 263 (for a case in the Hebrides); at other times the comparison is to a shield (Wülker, l.c.; Liv. 22, 1, 9; Oros. 4, 15, 1). Whether the phenomenon is to be explained as a form of aurora or as the fall of a meteorite is not clear.

2. delata: probably used not merely of reporting but also of seeking from the senate some advice or the reference of the portent to an interpreter; cf. the use of the word in 1, 54; 1, 55; 2, 129; 2, 134; 2, 144; Leg. 2, 21.

2. labe: such sinkings are often mentioned (cf. 1, 78; N. D. 2, 14; Wülker, op. cit. 18). A striking example is given by Obsequens, 36 (of an occurrence in 117 B.C.): Priverni terra septem iugerum spatio in caverna desedit. Again, id. 38 (of 113 B.C.): terra in Lucanis et Privernati late kiavit. in Gallia caelum ardere visum. Cimbri Teutonique Alpes transgressi foedam stragem Romanorum socierumque seceruni. For the tendency of such portents to be repeated at the same site see Wülker, op. cit. 23. Other instances of histus terrae are: Oros. 5, 18, 6; Jul. Capit. Gordian. 26, 1; Treb. Poll. Gallien. 5, 4; also Virg. Georg. 1, 479; cf. Weber in Abk. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.hist. Kl., 1858, 387. These settlings are

tudinem terra desidisset Apuliaque maximis terrae motibus conquassata esset, quibus portentis magna populo Romano bella perniciosaeque seditiones denuntiabantur; inque his omnibus responsa haruspicum cum Sibyllae versibus congruebant. 98. Quid? cum Cumis Apollo sudavit, Capuae 1. desidisset AB. Christ, disidisset H, desedisset V(t)O, Mallor.

usually mentioned in connection with earthquakes, and were probably increased in frequency and extent in certain places by the presence of underground caverns.

[270]2f. ad infinitam altitudinem: cf. 2 Verr. 4, 107: prope est spelunca quaedam conversa ad aquilonem infinita altitudine, qua Ditem patrem ferunt . . . exstitisse; 5, 68 (of the Syracusan lautumiae): saxo in mirandam altitudinem depresso et . . . exciso.

- 1. desidisset: cf. 1, 78, n. (desederint).
- 1. Apulia, etc.: is this perhaps the occasion in 113 B.C. described in Obseq. 38 (quoted in note on labe supra)?
- 1. terrae motibus: cf. 1, 18, n. (se . . . tremefecit).
 - 2. quibus portentis: cf. 1, 78.
- 2f. perniciosae seditiones: cf. Off. 1, 85: rem perniciosissimam . . . seditionem atque discordiam.
- 4. congruebant: cf. 1, 99. The practice of verifying the truth of one form of prediction by its agreement with that of another seems to have been not infrequent; cf. Soph. Antig. 998-1011; Plin. Ep. 2, 20, 5: adfirmat exta cum siderum significatione congruere; the amusing example given by Arist. Rhet. 2, p. 1398 b 32 ff., and Plut. Apophth. Lacon. Ages. 10; Reg. Apophth. Ages. 7; also 1, 106, n. (firmavit) infra.
- 4. Cumis Apollo: cf. Liv. 43, 13, 4 (of 169 B.c.): Cumis in arce Apollo triduum ac tres noctes lacrimavit; Flor. 1, 24, 3: ad hoc caelestes minae territabant, cum umore continuo Cumanis Apollo sudaret; Aug. C. D. 3, 11: Apollo ille Cumanus, cum adversus Achaeos regemque Aristonicum bellaretur, quatriduo flevisse nuntiatus est; quo prodigio karuspices territi cum id simulacrum in mare putavissent esse proiciendum Cumani senes intercesserunt atque rettulerunt tale prodigium et Antiochi et

Persis bello in eodem apparuisse figmento et quia Romanis feliciter provenisset ex senatus consulto eidem Apollini suo dona esse missa testati sunt. tunc velut peritiores acciti haruspices responderunt simulacri Apollinis fletum ideo prosperum esse Romanis quoniam Cumana colonia Grasca esset, suisque terris, unde accitus esset, id est, ipsi Graeciae, luctum et cladem Apollinem significasse plorantem; Obseq. 54 (of 91 B. C.): Cumis in arce simulacrum Apollinis sudavit. Apollo at Cumae is also mentioned by Serv. Aen. 6, 9, as having his temple in the arx, and an altar inscribed APOLLINI CVMANO is now in the Naples Museum (C. I. L. X, 3683).

4. sudavit: cf. 1, 20, n. (tum fore, etc.); 1, 74. For similar expressions see Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 365-366; Wülker, op. cit. 13-14; Steinhauser, op. cit. 35, and n. 1; to which add: Arr. Anab. 1, 11; Diod. 17, 10, 4; Lucian, de Syr. Dea, 10; Oxyrk. Pap. 10, 118; Euseb. Pr. Ev. 5, 24; Liv. 22, 36, 7; 28, 11, 4; Virg. Georg. 1, 480; Aen. 2, 173-174; App. B. C. 2, 36; Plut. Ant. 60; Dio Cass. 40, 17; Val. Max. 1, 6, 5; Lamprid. Commod. 16. In these instances the sweat may be that of a statue, a bust, an altar, a shield, etc., and is at times bloody. At other times statues are described as weeping: Tibull. 2, 5, 77; Ov. Met. 15, 792; Sen. Thy. 702; Sil. Ital. 8, 645-646; Dio Cass. fr. 83 Boissevain; Quint. Smyrn. 12, 507. For later examples see Lecky, Rationalism in Europe, 1 (1868 ed.), 164; 282, n. 1; Cook in Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sci. 15 (1909), 354-355 (on Milton's Hymn on the Nativity); Tatlock in Class. Philol. 9(1914), 443, n. 6; and, for Vedic instances, Weber in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1858, 336; 340. On the ominous character of the phenomenon cf. Lydus, de Ostent. p. 16 Wachsmuth: Victoria? quid? ortus androgyni nonne fatale quoddam monstrum fuit? quid? cum fluvius Atratus sanguine fluxit? quid? cum saepe lapidum,

- 2. cum fluvius Herelius, quod (corruptum ex quom) fluvius C.
- 2. Atratus Marsus, atratus C, Moser.

δταν μέν γάρ ίδροῦν ή δακρύειν δοκή ἀγάλματα ή εἰκόνες, ή δταν κάμινος ή ἱπνὸς περιπεφρυγμένος ἐκλάμιλη στάσεις ἐμφυλίους ἀπειλεῖ. Aristotle (de Plant. p. 822 a 31) remarks that stones and metals do not really sweat, and Theophrastus (Hist. Plant. 5, 9, 8) says: ἀνίει δὲ τῶν ξύλων τὰ κέδρινα καὶ ἀπλῶς ὧν ἐλαιώδης ἡ ὑγρότης: δι' δ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματά φασιν ίδιειν ἐνίστε· ποιοῦσι γὰρ ἐκ τούτων, κτλ. The substances usually spoken of, however, as thus affected are metal, stone, and ivory, and the correct explanation (condensation of moisture) is hinted at in 2, 58.

[271]4f. Capuae Victoria: apparently not elsewhere mentioned. Reinach (in Neapolis, 1 (1913), 26, n. 2) conjectures that this statue may have been influenced by the Nike at Tarentum. Any uncommon manifestation in connection with a statue of Victory would for obvious reasons be especially significant (e.g., the moving or falling of such a statue, as in App. B. C. 4, 134; Tac. Ann. 14, 32; Dio Cass. 50, 8; 56, 24; Plut. Brut. 39; Sull. 11; Spart. Sev. 22, 3; Zonar. 8, 1).

1. ortus androgyni: cf. 1, 93, n. (hominum pecudumve conceptu et satu). For occurrences of this portent see Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 476-478; Luterbacher, op. cit. 15-16; Wülker, op. cit. 14; Stein, Tépas (1909), 59; Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 3 (1909), 118-121; Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 29. Especially to be noted is Phleg. Trall. fr. 36-39 (F. H. G. 3, 619-621), who gives a Sibylline oracle concerning hermaphrodites; cf. Diels, Sibyllin. Blätter (1890), 17 ff.

On the subject cf. Plin. N. H. 7, 34: gignuntur et utriusque sexus quos herma-phroditos vocamus, olim androgynos vocatos et in prodigiis habitos, nunc vero in deliciis (cf. Gell. 9, 4, 16); 11, 262; Aug. C.D. 16, 8; Isid. Etym. 11, 3, 11. For the cause of

hermaphrodites cf. Ps.-Luc. Philopal. 24: † 'Αφροδίτη el μετά τοῦ 'Ερμοῦ συνοδεόσει καὶ 'Ερμαφροδίτους ἀποκυήσουσω, ἐφ' οῖς ἔδεσθε. Dreams in regard to them are discussed by Artemid. Onirocr. 4, 37. The regular expiation of such prodigies was to remove them from sight by throwing them into the sea; cases are cited by Wülker, ορ. cit. 39; Thulin, ορ. cit. 3, 120. Other confusions or changes of sex were considered significant, e.g., a beard appearing upon a priestess; cf. Hdt. 1, 75; Arist. Hist. An. 3, p. 518 a 33 ff.

- 1. fatale . . . monstrum: cf. Hor. Carm. 1, 37, 21.
- 2. Atratus sanguine fluxit: note the end of an hexameter.
- 2. Atratus: cf. 2, 58. The river is otherwise unknown, and some editors would take this word as a common adjective rather than as a proper noun, but although the adjective ater is frequent in connection with blood (e.g., Virg. Georg. 3, 221; 3, 507; Sil. Ital. 8, 644-645: atro sanguine flumen / manavit Iovis in templis) yet (1) atratus is not elsewhere used of a bloody river, but most frequently of persons wearing mourning (cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v.); (2) the word, both here and in 2, 58, is used more as if it were a proper noun; (3) names applied to rivers from their dark color are frequent (e.g., the Melas of Hdt. 7, 198, that of Liv. 38, 40, 5, and that of Strab. 7, fr. 53; Fosso Acqua Nera, near Gabii; and the numerous 'Black Rivers'). The word Atratinus appears as a frequent cognomen in the gens Sempronia, but it is far from certain that there is any connection between it and the name of this stream, though for nomina formed from the names of streams see Schulze, Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen (1904), 481.

Rivers, springs, pools, or lakes flowing with blood are one of the commonest of portents; cf. Bulenger in Graevius, sanguinis non numquam, terrae interdum, quondam etiam lactis imber

Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 465-466; Luterbacher, op. cit. 15; Wülker, op. cit. 13; Steinhauser, op. cit. 33; to which add: Athen. p. 521 e-f; Virg. Georg. 1, 485; Diod. 17, 10, 4; Dio Cass. 62, 1; 63, 16; Lucan, 7, 176; Sil. Ital. 8, 644-645; Apul. Met. 9, 34; Paus. 4, 35, 9 (and Frazer's excellent note); Claud. in Eutrop. 1, 5; Ehrenberg in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1847, 366; Mullinger in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Christ. Antiq. 2 (ed. of 1880), 1544; Tatlock in Class. Philol. 9(1914), 443, n. 6 (with Biblical instances, to which add Ps. 78, 44, and medieval cases, to which may be added Anglo-Saxon Chron. ann. 1098; 1100; 1103); also, for the sudden red color in the New River in New Hampshire in 1775 (thought to have portended the American Revolution), Springer, Forest Life and Forest Trees (1851), 243.

Cicero in 2, 58 well explains the phenomenon: decoloratio quaedam ex aliqua contagione terrena maxume potest sanguini similis esse, with which cf. Arist. Meleor. 2, p. 356 a 13-14: τοὺς δὲ χυμοὺς καὶ χρόας ίσχειν τὸ δόωρ δι' οίας Δν τύχωσι βέοντα γης; and several modern instances of this sort will be found in Frazer's note on Paus. 4, 35, 9. A famous case is that of the river Adonis in Syria (Frazer, Golden Bough, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 225, n. 4). Another explanation is that of Kinahan in Folk-Lore Record, 4 (1881), 99-100, who says that some instances of bloody lakes in Ireland have been due to the reflection of a red aurora polaris; with which compare the water reddened by the reflection of the sun and thought by the Moabites to be blood, mentioned in 2 Kings 3, 22-23 (and see Frazer, Golden Bough, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 53, n. 1). Still another, and perhaps more common, cause is the presence in the water of plankton (cf. Steuer, Planktonkunde (1910), 2; 277-280; similar cases have been noted in America, due, in some instances, to blue-green algae, especially Oscillatoria prolifica (Greenville) Dumont, for which see Scott, Proc. Indiana Acad. of Sciences, 1917 (1918), 67-71, and the works there cited). So too the stains of St. Winifrid's blood on the stones of St. Winifrid's Well, at Holywell, England, are said to be due to some sort of vegetable growth; cf. Baedeker, Great Britain, 6 ed. (1906), 294. On the significance of red see von Duhn, Rot und Tot, in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 9 (1906), 1-24.

Streams flowing with other colors or substances are also mentioned, of which milk (and honey) is the most frequently found; cf. Wülker, op. cit. 13; Dio Cass. 47, 1, 2; Paus. 4, 35, 10 (and Frazer's note); 9, 34, 4; Usener in Rhein. Mus. 57 (1902), 177 ff. (=Kl. Schr. 4 (1913), 398 ff.); also the Fiume Latte on the east side of Lake Como, and the various 'White Rivers' and 'Milk Rivers,' the term 'glacial milk,' and Jastrow in Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, 14, 5 (1914), 51.

[272]2. lapidum: meteoric showers are often considered as ominous; cf. Luterbacher, op. cit. 14; Wülker, op. cit. 12; Steinhauser, op. cit. 12, n. 3; 28; to which add various references to the meteoric stone at Aegospotami collected by Hirschfeld in P.-W. s.v. Aigos potamos (1894), 977; also Marm. Par. 57 (p. 17 Jacoby); Strab. 7, fr. 56; Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 1551; Liv. 1, 31, 2; Tibull. 2, 5, 72; Fest. p. 177 M.; Lucian, Tim. 3; Lydus, de Ostent. p. 14 Wachsmuth; Schol. Juv. 4, 61; Arnob. 1, 3; Solin. 2, 6; Chron. Pasch. ann. 367; 404 A.D.; Zonar. 8, 12; 9, 1; Tzetz. Chil. 1, 767-785. For their ominous character see also Liv. 28, 27, 16. Anaxagoras was believed to be able to foretell such showers; cf. Steinhauser, op. cit. 28. Plin. N. H. 2, 104, thus explains them: ideo lapidibus pluere interim, quia vento sint rapli, et multa similiter.

1. sanguinis: for rains of blood cf. Luterbacher, op. cit. 14-15; Wülker, defluxit? quid? cum in Capitolio ictus Centaurus e caelo est, in Aventino
1. defluxit dett. possoi, effluxit C.

op. cit. 11; Steinhauser, op. cit. 28; to which add: App. B.C. 2, 24; Petron. 122, line 140; Dio Cass. 51, 17; 60, 35; 65, 11; Claud. in Eutrop. 2, 41; Paul. Diac. Hist. Langob. 4, 4; Mullinger in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Christ. Antiq. 2 (ed. of 1880), 1544; Clarke in the same work, 2, 2054; and especially the monumental work of Ehrenberg, Passatstaub u. Blutregen, in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1847, 269-460, who on pp. 327-430 gives a long catalogue (compiled in part from authors named on p. 327, n. 1) of cases of rains of blood from 1535 (?) B.C. to his own time; see also Plummer in U. S. Forest Service Bulletin, 117 (1912), 22, n. 1 for cases in the nineteenth century; and, further, Tatlock in Class. Philol. 9 (1914), 442-446; McAtee in (U. S.) Monthly Weather Review, 45 (1917), 217-224, and his bibliography on p. 218.

The causes of this phenomenon have been variously explained, from the Schol. A to Hom. Il. 11, 53-54 (Dindorf's ed. 1, p. 374; cf. 3, 457-458; 4, 131; Schol. Townl. 11, 54): έζήτηται πως ένεδέχετο αίμα έχειν τάς νεφέλας και λέγουσιν οι λύοντες τό άμφιβολον ότι ώς έπι μεγίστω πολέμω πολλών άναιρουμένων τὸ αίμα τούτων ἐπλήρου τούς πλησίον ποταμούς, άφ' ών αι νεφέλαι λαμβάνουσαι τὸ δδωρ αίματώδεις δρόσους ξπεμπον. Modern theories have usually considered that rain has fallen mixed with and colored by some atmospheric dust of a reddish hue (from the Sahara, volcanic, cosmic, or from some source not yet determined), or, as Ehrenberg (op. cit. 431-440) supposed, with meteoric dust. Still another explanation has laid the colored rain to the meconial fluid ejected by large numbers of lepidoptera simultaneously emerging from their chrysalides (McAtee, op. cit. 218), or the rapid multiplication in rain pools of algae and rotifers containing red coloring matter (ibid.). Cicero's reply in 2, 58 perhaps implies that he found the cause for the bloody rains, as for the rivers

flowing with blood, in some contagio terrena.

[273]1. terrae: for a list of instances see Wülker, op. cii. 11-12.

[273]1. lactis: cf. Wülker, op. cit. 12; also Ehrenberg, op. cit. passim, especially p. 343, n.; Weber in Abh. Berl. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1858, 330-333 (Vedic cases); Plummer, op. cit. 22, n. 1. Gray rains (and perhaps milky ones?) are at times due to a mixture of falling rain with the ashes of forest fires (Plummer, op. cit. 17; cf. Scientific American, 119 (1918), 453), which is often the cause of those dark days which have sometimes been interpreted as due to solar eclipses.

Other forms of rains noted are those of gold (Pind. Ol. 7, 49-50 tells of a famous case at Rhodes, and this is often mentioned by later writers; cf. Julian, fr. Epist. p. 290b, and Wright's note; also the Danaë myth); silver (Dio Cass. 76, 4); iron (Wülker, op. cit. 11); chalk (id. 12); bricks or tiles (ibid.; Dio Cass. 40, 47); ashes (doubtless volcanic; Paus. 9, 6, 6; Bulenger in Graev. Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 493); flesh (Wülker, op. cit. 12; Ehrenberg, op. cit. 331-332; Weber, op. cit. 345); sponges (Plin. N. H. 2, 147); fishes (Athen. 8, p. 333a); frogs (Athen. l.c.; App. Illyr. 4; Keller, Die antike Tierwelt, 2 (1913), 316-317; Dickerson, The Frog Book (1906), 71); wheat (Athen. l.c.); wool (Wülker, op. cit. 12; Oros. 7, 32, 8; Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 2385; Paul. Diac. Hist. 12, p. 928a-b Migne; very probably to be explained as the flowers or the fruit of some tree); oil (Obseq. 30). Several of these sorts are collected by Plin. N. H. 2, 147; for others, due to whirlwinds, sand, or waterspouts sucking up objects and then precipitating them at a distance, cf. Plummer, op. cit. 16; McAtee, op. cit. passim. Additional rains of honey, butter, sour milk, ghee, hot water, and salt water are noted as Vedic omens by Weber, op. cit. 330-333; 345; portae et homines, Tusculi aedes Castoris et Pollucis Romaeque Pietatis: nonne et haruspices ea responderunt quae evenerunt, et in Sibyllae libris eaedem repertae praedictiones sunt?

XLIV. 99. Caeciliae Q. filiae somnio modo Marsico bello templum est a senatu Iunoni Sospitae restitutum. Quod quidem somnium Sisenna cum disputavisset mirifice ad verbum cum re convenisse, tum insolenter, credo ab Epicureo aliquo inductus, disputat somniis credi non oportere. Idem contra ostenta nihil disputat exponitque initio belli Marsici et deorum

3. Post sunt C: quotiens senatus decemviros ad libros ire iussit quantis in rebus quamque saepe responsis aruspicum paruit (vide 1, 97, sot. crit.).

4. Q. filiae vulg., q.f. AB, que HV, Q. filiae e Boiter.

349; cf. also some of the plagues of Egypt (Exod. 8-10).

[274]1. in Capitolio ictus Centaurus: cf. 1, 19, nn. (ipse suos; Nattae).

- 1. portae: the significance of thunderbolts striking city walls and gates which were regarded as holy (N. D. 3, 94, and other instances noted by Valeton in Mnemos. 23 (1895), 72, n.) is discussed by Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1 (1906), 75-76; cf. 1, 101, n. (muri et portae) infra. The safety of the city might well seem threatened by such manifestations against its defences; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 43.
- 1. homines: cf. 1, 18, n. (perculsus fulmine).
- 1. Castoris et Pollucis: for their worship at Tusculum cf. Fest. p. 313 M.: a Tusculanis, quod in pulvinari inponatur Castoris, struppum vocari; also several inscriptions listed by Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 269, n. 9; cf. Dessau in C. I. L. XIV (1887), p. 254 and p. 258 (on no. 2603); Ruggiero, Disson. epigrafico, s.v. Castores (1900), 134-135.
- 1. Romaeque Pietatis: cf. Obseq. 54 (91 B.C.): aedis Pietatis in circo Flaminio clausa fulmine icta; Wissowa, op. cit. 331. This temple is mentioned also in the Fasti Amiternini for 1 December (C. I. L. I., 2 ed. p. 245).
- 3. eaedem: cf. 1, 97, n. (congrue-bant).
- 4. Caeciliae, etc.: cf. 1, 4. In that passage Marcus says that this event occurred memoria nostra. Here the account is apparently taken from Sisenna

(Peter, Hist. Rom. Reliq. 1, 2 ed. (1914), 277, from Sisenna, Book I, fr. 5, of the year 90 B.C.). Cf. 2, 54.

- 4. modo: for other instances in which this word covers a considerable interval of years see Off. 1, 26; 2, 75; and cf. 1, 86, n. (nuper).
- 5. Sisenna: on the life and works of L. Cornelius Sisenna (praetor in 78 B.C.) cf. Schanz, Gesch. d. röm. Litt. 1, 2, 3 ed. (1909), 115-117; Peter, op. cit. cccxxxiv-cccxlix. At least 23 books of historiae (Non. p. 468M.) are attested, of which the fragments reach from the mythical period to 82 B.C. The work was the most important source for the period of Sulla; cf. Sall. Iug. 95, 2. For estimates of Sisenna by Cicero cf. Leg. 1, 7 (Sisenna . . . omnes adhuc nostros scriptores . . . facile superavit); Brut. 228; 259-260.
- off. disputavisset . . . disputat . . . disputat: cf. 1, 3, n. (videretur); 1, 72, n. (subito ex tempore); 1, 129, n. (sentiunt . . . sentiat); for the change in sequence Thoresen compares Tusc. 5, 115: quom . . . finxisset . . . facit.
- 6. disputavisset: not infrequent with a dependent infinitive; cf. Merguet, Lexikon s. d. phil. Schriften, 1 (1887), 728; also 1, 109 infra.
- 6. ad verbum: cf. Ac. 2, 135; Fin. 1, 4; Tusc. 3, 44.
 - 7. Epicureo: cf. 1, 62, n. (Epicurum).
- 8. initio belli Marsici: cf. 2, 54; 2, 59, where he says ante Marsicum bellum. This period was rich in portentous events;

simulacra sudavisse et sanguinem fluxisse et discessisse caelum et ex occulto auditas esse voces quae pericula belli nuntiarent, et Lanuvi clipeos, quod haruspicibus tristissumum visum esset, a muribus esse derosos. 100.

2. Lanuvii C, Maller.

cf. de Har. Resp. 18; Wülker, op. cit. 90; Plin. N. H. 7, 35.

- 1. sudavisse: cf. 1, 98, n. (sudavit).
- 1. fluxisse: cf. 1, 98, n. (Atratus).
- 1. discessisse: cf. 1, 97, n. (caelum discessisse).
- 2. Lanuvi: a locality from which portents were with unusual frequency reported; cf. Wülker, op. cit. 98; Galieti in Bull. Comm. arck. comun. 44 (1916), 4, nn. 5-6. Whether these shields were in the temple of Juno Sospita does not appear.
- 2. clipeos, etc.: cf. 2, 59; Plin. N. H. 8, 221: quo in genere multi et hos incolas domuum posuere mures, haud spernendum in ostentis etiam publicis animal. adrosis Lanuvi clipeis argenteis Marsicum portendere bellum; 8, 222: Theophrastus auctor est in Gyara insula cum incolas fugaverint ferrum quoque rosisse eos; 8, 223: cum candidi provenere laetum faciunt ostentum. nam soricum occentu dirimi auspicia annales refertos habemus.

Mice were regarded as chthonic animals (the ynyereis of Strab. 13, p. 604); cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 148; Paul. ex Fest. p. 260 M.: quinque genera signorum observant augures: ex caelo, ex avibus, ex tripudis, ex quadripedibus, ex diris (to the fourth of which mice evidently belong); Auson. p. 165, 112 Peiper: quadrupes oscinibus quis iungitur auspiciis? mus. For the observation of mice by the haruspices cf. Thulin. Die etrusk. Disciplin, 3 (1909), 98. Aelian $(V.\ H.\ 1,\ 11)$ says: $\eta\sigma\sigma r$ δè $\delta\rho\sigma \mu \sigma r$ σr των ζώων και μύες; cf. Eustath. ad Hom. II. p. 1665, 47 ff. Perhaps on account of its mantic character or as the spreader of plague the mouse was sacred to Apollo; cf. Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 803; 1229. Especially portentous was their gnawing of metals, whether gold (Wülker, op. cit. 17; Theophr. fr. 174, 8; Plut. Sull. 7; Marc. 28), silver (Wülker, l.c.), or iron (Heracl. Pont. de Reb. publ. 31, in F. H. G. 2, 222; Arist. mirab. Ausc. 25; Antig. Hist. mirab. 21; Herondas. 3. 76; Sen. Apocol. 7, 1; Rouse in Folk-Lore, 4 (1893), 106-107). Again, by nibbling clothing mice portend misfortune to the wearers (Aug. de Doct. Christ. 2, 31; Joann. Saresb. Policr. 1, 13; Anon. in Folk-Lore Journal, 2 (1884), 24; Anon. in Folk-Lore, 15 (1904), 89; 213; 16 (1905), 71; Bergen in Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc. 7 (1899), 30; Rouse, I.c.; Sacred Books of the East, 11, 196; 35, 248; Skeat, Malay Magic (1900), 533; et al.); or the gnawing of the leather parts of weapons may foretell the defeat of an army (Hdt. 2, 141; Arist. Rhet. 2, p. 1401 b 15-16; Strab. 13, p. 604; Serv. Aen. 3, 108). The nibbling of books is also mentioned (2, 59; Juv. 3, 207; Anthol. Pal. 6, 303, 7-8); that of food is occasionally, though naturally less often, ominous (Liv. 40, 59, 8; Obseq. 7; cf. Theophr. Char. 28). For other cases of the portentous meaning of this animal see Aug. de Ordine, 1, 3, 9; 1, 5, 14; Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 380; 474-475; 496-497; Schwartz, Menschen u. Tiere im Aberglaube (1888), 41; Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere (1888), 64-65; Courtney in Folk-Lore Journal, 5 (1887). 217; Cameron in Folk-Lore, 14 (1903), 301; Lawrence, The Magic of the Horseshoe (1898), 279-284; Boese, Superstitiones Arelatenses (1909), 83-87; Lawson, Modern Greek Folk-Lore and ancient Greek Religion (1910), 328; Margoliouth in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 817.

- 3. a muribus: for the use of the preposition with the names of animals cf. Lebreton, Etudes sur la Langue et la Gram. de Cic. (1901), 409-410.
- derosos: not elsewhere found until
 Pliny, who uses it (e.g., N. H. 11, 164;
 17, 241) of the nibbling of animals.

Quid, quod in annalibus habemus Veienti bello, cum lacus Albanus prae-

1. annalibus: cf. 1, 51, n. (quod extat in annalibus).

1. lacus Albanus: cf. 2, 69; Liv. 5, 15, 2-4: lacus in Albano nemore, sine ullis caelestibus aquis causave qua alia quae rem miraculo eximeret, in altitudinem insolitam crevit. quidnam eo di portenderent prodigio missi sciscitatum oratores ad Delphicum oraculum, sed propior interpres fatis oblatus senior quidam Veiens, qui inter cavillantes in stationibus ac custodiis milites Romanos Etruscosque vaticifiantis in modum cecinit priusquam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa foret nunquam potiturum Veiis Romanum. The prophet was captured and brought to the Roman senate, and said (5, 15, 11): sic igitur libris fatalibus, sic disciplina Etrusca tradilum esse, quando aqua Albana abundasset tum si eam Romanus rite emisisset victoriam de Veientibus dari; antequam id fiat deos moenia Veientium deserturos non esse. The messengers sent to Delphi brought back back the reply (5, 16, 9-11): Romane, aquam Albanam cave lacu contineri, cave in mare manare suo flumine sinas; emissam per agros rigabis dissipatamque rivis exstingues; tum tu insisté audax hostium muris, etc. (for attempted restorations of the verse cf. Baehrens, Frag. Poet. Rom. (1886), 35; Thulin, Italische sakrale Poesie u. Prosa (1906), 62-63). In 5, 19, 1, Livy says: iam ludi Latinaeque instaurata erant, iam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa in agros, Veiosque fata adpetebant. The story is also told by Dion. Hal. 12, 10-13; Val. Max. 1, 6, 3; Plut. Camill. 3; Zonar. 7, 21. The Ciceronian version differs from the others in that it is a deserter who tells the tale and that there is no consultation of the Delphic oracle.

For a description of the outlet of the Alban Lake see especially de la Blanchère in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Emissarium (1892), 598-601 (with excellent plans), and the works there cited; Tomassetti, La Campagna Romana, 2

(1910), 174-176. This emissarium, which still determines the level of the lake, is a tunnel 2234 metres long, about 2 metres high, and 1.20 metres wide, constructed mainly through peperino, and emptying into the Rio Albano, a tributary of the Tiber. It could not have been intended to reclaim agricultural land on the shores, which are too steep for cultivation, but rather for irrigation purposes (cf. 2, 69; Nissen, Ital. Landeskunde, 2 (1902), 585; yet cf. Frank in Am. econ. Rev. 9 (1919), 271), to prevent the overflow of the lake (Nissen, l.c.), and to reduce its level so as to prevent an unhealthful seepage through the porous rock into the Campagna below and around the lake (de la Blanchère, op. cit. 599). Possibly also the desire to protect buildings or burial places at points on the sides of the lake. which might have been submerged in case of overflow, may have been a motive. For the level of the lake before this work was constructed see Ashby in Pap. of the Brit. School at Rome, 5 (1910), 277; Tomassetti, op. cit. 2, 175. Similar emissaria of the Lake of Nemi, the Fucine Lake, etc., are well discussed by de la Blanchère, op. cit. who also treats (p. 600) of the probable method of construction.

For this outlet, constructed for practical purposes, a cause was probably later found in the story as narrated by the historians, the ominous details being, first, the overflowing of water (see below), and secondly the fact that this overflow was not due to any apparent rains or natural causes; finally, perhaps, its threatening the old source of the Roman race (Dion. Hal. 12, 10: λίμνη . . . παρ' ή τὸ άρχαιον ή των 'Ρωμαίων μητρόπολις ψκειτο). Cf. also the theory of Orioli (quoted by Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 10, n. 1) that the prophecy in the libri fatales dated from a period when Veii had to fear as a rival not Rome but Alba, and that the Etruscan had substituted for the old Alba its later representative, Rome.

ter modum crevisset, Veientem quendam ad nos hominem nobilem perfugisse, eumque dixisse ex fatis, quae Veientes scripta haberent, Veios capi non posse dum lacus is redundaret, et si lacus emissus lapsu et cursu suo ad mare profluxisset perniciosum populo Romano; sin autem ita esset eductus ut ad mare pervenire non posset tum salutare nostris fore? Ex quo illa mirabilis a maioribus Albanae aquae facta deductio est. Cum autem Veientes bello fessi legatos ad senatum misissent tum ex iis quidam dixisse dicitur non omnia illum transfugam ausum esse senatui dicere; in isdem enim fatis scriptum Veientes habere fore ut brevi a Gallis Roma caperetur, quod quidem sexennio post Veios captos factum esse videmus.

XLV. 101. Saepe etiam et in proeliis Fauni auditi et in rebus turbidis

- 6. mirabilis C, Christ, admirabilis codd. Moseri, O, Boiler, Maller, Thoresen.
- 7. ex iis oulg., ex is B^1 , ex his AB^0HVO .
- 9. isdem vulg., hisdem ABH, lisdem O.

On the ominous character of overflows of water see also Brev. Expos. in Virg. Georg. 1, 482: Virgilium credibile est Padum significasse, cuius inundatio semper prodigiosa existimata est; Lydus, de Ostent. p. 16 Wachsmuth; Isid. Etym. 13, 22, 5: sciendum autem flumina cum supra modum crescunt non tantum ad praesens inferre damna sed etiam et aliqua significare futura; also 1, 78, n. (in contrarias partes); 1, 111; and to the citations in Wülker, op. cit., 22, add Hor. Carm. 1, 2, 13-20; Plin. N. H. 16, 169; Dio Cass. 37, 58; 53, 20; 53, 33; 54, 1; 55, 22; 57, 14; 66, 7; 78, 25; Jul. Capit. Anton. P. 9, 3; Tac. Hist. 1, 86; Sex. Aurel. Vict. 32, 3-4; Isid. Etym. 13, 22, 5; Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5(1696). 464-465.

- 1f. perfugisse: so only in the Ciceronian account.
- 2. fatis: cf. Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1 (1906), 9-10, for similar expressions; also 1, 20, n. (chartis . . . Etruscis); 1, 72; 2, 50. For the places at which such collections were preserved see Thulin in P.-W. s.v. Etrusca Disciplina (1907), 726. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4, 290, compares these books in their purpose and use with the Sibylline books at Rome.
- 4. profluxisset: 2, 69 varies a little in expression.

- 8. dixisse dicitur: cf. 1, 76, n. (dixisse dicitur).
 - 9. brevi: cf. 1, 68; 1, 104.
 - 10. sexennio post: in 390 B.C.
 - 10. videmus: cf. 1, 29; 1, 89.
- 11. Fauni: cf. 2, 69; N.D. 2, 6: saepe Faunorum voces exauditae, saepe visae formae deorum quemvis aut non hebetem aut impium deos praesentes esse confiteri coegerunt; 3, 15: Fauni vocem equidem numquam audivi; tibi, si audivisse te dicis, credam, etsi Faunus omnino quid sit nescio.

The name is usually connected with faveo (see Serv. Georg. 1, 10; Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 276-277), though Nettleship (Lectures and Essays (1885), 50-52) accepts the ancient derivation (to the examples which he cites add Tert. ad Nat. 2, 11; Serv. l.c.) from for, and compares the name of Fatua, the wife of Faunus.

The pedigree of Faunus, king of the Aborigines, and father of Latinus, is treated in detail by Wissowa in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Faunus (1886), 1454-1455, who notes that instead of being a deified hero he was probably an old Italic earth-divinity, who suffered the reverse fate, and, though Greek influence, became confused with Pan and the Satyrs and hence, as here, pluralized; cf. id., Relig. u. Kull. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912),

veridicae voces ex occulto missae esse dicuntur; cuius generis duo sint ex multis exempla, sed maxuma. Nam non multo ante urbem captam exau1. sint Medvig, sunt CO, sumo Usener in Neue Jahrb. 139 (1889), 392.

212. He was a god of the country and was worshipped in the open, especially in groves. Divination is frequently spoken of as one of his gifts and various natural sounds were ascribed to him: cf. note on voces ex occulto infra. His mantic power in connection with battles was shown at the battle of the Silva Arsia (Dion. Hal. 5, 16: φωνή τις ἡκούσθη . . . ωσθ' άπαντας άκούειν είτε τοῦ κατέχοντος τὸ τέμενος θρωσς είτε τοῦ καλουμένου Φαίνου; Liv. 2, 7, 2: adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani vocem eam creditam (cf. Plut. Poplic. 9; Val. Max. 1, 8, 5; and for the connection of Silvanus and Faunus see Wissowa in Roscher, ob. cit. 1455) haec dicta: uno plus Tuscorum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum. That in our passage and the two just quoted Greek ideas have intruded into the native legends is clear: cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 126-127; Fowler, Roman Festivals (1908), 262. Other material on Fauni as prophetic will be found in Bouché-Leclercq, l.c.; Nettleship, I.c.; Wissowa, op. cit. 1456; Fowler, l.c.; Deubner, De Incubatione (1900), 10; and add: Fronto, de Eloq. p. 146 Naber; Calp. Ecl. 1, 33-34; Prob. on Virg. Georg. 1, 10; Lact. Inst. 1, 22, 9; Mart. Cap. 2, 167; Origo Gent. Rom. 4, 4; Chron. Pasch. p. 45 P. On verses associated with Fauns cf. 1, 114, n. (versibus, etc.).

[278]11. in rebus turbidis: cf. Phil. 2, 39.

1. voces ex occulto: cf. 1, 99; Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 154 ff.; 346. From the point of view of superstitious belief natural sounds of uncertain source were ascribed to Faunus. These may be divided (as by Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 233-234) into the speaking of images or of the god in person, and the miraculous and instantaneous circulation of news at a distance from its source (perhaps the most important passage is Plut. Aem. Paul. 24-25, who mentions such occur-

rences at the defeat of Perseus by Paullus. at the battles of the Sagra, Mycale, Lake Regillus, etc.; other cases are collected by Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 479-480; Halliday, op. cit. 234, n. 3; Paroemiogr. Gr. 1, 36; 2, 142; 2, 267). But in physical origin these sounds of course differ, and the class here under discussion is doubtless made up of echoes (so Lucr. 4, 580-594 explains some cases), of the sound of the wind either in the open or in the branches of trees, of the creaking or rubbing together of limbs of trees, etc. These appear especially in connection with groves; cf. Dion. Hal. 1, 56; Liv. 1, 31, 3; Virg. Georg. 1, 476-477; Tibull. 2, 5, 74; Ov. Met. 15, 792-793; Lucan, 1, 569-570; Claud. de Bell. Get. 545-548. For such tree-voices see also Epist. Alexandri ad Aristot. pp. 212-216 Kübler; also the talking oaks of Dodona (1, 3, n. (Dodonaeo) supra), and the numerous other cases cited by Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 1 (1906), 355, n. 5; 2 (1906), 782-783, including the reference to speaking trees in Plin. N. H. 17, 243. The belief is found also in Semitic lands; cf. 2 Sam. 5, 24; Smith, Relig. of the Semites, 2 ed. (1894), 195-197; Marmorstein in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 17 (1914), 132-133 (with bibliography in 132, n. 4). Still other sounds emanate from the sky; cf. 1, 97, n. (e caelo fremitus); Diog. L. 1, 115; Plut. Them. 15; Wülker, op. cit. 19; and the Biblical voices out of Heaven. Others have their source from a tomb or shrine; Liv. 6, 33, 5; Virg. Aen. 3, 39 ff.; Tac. Hist. 5, 13; Suet. Nero, 46; cf. Wülker, l.c.; 1 Sam. 3, 4 ff.; Lecky, Rationalism in Europe, 1 (1868 ed.), 164. At other times the source is unnamed; Soph. O. C. 1623 ff.; Virg. Aen. 3, 93; App. Syr. 58; Paus. 4, 9, 3.

2. nam non, etc.: cf. 2, 69; Liv. 5, 32, 6: eodem anno (391 B.C.) M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis se in nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem Vestae,



dita vox est a luco Vestae, qui a Palati radice in novam viam devexus est, ut muri et portae reficerentur; futurum esse, nisi provisum esset, ut Roma caperetur. Quod neglectum tum cum caveri poterat post acceptam illam maximam cladem expiatum est; ara enim Aio Loquenti, quam saeptam

- 1. Palatii C, Maller.
- 3. tum cum Maller, cum H, tum AV, om. B.
- 4. expiatum Davies, explicatum C.

vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici iuberet Gallos adventare; 5, 50, 5 (390 B.C.): expiandae etiam vocis nocturnae quae nuntia cladis ante bellum Gallicum audita neglectaque esset mentio inlata iussumque templum in nova via Aio Locutio fieri; 5, 52, 11; Gell. 16, 17, 2: M. Varro in libris divinarum aliam esse tradit istius nominis rationem: nam sicut Aius, inquit, deus appellatus araque ei statuta est, quae est infima nova via, quod eo in loco divinitus vox edita erat, ita Vaticanus deus nominatus, etc.; Plut. Camill. 14: aphp obe eriφανής μέν ούδε έκ της βουλης, έπιεικής δε καί χρηστός είναι δοκών, Μάρκος Καιδίκιος, άνήνεγκε πρός τούς χιλιάρχους πράγμα φροντίδος άξιον. έφη γάρ έν τη παρφχημένη νυκτί καθ' δδόν βαδίζων ήν Καινήν δνομάζουσι, κληθείς υπό τινος φθεγξαμένου μεταστραφήναι και θεάσασθαι μέν ουδένα, φωνής δέ μείζονος ή κατ' άνθρωπίνην άκοθσαι τάδε λεγούσης. "άγε, Μάρκε Καιδίκιε, λέγε πρός τους άρχοντας έωθεν έλθων όλίγου χρόνου Γαλάτας προσδέχεσθαι." ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οι χιλιαρχοι γέλωτα και παιδιάν έποιοθντο, κτλ.; id. 30: αύτος δέ (8C. δ Κάμιλλος) ίδρύσατο νεών Φήμης και Κληδόνος, άνευρών έκεινον τόν τόπον & β νύκτωρ ή καταγγέλλουσα τήν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατιάν έκ θεοῦ τῷ Καιδικίω Μάρκφ φωνή προσέπεσε; cf. id., de Fort. Rom. 5; Juv. 11, 111-114: templorum quoque maiestas praesentior, et vox / nocte fere media mediamque audita per urbem / litore ab oceani Gallis venientibus et dis / officium vatis peragentibus; and the schol.: conturbantibus Gallis Senonibus repente vox monentis audita est hostem caverent. itaque hostibus pulsis restituta urbe templum constitutum est et consecratum deae Mone-

1. a luco Vestae: on the perplexed question of its exact location see the

works cited by Peter in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Indigitamenta (1890), 191; Stara-Tedde in Bull. Comm. arch. comun. 33 (1905), 208-210; Hülsen-Carter, The Roman Forum (1906), 194; 196; Platner, Topogr. and Monum. of anc. Rome, 2 ed. (1911), 199-200. The limits of the grove were probably gradually restricted by buildings so that it may finally have been completely built over.

- 1. Palati radice: cf. Tusc. 2, 52: radicibus Caucasi; de Leg. agr. 2, 66: Massici radices.
- 1. novam viam: this and the Sacra Via were the only streets within the city bearing the name of via; Hülsen-Carter, op. cit. 206; Platner, op. cit. 54. For its location cf. Hülsen-Carter, l.c.; Platner, l.c.
- 2. muri et portae: so only in the Ciceronian account. Walls and gates were perhaps in this connection of religious as well as of merely practical significance; cf. 1, 98, n. (portae).
- 4. expiatum: cf. Liv. 5, 50, 5: expiandae eliam vocis nocturnae, etc.
- 4. ara: for the erection of such an altar see the passages already cited; also Pascal in Bull. Comm. arch. comun. 22 (1894), 189-190. There have been many attempts to identify this altar with one of travertine found at the northwest corner of the Palatine, in the Vigna Nussiner, and published in C. I. L. I, 632 = VI, 110 = VI, 30694 = Dessau 4015, inscribed: SEI.DEO.SEI.DEIVAE.SAC.C. SEXTIVS.C.F.CALVINVS.PR. DE . SENATI . SENTENTIA . RESTITVIT (illustrated in Ritschl, Prisc. Lat. Mon. spigr. pl. lvi, d; Lanciani, Pagan and Christian Rome (1893), 72). On account of the distance of this altar from the site mentioned by ancient author-

videmus, exadversus eum locum consecrata est. Atque etiam scriptum a multis est cum terrae motus factus esset ut sue plena procuratio fieret vocem ab aede Iunonis ex arce extitisse; quocirca Iunonem illam appellatam Monetam. Haec igitur et a dis significata et a nostris maioribus iudicata contemnimus?

102. Neque solum deorum voces Pythagorei observitaverunt sed

ities and for other reasons it is held by Lanciani (Röm. Mittheil. 9 (1894), 33) that it is not in its original location, and by Hülsen (C. I. L. VI, 30694) that it is not to be identified with a restoration of that of Aius Locutius. C. Sextius Calvinus was a candidate for the praetorship in 100 B.C., and the altar probably dates from about the time of Sulla; cf. Mommsen in C. I. L. I, 632.

[280]4. Aio Loquenti: cf. 2, 69. For the derivation see Peter in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Indigitamenta (1890), 192; Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 21-22; also Usener, Götternamen (1896), 357; Schulze, Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen (1904), 118. Cicero calls the god Aius Loquens, but other accounts indicate Aius Locutius as the regular form (Peter, op. cit. 191). Otto (Rhein. Mus. 64 (1909), 459) considers the double name as an imitation of the Roman praenomen and nomen in -ius. For similar altars in Greece to Κληδών or Φήμη cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 400; Ilberg in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Pheme (1909), 2292-2293; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 231-234.

[280]4. saeptam: cf. 2, 85; and for such fencing of altars see C. I. L. XI, 1420 = Dessau 139: <uti>utique > locus ante eam aram . . . pateat quoque versus pedes XL stipitibusque robustis saepiatur.

- 1. exadversus: in Cicero only here.
- 1f. scriptum a multis est: this particular form of the story, however, is preserved only here and in 2, 69.
- 2. sue plena: for other instances of this sacrifice (especially to Tellus and Ceres) see Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 413, n. 8.

- 2. procuratio: on the expiation of portents see Thulin, *Die etrusk. Disciplin*, 2 (1909), 124.
- 3. ab aede, etc.: this temple on the arx was erected by Camillus on the site of the house of M. Manlius Capitolinus (cf. Platner, Topogr. and Mon. of anc. Rome, 2 ed. (1911), 296, and works there cited), and in it was established the Roman mint. The cult and history of the goddess are treated by Roscher in his Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Iuno (1897), 592-594 (and her appearance in art by Vogel in the same work, 612); cf. Wissowa, op. cit. 190.
- 4. Monetam: the etymology is disputed. The ancient view derived it from moneo; so 2, 69; Isid. Etym. 16, 18, 8: Moneta appellata est quia monet ne qua fraus in metallo vel pondere fiat; Suid. s.v. Μονήτα "Ηραν Μονήταν, τουτέστι σύμ-Boulor. Assmann, however, in Klio, 6 (1906), 484, objecting to the formation of the word, would derive it from the Punic machanath (pronounced manath?), found on coins, and this view is accepted by Costanzi (in Klio, 7 (1907), 335-340), but rejected by Hands (Numism. Chron. 10 (1910), 1-12) and Wissowa (op. cit. 190, n. 8). A third explanation is that of Walde (Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 493) that, after the principle advanced by Otto (Rhein. Mus. 64 (1909), 449-468), the name may be derived from some Etruscan gentile name. The goddess is mentioned with some shade of disparagement by Cotta in N. D. 3, 47.
- 6. voces: two really unrelated forms of cledonism, the actual voice of a god and the ominous conclusions from human speech or name, are here grouped.

etiam hominum, quae vocant omina. Quae maiores nostri quia valere censebant idcirco omnibus rebus agendis QVOD BONVM, FAVSTVM, FELIX, FORTVNATVMQVE ESSET praefabantur, rebusque divinis quae publice fierent ut FAVERENT LINGVIS imperabatur, inque feriis im-

[281]6. Pythagorei: cf. Diog. L. 8, 20: μαντική τε έχρήτο (sc. δ Πιθαγόραs) τή διά τῶν κληδόνων τε και οἰωνῶν; Iambl. Vit. Pyth. 149: προσείχε δὲ και φήμαις και μαντείαις και κληδόσιν δλως πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτομάτοις; also 1, 5, n. (Pythagoras).

[281]6. observitaverunt: cf. 1, 2, n. (observitaverunt).

1. vocant: the subject is probably not Pythagorei but indefinite.

1. omina: cf. Varr. L. L. 6, 76: quod ex ore primum elatum est osmen dictum; 7, 97; Paul. ex Fest. p. 195 M.: omen velut oremen, quod fit ore augurium. More probably, according to Walde (Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 539) from ouismen, connected with the Greek otoma. Other views connect it with avis, auris, oculus, etc.; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 134, n. 2; Walde, l.c.

2. quod bonum, etc.: on such formulae see Appel, De Romanorum Precationibus (1909), 170 ff., especially 173-174. The variations of expression are more numerous, however, than would be gathered from Appel's collection; e.g., C. I. L. VI, 32367: quod bonum faustum felix fortunatum salutare sit; VI, 32379: quod bonum faustum felix fortunatum salutareque sit; Vopisc. Tac. 18, 2: quod bonum faustum felix salutareque sit; id. 4, 4: quod bonum faustum salutareque sit; Apul. Met. 2, 6: quod bonum felix et faustum; C. I. L. XII, 4333: quod bonum faustum felixque sit; VIII, 9796: Q. B. F. F. SIT; III, 7437: Q. B. F. F.; VIII, 14683: quot bonum faustum felicem (sic); IV, 1354: bonum faustum felix; etc.; cf. 1, 45, n. (bene verruncent). With these phrases something like deos quaeso is perhaps to be supplied; cf. Appel, op. cit. 172. Cf. the use in Greek of άγαθή τύχη (Plut. de Stoic. Repugn. 9; etc.). Such expressions are found particularly at the

beginnings of actions (cf. N. D. 2, 67; Ov. Fast. 1, 178: omina principiis, inquit, inesse solent). So in New Year's wishes (e.g., Plin. N. H. 28, 22; Tac. Ann. 4, 70; Auson. Domest. 5, 10; 6, 1; Epist. 27, 120 Peip.; C. I. L. III, 6288; XIII, 10001, no. 6; XV, 6196a ff.; cf. Columell. 11, 2, 98; Cassiod. Var. 2, 1; Riess in P.-W. s.v. Aberglaube (1894), 45); at the accession of an emperor (e.g., Chron. Pasch. p. 299 a); or at the commencement of a literary work (Liv. praef. 13); etc.

3f. rebusque . . . fierent: cf. 1, 74, n. (res divina fieret).

4. faverent linguis: cf. 2, 57; 2, 83. For the use of the expression favete linguis cf. Appel, op. cit. 187-189; Sen. de Vit. beat. 26, 7: favete linguis. hoc verbum non, ut plerique existimant, a favore trahitur, sed imperat silentium, ut rite peragi possit sacrum nulla voce mala obstrepente; Paul. ex Fest. p. 88 M.: favenlia bonam ominationem significat. nam praecones clamantes populum sacrificiis favere iubebant. favere enim est bona fari, at veteres poetae pro silere usi sunt favere; p. 222 M.: parcito linguam in sacrificiis dicebatur, id est coerceto, contineto, taceto; Plin. N. H. 28, 11: videmus . . . alium vero praeponi qui favere linguis iubeat, tibicinem canere, ne quid aliud exaudiatur; Serv. Aen. 5, 71: ore favete apto sermone usus est et sacrificio et ludis: nam in sacris taciturnitas necessaria est, quod etiam praeco magistratu sacrificante dicebat 'favete linguis, favete vocibus,' hoc est bona omina habete aut tacete; 8, 173. The corresponding Greek expression is ebonueîr (ebonula), and is widely used, especially in the drama; cf. Schol. Ar. Nub. 263: εὐφημεῖν χρή ώστε μηδέν βλάσφημον είπεῖν. The avoidance of ill-omened sounds was at times effected by the use of noisy musical instruments (Plut. Act. Rom. 10; cf. Pease in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol. 15 (1904), 45). For cereperandis ut LITIBVS ET IVRGIIS SE ABSTINERENT. Itemque in lustranda colonia [ab eo qui eam deduceret], et cum imperator exercitum, censor populum lustraret, bonis nominibus qui hostias ducerent 2. ab eo qui eam deduceret dei. Thorses.

monial silence cf. 2, 71-72 infra; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 198; Fahz in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 15 (1912), 411 ff. (also Woch. f. kl. Philol. 30 (1913), 1050); and, for a Hindu parallel, Fay in Class. Weekly, 9 (1916), 163. For a supposed representation in art of the gesture used in proclaiming this silence see Petersen, Ara Pacis Augustae (1902), 92.

[282]4f. feriis imperandis: cf. Macrob. Sat. 1, 16, 5-6: (sc. feriae) aut enim stativae sunt aut conceptivae aut imperativae aut nundinae... imperativae sunt quas consules vel praetores pro arbitrio potestatis indicunt. In our passage, however, the word imperandis may well be used of the proclamation of any festival.

- 1. litibus, etc.: cf. Leg. 2, 19: feriis iurgia amovento; 2, 29: feriarum festorum-que dierum ratio in liberis requietem litium habet et iurgiorum; Liv. 5, 13, 7 (of a festival): iurgiis ac litibus temperatum; 38, 51, 8: cum hodie litibus et iurgiis supersederi aequum sit; Ov. Fast. 1, 73-74: lite vacent aures, insanaque prolinus absint / iurgia. Cf. also the iustitium on an occasion of public grief, and see Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 432, on the Roman attitude towards feriae.
- 2. ab eo . . . deduceret: the objection of Thoresen (in Nordisk Tids-skrift for Filologi, 3 ser., 2 (1893/4), 29) to this phrase is based on the fact that, during the republic, colonies were regularly deductae by a committee, not by a single person; cf. Kornemann in P.-W. s.v. Coloniae (1900), 569-570, who notes that three was the regular number of founders, but that 5, 7, 10, 15, and 20 occur, and only once so small a number as two (C. I. L. I, 200). In the midst of a distinctly Roman passage like this there can hardly be a question of an olksorths of a Greek colony. I am therefore inclined, with

Thoresen, to hold the phrase to be the gloss of an mistaken scholiast.

- 2. deduceret: the technical term; cf. Kornemann, op. cit. 572-573.
- 2f. cum imperator exercitum: Domaszewski (Abk. s. rom. Relig. (1909), 17) compares C. I. L. V, 808 (found at Aquileia): D. I. M. Fl. Exuperat. agens. in. lus. Fl. Sabini. PP. Ael. Severus. agens. lust. Aur. Flav. Pr. Signif. Leg. III. P. F. ////// Valer. Valens. Signif. Leg. XIII. Gem. lustr. Aur. Zenon. P. P., etc. The occasion of the rite, however, is not quite clear, but the bona nomina (Exuperat. and Valerius Valens) are to be noted; cf. also the military exercises at the restoration of the Capitolium in 70 A.D. (Tac. Hist. 4, 53: spatium omne quod templo dicabatur evinctum vittis coronisque ingressi milites quis fausta nomina, felicibus ramis).
- 3. censor populum: cf. Kubitschek in P.-W. s.v. Census (1899), 1918; Bouché-Leclercq in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Lustratio (1904), 1430; also the description of the lustration accompanying the census held by Servius Tullius (Liv. 1, 44, 2).
- 3. bonis nominibus: cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 121 M.: Lacus Lucrinus in vectigalibus publicis primus locatur eruendus ominis boni gratia, ut in dilectu censuve primi nominantur Valerius, Salvius, Statorius; Plin. N. H. 28, 22: cur publicis lustris etiam nomina victimas ducentium prospera eligimus? For Valerius as a bonum nomen cf. pro Scaur. 30. On this subject perhaps cf. Serv. Aen. 8, 269 (for the Potitii and Pinarii).

The list of Paulus mentions only nomina, but any part of the name might contain an omen. Thus Auct. de Praenominibus, 4: Tullus praenominatus est ominis gratia quasi tollendus; cf. Gaia Caecilia (Paul. ex Fest. p. 95 M.). In

eligebantur. Quod idem in dilectu consules observant, ut primus miles

certain gentes names of unlucky association were avoided, e.g., the praenomen Marcus in the gens Manlia. For a family illustrating the search for favorable names see C. I. L. XIII, 2255, where appear Salvius Victor, Valeria Agathemeris his wife, and children named Salvius Felix and Salvia Valeriana; cf. Diod. 36, 4, 4. Cognomina might be of good omen through association, as that of Scipio in Africa (Plut. Cat. min. 57); or through their etymology (e.g., Sulla's children Faustus and Felix (Plut. Sull. 34); cf. Damasus, 61, 1; Lamprid. Diadum. 4, 4; Amm. Marc. 23, 5, 12-13; C. I. L. VI, 22102; Mullinger in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Christ. Antig. 2 (1880 ed.), 1369; Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 139). For lucky names of race horses cf. Wünsch, Antike Fluchtafeln (1912), 11, and n.

On the favorable etymologies of certain Greek names cf. Artemid. Onirocr. 3, 38, who mentions as εδφημα such names as Μένων, Μενεκράτης, Κρατίνος, Ζήνων, Ζηνόφιλος, Θεόδωρος, Κάρπος, Έλπιδοφόρος, Εύτυχος, Θράσων, Θρασύλος, Θρασύμαχος (but contrast what he says in 4, 80). See also the examples in Bechtel u. Fick, Die gr. Personennamen, 2 ed. (1894), 12. Thus the oecists of a colony at Heraclea Trachinia (Thuc. 3, 92, 8) were Leon, Alcidas, and Damagon; volunteer leaders in Xen. Anab. 4, 1, 27 were Aristonymus, Agasias, and Callimachus. Other cases of such omens in names are Hegesistratus (Hdt. 9, 91), Euphemus (Ar. Vesp. 599; Athen. 5, p. 216 f.), Eunus (Diod. 34, 2, 14); Nicias (Plut. Nic. 1), Hesychia (Plut. Nic. 13), Nicostrate (Plut. Amat. Quaest. 4), Sosus and Soso (Anthol. Pal. 6, 216), Basilides (Tac. Hist. 2, 78), Oebares (= άγαθάγγελος; Nicol. Dam. in F. H. G. 3, 400), Eutychus and the ass Nicon (Suet. Aug. 96); A geruchia (Hier. Ep. 123, 1).

For names of bad omen cf. Odysseus (Schultz, ΑΙΔΩΣ (1910), 14), Memnon (Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 1, 2 ed. (1894), no. 189, 3), Aias (Soph. Ai. 430-431; 904;

914), Pentheus (Eur. Bacch. 367; 508; Charaemon, fr. 4 Nauck, ap. Arist. Rhet. 2, p. 1400 b 24-25), Helen (Aesch. Agam. 688-689); Polynices (Aesch. Sept. 565; 645; 815; Eur. Phoen. 636-637), Atrius Umber (Liv. 28, 28, 4: nominis etiam abominandi dux), Calvitor (Anthol. Lat. ed. Riese, 2, 2 ed. (1906), no. 902, 11-12: est omine nomen / tetrum), Pertinax (Spart. Sever. 7, 9); cf. also Verres (Cic. 2 Verr. 2, 18-19) and Scaurus (pro Scaur. 30), to which add the names mentioned by Heeringa (ad h. loc.): Curtius, Minucius, Purius, Hostilius.

The attempt to change names of illomen to ones more favorable is frequent with persons, places, and things; e.g., Erinyes (Eumenides), Axinus (Euxinus), Pharmacia (Therapia), Egesta (Segesta), Epidamnus (Dyrrachium), Maleventum (Beneventum), and such series as (λαιδε?), αριστερδε and εδώνυμος; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4 (1882), 139; McCartney in Class. Journ. 14 (1919), 343-358 (especially 355-358).

The Christian custom of naming children after saints perhaps shows a survival of the desire for names of good omen. On the subject of the magic significance of names cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, 3, 3 ed. (1911), 318-391, especially 391. The allegorical interpretation of names, especially Scriptural ones, by Christian writers, is another ramification of the same far-reaching subject. Finally, on the omens in names, cf. Cassiod. Var. 4, 3 (speaking of Honoratus and Decoratus): o vere vestris meritis electi, et auspicio nominis honorati! praesentiunt quaedam parentes, positis in prole vocabulis, et ut venturarum rerum cursus ex alto est imperio divinitatis, cogitatio praesagantis instruitur; loqui datur quod nos sensisse nescimus; sed post casum reminiscimur quod ignorantes veraciter dixeramus.

1. in dilectu: on the procedure in levying troops see Cagnat in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Dilectus (1892)

fiat bono nomine. 103. Quae quidem a te scio et consule et imperatore summa cum religione esse servata. Praerogativam etiam maiores omen iustorum comitiorum esse voluerunt. XLVI. Atque ego exempla ominum . nota proferam. L. Paulus consul iterum, cum ei bellum ut cum rege Perse 1. scio C, scis Cobsi, Christ, Maller.

213-214. Not only was care taken to secure good luck in the name of the first soldier but also to avoid making the levy on a day of ill-omen (Macrob. Sat. 1, 16, 19). For soldiers with fausta nomina cf. Tac. Hist. 4, 53; Dean, A Study of the Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions (1916), esp. 13-62; Oldfather in Class. Weekly, 11 (1918), 126.

- 1. a te: cf. 1, 22, n. (poteris).
- 1. et imperatore: for a collection of material dealing with Cicero's military campaign in Cilicia, especially against the fortress of Pindenissus, cf. Schmidt, Der Briefwechsel des M. T. Cicero (1893), 82-83.
- 2. praerogativam: cf. 2, 83. According to the older organization of the comitia centuriata the centuriae praerogativae were those of the equites (cf. Liebenam in P.-W. s.v. Comitia (1900), 690-691; Botsford, Roman Assemblies (1909), 211), but after the reform (probably of the third century B.C.) a century called the pracrogativa was drawn by lot from the first class (Phil. 2, 82; Liv. 24, 7, 12; 27, 6, 3; Kübler in P.-W. s.v. Centuria (1899), 1956; Botsford, op. cit. 224, n. 7; 227), and cast the first vote. This is the arrangement of which Cicero is here speaking; cf. post Red. in Sen. 17. For the ominous character of the vote of this century cf. pro Mur. 38: tanta illis comitiis religio est ut adhuc semper omen valuerit praerogativae; pro Planc. 49; una centuria praerogativa tantum habet auctoritatis ut nemo umquam prior eam tulerit quin renuntiatus sit aut eis ipsis comitiis consul aut certe in illum annum. For the importance of its vote in a practical, political way cf. Botsford, op. cit. 389.
- 3. iustorum comitiorum: cf. post Red. in Sen. 27: comitiis centuriatis quae

maxime maiores comitia iusta dici haberique voluerunt.

- 4. L. Paulus, etc.: cf. 2, 83; Val. Max. 1, 5, 3: quid illud quod L. Paulo consuli evenit quam memorabile! cum ei sorte obvenisset ut bellum cum rege Perse gereret et domum e curia regressus filiolam suam nomine Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parvula, osculatus tristem animadverteret, interrogavit quid ita eo vultu esset. quae respondit Persam perisse. decesserat autem catellus quem puella in deliciis habuerat nomine Persa. arripuit igitur omen Paulus exque fortuito dicto quasi * * * certam spem clarissimi triumphi animo praesumpsit; Plut. Aem. Paul. 10: heyerai δ' αύτόν, ώς άνηγορεύθη κατά τοῦ Πέρσεως στρατηγός, ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παντός οἰκαδε προπεμφθέντα λαμπρώς εύρειν το θυγάτριον την Τερτίαν δεδακρυμένην έτι παιδίον οδσαν. άσπαζόμενον ούν αύτην έρωταν έφ' ότω λελύπηται την δέ περιβαλούσαν και καταφιλούσαν "ού γὰρ οἶσθα," εἰπεῖν, "ὧ πάτερ, ὅτι ἡμῖν ὁ Περσεύς τέθνηκε;" λέγουσαν κυνίδιον σύντροφον ούτω προσαγορευόμενον και τόν Αιμίλιον "άγαθη τύχη" φάναι "ὧ θύγατερ, καὶ δέχομαι τον οιωνόν." ταῦτα μέν οῦν Κικέρων ὁ βήτωρ by τοις περί μαντικής Ιστόρηκεν; id., Reg. et Imperat. Apophth. s.v. Paulus Aemilius, 2; Niceph. Greg. in Synes. de Insomn. p. 132 (Migne, Patrol. Gr. 149, 537), who copies Plut. Aem. Paul. 10; Joann. Saresb. Policr. 1, 13.
- 4. consul iterum: in 168 B.C.; cf. C. I. L. XI, 1829 (= Dessau 57): iterum cos. ut cum rege < Per>se bellum gereret a p < opulo f > actus est.
- 4f. cum . . . ut . . . obtigisset: cf. 1 Verr. 21; 2 Verr. 5, 38. Valerius explains by sorts evenisset.
- 4. Perse: on the Latin forms of this name see Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausführ. Gram. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 495-496. This abla-

gereret obtigisset, ut ea ipsa die domum ad vesperum rediit filiolam suam Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parva, osculans animum advertit tristiculam. 'Quid est,' inquit, 'mea Tertia? quid tristis es?' 'Mi pater,' inquit, 'Persa periit.' Tum ille artius puellam conplexus, 'Accipio,' inquit, 'mea filia, omen.' Erat autem mortuus catellus eo nomine. 104. L. Flaccum, flaminem Martialem, ego audivi cum diceret Caeciliam Metelli,

tive form is also used by Cicero pro Mur. 31; Tusc. 3, 53.

1. ea ipsa die: on the gender cf. Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre der lat. Spr. 3 ed. (1902), 1015.

1. ad vesperum: cf. Fin. 2, 92; 3, 8; de Sen. 67; de Am. 12.

1f. filiolam . . . osculans: cf. pro Mur. 23. On Cicero's use of diminutives cf. Laurand, Etudes sur le Style des Discours de Cic. (1907), 248-262; Petersen in Class. Philol. 11 (1916), 448. The emphasis on smallness is seen all through this passage (filiolam, admodum parva, tristiculam, catellus).

2. Tertiam: of such numeral names of women (from *Prima* to *Sexta*) examples from inscriptions are collected by Hübner in Müller's *Handbuck der kl. Altert.* 1, 2 ed. (1892), 665.

3. tristiculam: only here and in Fronto ad M. Caes. 3, 17.

3. quid tristis es: cf. 1, 59, n. (quid tristis esses).

4. Persa: for the name see Baecker, De Canum Nominibus Graecis (1884), 75, who, for mention of Persian dogs, compares Gratt. Cyneg. 158. Other names of nationality cited by Baecker are 'Αρκάς, Κνώσιος, Κύπριος, Λάκαινα, Λάκαιν, Σύρος.

In Amm. Marc. 23, 3, 6 the fall of a horse named Babylonius is thought to presage the fall of Babylon. Honorius on hearing δτι 'Ρώμη ἀπόλωλε was relieved to learn that it was the city rather than his pet cock of that name (Procop. Hist. Bell. 3, 2, 25-26; cf. 5, 20, 1-4, where Samnite boys name two sheep for Belisarius and Vitigis and omens for the future are drawn from their respective fates). For a collection of coincidences in fortune between persons of the same name see Plut. Sert. 1.

Such chance words of children or their acts in play were often considered as ominous; cf. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. 1, 15; Steinhauser, Der Prodigienglaube u. das Prodigienwesen der Griechen (1911), 31.

4f. accipio . . . omen: since Paulus was an augur (Plut. Aem. Paul. 3; C. I. L. XI, 1829 = Dessau 57) he was perhaps especially keen in noting such occurrences. As has often been pointed out (e.g., by Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4 (1882), 136), omens have no significance independent of the will of an observer to accept them, but he must note words; phrases, or acts and apply them consciously in another than their literal sense. Such definite acceptance (accipere omen) is paralleled by definite power of refusal (improbare, exsecrari, refutare, abominari omen); cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 4, 137, n. 1; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 46-53; and, not involving proper names, Aesch. Agam. 1653; Hdt. 1, 63; Dion. Hal. 19, 5, 3; Virg. Aen. 7, 116-119; Tac. Ann. 2, 13; Curt. 5, 2, 15; Aug. de Doctr. Christ. 2, 37; also the phrases (absit omen, etc.) used by Cicero himself in Phil. 4, 10; 11, 11; 12, 14; 13, 7; 13, 41; 14, 26; al. Frontin. Strat. 1, 12 gives elaborate directions for averting bad military omens by mere repartee.

Examples of omens are too numerous to be here cited, but will be found in the references given above and in the collection of Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 365; 441-452.

5f. L. Flaccum, flaminem Martialem: cf. Klose, Röm. Priesterfasten, 1 (1910), 23, who identifies him as L. Valerius Flaccus mentioned in pro Rab. 27 and by Varr. L. L. 6, 21, and perhaps the son of the flamen Martialis of the same name

cum vellet sororis suae filiam in matrimonium conlocare, exisse in quoddam sacellum ominis capiendi causa, quod fieri more veterum solebat. Cum virgo staret et Caecilia in sella sederet neque diu ulla vox exstitisset puellam defatigatam petisse a matertera ut sibi concederet paulisper ut in eius sella requiesceret; illam autem dixisse: 'Vero, mea puella, tibi concedo meas sedes.' Quod omen res consecuta est; ipsa enim brevi mortua est, virgo autem nupsit cui Caecilia nupta fuerat. Haec posse contemni vel etiam rideri praeclare intellego, sed id ipsum est deos non putare quae ab iis significantur contemnere.

mentioned in *Phil.* 11, 18, whom he may have succeeded in the flaminate. He probably died before 63 B.C.

[286]**6. audivi cum diceret:** cf. *N. D.* 1, 58: et al.

[286]6. Caeciliam, etc.: cf. Val. Max. 1 5, 4: at Caecilia Metelli dum sorozis filiae adultae aetatis virgini more prisco nocte concubia nuptiale petit omen, ipsa fecit; nam cum in sacello quodam eius rei gratia aliquamdiu persedisset nec ulla vox proposito congruens esset audita, fessa longa standi mora puella rogavit materteram ut sibi paulisper locum residendi adcommodaret. cui illa 'ego vero,' inquit, 'libenter tibi mea sede cedo.' quod dictum ab indulgentia profectum ad certi ominis processit eventum, quoniam Metellus non ita multo post mortua Caecilia virginem de qua loquor in matrimonium duxit.

[286]6. Caeciliam Metelli: whether filia or sixor is to be understood is not clear from Cicero, but Valerius Maximus takes her to be the wife of Metellus, in which case she cannot be the Caecilia of 1, 4 supra, and is apparently not otherwise known; cf. Münzer in P.-W. s.v. Caecilius (1897), 1234, no. 133.

1. cum vellet, etc.: cf. Ar. Lysis. 597: οὐδεἰς ἐθὲλει γῆμαι ἔτ' αὐτήν, ὁττευομένη δὲ κάθηται, on which the scholiast says: ἀντὶ τοῦ κληδονιζομένη αl γὰρ χῆραι συνεχῶς μαντεύονται πότε γαμηθήσονται. Modern parallels (especially at Midsummer Eve) will be found in Desoe, Life and Adventures of Mr. Duncan Campbell (1903 ed.), xxv; Brand, Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, 1, 2 ed. (1895), 329-335.

1. filiam . . . conlocare: cf. Off. 2, 71.

- 2. ominis capiendi: cf. Valeton in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 294-295; De Marchi, Il Culto privato di Roma antica, 1 (1896), 153; also 1, 28, n. (nuptiarum auspices).
- 2. more veterum: but Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 141, n. 4, holds it to be a Greek rather than an old Roman custom.
- 4. concederet: it is not clear whether this is employed in the sense of 'make place for' or in that of 'permit,' But from its use just below (concedo . . . sedes) it is probable that the former is the meaning here.
- 5. vero: in affirmative answers also in Tusc. 2, 26; Rep. 1, 58; 1, 66; Leg. 2, 46.
- 5f. concedo meas sedes: omens from accidentally taking a seat, especially that of a king, are often mentioned; e.g., Arr. Anab. 7, 24; Diod. 17, 116, 2-4; Dio Cass. 75, 3; Spart. Sever. 1, 9; Jul. Capit. Maximini, 30, 7; Vopisc. Aurel. 5; Amm. Marc. 25, 10, 11. The giving way of a seat was also a bad omen; cf. Frontin. Strat. 1, 12, 7. Similarly the wearing of another's clothes (cf. Curt. 6, 6, 4; Procop. Hist. Bell. 2, 30, 53-54; Zonar. 15, 19), or the temporary assumption of a ruler's crown (Arr. Anab. 7, 22; App. Syr. 56; Diod. 17, 116, 5-7) were held to be significant. In Virg. Aen. 1, 653 the giving of the sceptre of Ilione is ominous, according to Serv. ad loc.
 - 6. brevi: cf. 1, 68, n. (brevi).
- 8. praeclare intellego: cf. Rep. 4, 4; Leg. 2, 13.
- 8. id ipsum est, etc.: cf. 1, 10, n. (ut et si divinatio sit).

XLVII. 105. Quid de auguribus loquar? Tuae partes sunt, tuum inquam, auspiciorum patrocinium debet esse. Tibi App. Claudius augur consuli nuntiavit addubitato salutis augurio bellum domesticum triste ac turbulentum fore; quod paucis post mensibus exortum paucioribus a te est diebus oppressum. Cui quidem auguri vehementer adsentior; solus enim multorum annorum memoria non decantandi auguri sed divinandi tenuit disciplinam. Quem inridebant collegae tui eumque tum Pisidam,

- 2. App. Manutius, P. C.
- 6. augurii C, Maller.
- 1. tuae...tuum: cf. 1, 25, n. (vestra).

 2f. tibi . . . Claudius augur consuli:
 the order is noteworthy.
- 2. App. Claudius augur: cf. 1, 28, n. (scriptum habetis).
- 3. addubitato: the prefix denotes tendency or inclination toward.
- 3. salutis augurio: the locus classicus is Dio Cass. 37, 24, 1-2 (of 63 B.C.): τότε δὲ οι 'Ρωμαῖοι πολέμων ἀνάπαυσιν τὸν λοιπόν τοῦ έτους χρόνον έσχον, ώστε και τὸ ολώνισμα τὸ τῆς ὑγιείας ώνομασμένον διὰ πάνυ πολλοῦ ποιήσαι. τοῦτο δὲ μαντείας τις τρόπος έστι πύστιν τινά έχων εί έπιτρέπει σφίσιν ό θεός δγίειαν τῷ δήμφ αίτησαι, ώς ούχ δσιον <δν>ούδε αίτησω αυτής, πρίν συγχωρηθήναι, γενέσθαι. και ετελείτο κατ' έτος ή ήμερα εν ή μηδέν στρατόπεδον μήτε έπί πόλεμον έξήει μήτ' άντιπαρετάττετό τισι μήτε έμάχετο, καὶ διά τούτο έν τοίς συνεχέσι κινδύνοις και μάλιστα τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις οὐκ ἐποιεῖτο, κτλ. (describing the augury on this occasion). That the rite is not connected with a deity Salus is shown, as Wissowa (Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 133, n. 5) points out, by Leg. 2, 21: salutem populi auguranto (sc. augures). That passage and the present one indicate that it was performed by an augur; the formula of prayer is referred to by Fest. p. 161 M.: in salutis augurio praetores maiores et minores appellantur. Wissowa (op. cit. 526; id. in P.-W. s.v. Augures (1896), 2327-2328) thinks that it dates from the time of an annual campaign, for which, as for other regular activities like sowing and harvest, the divine will was sought.

For the occasions on which the salutis augurium is known to have been taken see Blumenthal in Hermes, 49 (1914), 246-

- 250. They are 63 B.C. (attested by the present passage and that quoted from Dio Cassius), 29 B.C. (Dio Cass. 51, 20, 4; cf. Suet. Aug. 31), 24 and 49 A.D. (Tac. Ann. 12, 23). To these may be added the evidence from an inscription from Rome (first published by Pasqui in Notizie degli Scavi, 1910, 132-134), reading: AVGVRIA: MAXIMVM QVO P. R. PETITVR QVOD SALVS ACTVM EST L. AELIO LAMIA M. SERVILIO COS. (3 A.D.) L. POM-PONIO FLACCO C. CAELIO COS. (17 A.D.). There follows a list of other auguria of the years 1, 2, 8, 12, and 17 A.D., which Blumenthal (1.c.) thinks are also salutis auguria but of a lesser grade. For this inscription see also the works cited by Blumenthal, op. cit. 246, n. 1. A possible Japanese parallel to this rite is discussed by Revon in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 801.
- 4. paucis post mensibus: the ceremony of taking the salutis augurium seems to have fallen in the winter months (and so dates from a time when only summer campaigns were customary); cf. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 526, and n. 3; the outbreak of the conspiracy came in the following November.
- 4. a te: cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausführ. Gram. 2 ed. (1912), 923.
- 5. vehementer adsentior: cf. Ac. 2, 148; Fin. 3, 57; N. D. 3, 65.
- 6. decants ndi: as an example of such perfunctory repetitions of augural formulae Kayser well compares 2, 71-72.
- 7. collegae tui: does this refer to the other members of the augural college?

tum Soranum augurem esse dicebant; quibus nulla videbatur in auguriis aut praesensio aut scientia veritatis futurae; sapienter, aiebant, ad opinionem imperitorum esse fictas religiones. Quod longe secus est; neque enim in pastoribus illis quibus Romulus praefuit nec in ipso Romulo haec calliditas esse potuit ut ad errorem multitudinis religionis simulacra fingerent. Sed difficultas laborque discendi disertam neglegentiam reddi-

But Cicero was not an augur in 63, having been elected to the college in 53, after the death of Crassus (Plut. Cic. 36; cf. Cic. Phil. 2, 4). Quintus probably does not mean, however, to connect the ridicule of Appius by his fellow augurs with the incident here described, nor to imply that it was at all contemporaneous, but rather means that Marcus during the years between his election in 53 and the death of Appius in 47 had, in the intimacy of the gatherings of the college, heard this view expressed, together with those that follow in this sentence. The faith of Appius in augury was by his colleagues considered naive, and as belonging to the plane of thought of out-of-the-way folk who still clung to their superstitions.

[288]7. Pisidam: cf. 1, 2, n. (Pisidarum).

1. Soranum: Sora was a quiet country town (cf. Juv. 3, 223) in Latium, about six miles north of Arpinum (and hence a rival town to Cicero's birthplace), originally settled by Volscians, but the seat of Roman colonizing efforts, especially in 303 B.C. It lay near the district of the Marsi, the credulity of whose augurs is noted in 1, 132; 2, 70; and it is for this reason that I have little hesitation in localizing this reference at Sora rather than at Mt. Soracte, as is done by Heeringa (ad h. loc., following Scheiffele in Pauly, Realencycl. s.v. Soranus (1852), 1325). Gellius calls the Marsi descendants of Circe, and speaks of their skill in magic (16, 11, 1-2; cf. Eugipp. Thesaur. 24), and Horace connects magical, mantic, or superstitious practices with the Sabellian and Paelignian hill-folk (Sat. 1, 9, 29-30; Epod. 17, 28; 17, 60; cf. Virg. Aen. 7, 758; Ov. Ars Amat. 2, 102; Medic. Fac. 39; Sil. Ital. 8, 495-497). Later, Pannonian augurs seem to have had a like reputation (Spart. Sever. 10, 7; Lamprid. Alex. Sev. 43, 6).

- 1. nulla videbatur, etc.: cf. Leg. 2, 32: est in conlegio vestro inter Marcellum et Appium, optimos augures, magna dissensio (nam eorum ego in libros incidi), quom alteri placeat auspicia ista ad utilitatem rei publicae composita, alteri disciplina vestra quasi divinare videatur posse. Cf. 2, 28 infra; N.D. 1, 118: qui dixerunt totam de dis inmortalibus opinionem fictam esse ab hominibus sapientibus rei publicae causa, ut quos ratio non posset eos ad officium religio duceret, nonne omnem religionem funditus sustulerunt? Also Mayor's note on that passage for similar expressions in Plato (Leg. 10, p. 889e) and Sextus Empiricus (9, 51) as to the origin of ideas of deity.
- 2. praesensio aut scientia: cf. 1, 1, n. (id est).
- 2. veritatis futurae: cf. de Fat. 17; 20: verum futurum.
- 2f. sapienter . . . esse fictas: Plasberg (on Parad. 2) would retain the conventional punctuation, not setting off aiebant by commas, but making sapienter modify it rather than esse fictas (cf. Hor. Carm. 1, 34, 2: insanientis . . . sapientiae), and giving parallels for the asyndeton. But I prefer to understand it as I have punctuated the sentence; cf. 1, 131: sapienter instituisse veteres.
- 2f. ad opinionem . . . fictas: cf. 1, 107; 2, 70.
- 3. quod longe secus est: cf. de Am. 29.
 - 4. pastoribus: cf. 1, 107.

dit; malunt enim disserere nihil esse in auspiciis quam quid sit ediscere. 106. Quid est illo auspicio divinius quod apud te in Mario est? ut utar potissumum auctore te:

Hic Iovis altisoni subito pinnata satelles

[289]5. errorem: with multitudinis the word has an active meaning, like 'deception.'

[289]5. religionis simulacra: cf. 2, 71.

[289]6. disertam neglegentiam: with this complaint cf. 1, 113; N.D. 1, 11: quod (i.e., the neglect of the Academic philosophy) non Academiae vitio sed tarditate hominum arbitror contigisse, etc.; Tusc. 1, 51: Dicaearchus quidem et Aristoxenus quia difficilis erat animi, quid aut qualis esset, intelligentia, nullum omnino animum esse dixerunt; Rufin. Praef. ad Lib. 3 Origenis de Princip. (Migne, Patrol. Gr. 11, 249): ita fit ut res difficiles et obscuras malint homines per temeritatem et inscientiam condemnare quam per diligentiam et studium discere; cf. also Plat. Meno, p. 81d. On the difficulties of the augural art cf. 2, 71 infra.

- 1. nihil esse in: cf. 1, 113.
- 1f. quid . . . divinius: cf. 1, 58, n. (quid . . . potest).
 - 2. apud te: cf. 1, 22, n. (poteris).
- 2. Mario: this poem, of which, in addition to the passage here quoted, but three lines are preserved, was written by Cicero on the subject of his great fellowtownsman. The date is a matter of much speculation, some writers (e.g., Haupt, Opusc. 1 (1875), 211-213) placing the date not long before 52 B.C., and others (like Ribbeck, Gesch. d. rom. Dichtung, 1, 2 ed. (1894), 300) dating it much earlier, even as early as 86-83 (so Grollmus, De M. T. Cic. Poeta (1887), 18-27). The most important passages as evidence are ad Att. 12, 49, 1: per eum Marium quem scripsissem, and the long passage at the beginning of the de Legibus. Gordianus later wrote a work with the same title (Jul. Capit. Gord. 3, 2). The fragments of Cicero's Marius are found in Müller's ed. 4, 3, 395-396.

4. hic Iovis: cf. Hom. Il. 12, 200-207: δρεις γάρ σφιν ξπήλθε περήμεναι έμμεμαώσι, / αίετὸς ὑψιπέτης, ἐπ' άριστερά λαὸν δέργων, / φοινήσυτα δράκοντα φέρων δνύχοσσι πέλωρον / ζφόν, ξτ' άσπαίροντα, και οδ πω 'λήθετο χάρμης, / κόψε γάρ αύτον ξχοντα κατά στήθος παρά δειρήν/ίδνωθείς όπίσως δ δ' άπο εθεν ήκε χαμάζε / άλγήσας δδύνησι, μέσω δ' ένὶ κάββαλ' δμίλφ, / αὐτὸς δὲ κλάγξας πέτετο πνοιήσ' άνέμοιο; Virg. Aen. 11, 751-756: utque volans alte raptum cum fulva draconem / fert aquila inplicuitque pedes atque unguibus haesit, / saucius at serpens sinuosa volumina versat / arrectisque korret squamis et sibilat ore, / arduus insurgens; illa haut minus urget obunco / luctantem rostro, simul aethera verberat alis; Hor. Carm. 4, 4, 11; Ov. Met. 4, 361 ff.; Plut. Timol. 26; Wreschniok, De Cicerone Lucretioque Ennii Imitatoribus (1907), 26 (cf. also 45; 51), who tries to find in the lines of Cicero the influence of Enn. Ann. 146-147; 472-473 (cf. Euhemer. 98). Patin (Études sur la Poésie lat. 2 (1883), 423, n. 1) compares Plin. N. H. 10, 17, for the natural phenomenon here described, which seems to have been taken as a symbol of Olympian Zeus, and as such appears on the coins of Chalcis, Elis (Head, Historia Numorum, 2 ed. (1911), 358-360; 420-421), and Arcadia (Cook, Zeus, 1 (1914), 90), and also on certain gems (Furtwängler, Die antike Gemmen (1900), pl. 6, no. 23; pl. 61, no. 17), and vases (Reinach, Répert. des Vases peints, 1 (1899), 199, no. B; cf. 2 (1900), 31, no. D); also on a bronze disk at Brussels (Cumont in Festschr. f. O. Benndorf (1898), 291-295; cf. Cook, Zeus, 1 (1914), 191-192). In Ar. Vesp. the scene appears in a comic form.

The first verse is quoted as from the Marius of Cicero by Schol. Veron. Virg. Aen. 5, 255. The passage was praised and translated by Voltaire (Ocurres

Arboris e trunco serpentis saucia morsu
Subrigit ipsa feris transfigens unguibus anguem
Semianimum et varia graviter cervice micantem.
Quem se intorquentem lanians rostroque cruentans
Iam satiata animos, iam duros ulta dolores
Abicit ecflantem et laceratum adfligit in unda
Seque obitu a solis nitidos convertit ad ortus.
Hanc ubi praepetibus pinnis lapsuque volantem

2. subrigit Lackmann, subigit BHVO subiit A.

compl. (ed. of 1877), 5, 206-207; cf. Patin, op. cit. 425, n. 2).

For the relation of eagles to Marius cf. the famous story of his finding, when a boy, a nest of seven eaglets, which were later interpreted as referring to his seven consulships (App. B. C. 1, 75; Plut. Mar. 36).

[290]4. Iovis . . . satelles: cf. 1, 26, n. (aquilae). For the phrase cf. 2, 73; also the points of likeness in Cicero's translation from the Prom. Solut. (in Tusc. 2, 24): iam tertio me quoque funesto di / tristi advolatu aduncis lacerans unguibus / Iovis satelles pastu dilaniat fero. / tum iecore opimo farta et satiata affatim / clangorem fundit vastum et sublime avolans / pinnata cauda nostrum adulat sanguinem.

[290]4. altisoni: a translation of ψηχής (II. 5, 772; 23, 27) by Enn. Ann. 575; al.; cf. Wreschniok, op. cit. 21; also the similar altitonans (see 1, 19, n. (nam pater altitonans) supra).

1. arboris: perhaps the tree described in detail at the beginning of the De Legibus (1, 1-2): ATTICUS. lucus quidem ille et haec Arpinatium quercus agnoscitur saepe a me lectus in Mario. si manet illa quercus, haec est profecto; etenim est sane vetus. QUINTUS. manet vero, Attice noster, et semper manebit; sata est enim ingenio . . . multaque alia multis locis diutius commemoratione manent quam natura stare potuerunt. quare glandulifera illa quercus, ex qua olim evolavit "nuntia fulva Iovis miranda visa figura," nunc sit haec. sed quom eam tempestas vetustasve consumpserit, tamen erit his in locis quercus quam Marianam quercum vocabunt.

- 3. semianimum . . . cervice micantem: cf. Enn. Ann. 472-473: oscitat in campis caput a cervice revulsum / semianimesque micant oculi (imitated also by Virg. Aen. 10, 395; cf. Wreschniok, op. cit. 26).
- 6. abicit: perhaps we should here read (with codd. AV) ābiĕcit, a form defended by Mather in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol. 6 (1895), 97; 138.
- 6. in unda: with a verb of motion. Heeringa well compares Ac. 2, 32: in profundo... abstruserit; Fin. 5, 92 (and Madvig's note); Obseq. 12: milvus volans mustelam... in medio consessu patrum misit; to which add N. D. 2, 124: aves quae se in mari mergerent; Virg. Aen. 12, 256.
- 7. obitu a solis: on the rare order see Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 587-588.
- 8. praepetibus pinnis: the same phrase occurs in Virg. Aen. 6, 15 (in a note on which Norden would find the source of both passages in Ennius); cf. Aen. 3, 361: praepetis omina pinnae. The word praepes occurs twice in the lines of Ennius quoted in 1, 108 infra. The significance of the term in augury is discussed by Fest. p. 205 M.: praepetes aves quidam dici aiunt quia secundum auspicium faciant praetervolantes, alii quod aut ea quae praepetamus indicent, aut quod praetervolent . . . ceterum poetae promiscue omnes aves ita appellant; cf. Gell. 7, 6, 3: praepetes inquit (sc. Hyginus) aves ab auguribus appellantur quae aut opportune praevolant aut idoneas sedes capiunt; Serv. Aen. 6, 15: praepetes autem dictae vel quod priora petant, vel summi volatus, vel quae praepetit

Conspexit Marius, divini numinis augur, Faustaque signa suae laudis reditusque notavit, Partibus intonuit caeli pater ipse sinistris. Sic aquilae clarum firmavit Iuppiter omen.

XLVIII. 107. Atque ille Romuli auguratus pastoralis, non urbanus fuit, nec fictus ad opiniones inperitorum, sed a certis acceptus et posteris traditus. Itaque Romulus augur, ut apud Ennium est, cum fratre item augure

Curantes magna cum cura tum cupientes

Regni dant operam simul auspicio augurioque.

8. tum cupientes ABV, Maller, Vaklen, curatim cupientes H, concupientes sulg.

volatum, vel quae secundum auspicium facit. et quidam praepetes tradunt non tantum aves dici quae prosperius praevolant sed etiam locos quos capiunt quod idonei felicesque sunt, etc.

[291]8. pinnis . . . volantem: cf. Wreschniok, op. cit. 26.

- 1. augur: as evidence that Marius held this office see also ad Brut. 1, 5, 3: Gaius autem Marius cum in Cappadocia esset lege Domitia factus est augur; cf. C. I. L. I, p. 290.
- 2. faustaque signa: the scene is thought of as occurring during his absence from Rome in the years 88-87. Thoresen (ad h. loc.) well suggests that the eagle might properly typify Marius, following the passage in Plin. N. H. 10, 16: Romanis eam (sc. aquilam) legionibus Gaius Marius in secundo consulatu suo proprie dicavit (yet compare the story of Marius and the eaglets cited in the note on hic Iovis supra), while the snake has already been mentioned as associated with the good luck of Sulla (1, 72, n. (ab infima ara) supra).
- 3. partibus, etc.: cf. 2, 82 (from Ennius); Virg. Aen. 2, 693: intonuit lae-
- 4. firmavit: just before the preceding passage from the Aeneid (2, 691) Anchises had prayed: da deinde augurium, pater, atque haec omina firma (cf. Serv. ad loc.). This thunder apparently belongs to the class of fulgura attestata, quae prioribus consentium, as Sen. N. Q. 2, 49, 2, says; cf. Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 1 (1906), 79. For a similar case of double approval

- by birds and by thunder cf. Quint. Smyrn. 12, 55 ff.; see also 1, 97, n. (congruebant).
- 5. ille Romuli auguratus, etc.: cf. 1, 105.
- 6. a certis acceptus: with this assumption of so early a date for the augural college cf. Rep. 2, 16: urbem condidit auspicato et omnibus publicis rebus instituendis, qui sibi essent in auspiciis ex singulis tribubus singulos cooptavit augures. Against this see Liv. 4, 4, 2: pontifices augures Romulo regnante nulli erant; ab Numa Pompilio creati sunt; Dion. Hal. 2, 64, 4. Definite historical evidence as to the college perhaps first appears for the year 300 B.C. in Liv. 10, 6, 6, who says that the number of augurs was increased by the Lex Ogulnia from four to nine; cf. id. 10, 9, 2.
- 7. Romulus augur: cf. 1, 3, n. (auguribus). These words, as Vahlen (in Sitsungsb. Berl. Akad. Wiss. 1894, 1144) suggests, are very likely part of the quotation which follows, that is, the words of Ennius. For the expression he compares Propert. 4, 6, 43: murorum Romulus augur.
- 7. apud Ennium: Ann. 1, 77-96 Vahlen; cf. 1, 40, n. (apud Ennium).
- 7. cum fratre item augure: cf. 2, 80: Romulus et Remus, ambo augures, ut accepimus.
- 8. curantes magna cum cura: Davies compares Plaut. Menaech. 895: magna cum cura illum curari volo; 897. Note the alliteration.
- 9. dant operam: cf. Liv. 34, 14, 1: nocte media cum auspicio operam dedisset;

†In monte Remus auspicio se devovet atque secundam Solus avem servat. At Romulus pulcher in alto Quaerit Aventino, servat genus altivolantum.

1. in monte C, hinc ed. Iuntina, Christ, Baiter, hic Victorius; e metro eiecit Vahlen; vide infra.

3. altivolantum sul_g ., altevolantum C.

Fest. p. 241 M.: auspicis operam dare solitos; Regell, De Augurum publicorum Libris (1878), 25, n.; Valeton in Mnemos. 17 (1889), 428.

[292]9. auspicio augurioque: cf. 1, 2, n. (auspiciis); 1, 28, n. (auguria . . . auspicia).

1. in monte: this phrase is unsatisfactory in that it is unmetrical and gives no clear statement of the hill (if any) on which Remus had his post. The testimony of other writers puts Romulus on the Palatine and Remus on the Aventine; cf. Liv. 1, 6, 4; ut dii quorum tutelae ea loca essent auguriis legerent qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret (in which Petersen in Klio, 9 (1909), 42 sees an imitation of certabant . . . induperator infra), Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventinum ad inaugurandum templa capiunt; Dion. Hal. 1, 86: #v 82 'Ρωμύλω μέν οιωνιστήριον, ένθα ήξιου την άποικίαν ίδρθσαι, τὸ Παλλάντιον, 'Ρώμω δ' δ προσεχής έκεινω λόφος Αθεντίνος καλούμενος, ώς δέ τινες Ιστορούσιν ή Peμopla (cf. Jordan-Hülsen, Topogr. der Stadt Rom, 1, 3, 2 ed. (1907), 182, n. 2a); Ov. Fast. 4, 815-818: alter adit nemorosi saxa Palati; / alter Aventinum mane cacumen init. / sex Remus, hic volucres bis sex videt ordine. pacto / statur, et arbitrium Romulus urbis habet; id. 5, 151-152: huic Remus institerat frustra, quo tempore fratri / prima Palatinae signa dedistis aves. For the placing of Romulus on the Palatine and Remus on the Aventine see also Sen. de Brev. Vit. 13, 8; Flor. 1, 1, 1, 6-7; Plut. Rom. 9; Val. Max. 1, 4, praef.; Auct. Orig. Gent. Rom. 23, 1; Gell. 13, 14, 5; Serv. Aen. 6, 779 (Serv. Aen. 3, 46 is hardly to be taken as evidence in favor of the reading of our passage); Jordanes, Rom. 89; cf. Propert. 4, 6, 43; Paul. ex Fest. p. 276 M.; Carter in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Romulus (1909), 180; Pais, Storia crit. di Roma, 1 (1913), 296. n. 2.

The fact, then, that no authority agrees with Ennius (cf. Vahlen, op. cit. 1145) leads to suspicion of his reading, but the attempt of Vahlen to ascribe the words in monte to Cicero, who, he thinks, is here summarizing Ennius, and to understand that Remus is at the foot of the Aventine and Romulus at its top, by reading in <imo>monte / . . . Remus auspicio se devovet atque secundam / subtus avem servat, etc., is, as Petersen (op. cit. 42-43) observes, too subtle, and opposed both to regular habits of augural observation and to the testimony of Livy, Dionysius, and Ovid as to the different hills used. Similarly subtle is Vahlen's explanation (op. cit. 1148-1150) of how the tradition of the hills may have come to be exactly reversed. Better in accord with the evidence, though involving not a little change in the text, is the emendation of Petersen (op. cit. 43): hinc Remus auspicio se devovet atque secundam / quaerit Aventino. at Romulus pulcher in alto / solus Palatino servat genus altivolantum. It seems unlikely that the truth can be attained save by emendation, and this is perhaps the least violent emendation hitherto proposed, consisting largely of transpositions, and the most satisfactory in its results, except for the absolute use of secundam, for which Petersen offers no parallel.

If. secundam . . . avem: cf. Dion. Hal. 1, 86: φυλάττειν οίωνοὺς αίσίους.

2. servat: other examples of the long vowel in the -at ending in Ennius and the early poets are to be found in Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre der lat. Spr. 3, 3 ed. (1897), 295. Cf. the long -et in esset two lines below. The word servo in the sense of observo is a technical augural term; cf. 1, 36, n. (servantes).

Certabant, urbem Romam Remoramne vocarent. Omnibus cura viris uter esset induperator. Exspectant; veluti consul cum mittere signum Volt omnes avidi spectant ad carceris oras,

108. Quam mox emittat pictis e faucibus currus, Sic exspectabat populus atque ore timebat Rebus utri magni victoria sit data regni. Interea sol albus recessit in infera noctis.

cum mittere BⁱHVO, committere ABⁱ, quom mittere Vaklen, Christ, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen (sed Vaklen in secunda editione recepit cum mittere).

5. quam dett., qua C.

[293]2. servat at: on the repeated syllable cf. 1, 108, n. (in infera).

[293]2. Romulus: cf. 1, 40, n. (artubus).

[293]2. Romulus pulcher: cf. Ov. Fast. 2, 503-504: pulcher et humano maior trabeaque decorus / Romulus; 6, 375: lituo pulcher trabeaque Quirinus.

[293]3. Aventino: cf. Serv. Aen. 7, 657 (among other derivations): Aventinus mons urbis Romae est quem constat ab avibus esse nominatum quae de Tiberi ascendentes illic sedebant.

[293]3. altivolantum: as a substantive only here; adjectivally used by Lucretius and late writers. For the form of the genitive plural see Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausführ. Gram. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 353.

- 1. certabant, etc.: the two points at issue, name and power, are, of course, closely connected; cf. Vahlen, op. cis. 1150-1151.
- 1. Romam: cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 268 M.: Romam Romulus de suo nomine appellavit, sed ideo Romam, non Romulam, ut ampliore vocabuli significatu prosperiora patriae suae ominaretur; cf. Fest. pp. 266; 269 M.; and, for varied views, ancient and modern, as to the derivation of the name (very likely Etruscan in origin) see Schulze, Zur Gesch. lat. Eigennamen (1904), 219; 579-581; Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 657.
- 1. Remoram: cf. Schulze, l.c. Other forms are found in Paul. ex Fest. p. 276 M.: Remurinus ager dictus quia possessus est a Remo et habitatio Remi Remona. sed et locus in summo Aventino Remoria dicitur ubi Remus de urbe condenda fuerat aus picatus.

- induperator: the regular form in the Annales of Ennius; imperator is found only in a fragment of his Achilles.
- 3. exspectant, etc.: for this comparison see Vahlen, op. cit. 1151-1152.
- 3. mittere signum: the giving of signals in the circus (by means of a white mappa) is described by Bussemaker and Saglio in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Circus (1887), 1195, and nn. 47-49, who cite the ancient references and representations in art.
- 5. quam mox: this phrase, used with verbs of expectancy, is discussed by Morgan in Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol. 12 (1901), 247; cf. Fest. p. 261 M.: quam mox significat quam cito.
- 5. pictis: although the carceres are frequently mentioned there is no other reference to painted decorations upon their doors, according to Valmaggi (in Rivista di Filologia, 22 (1898), 116, and n. 4), who thinks that these are the doors of wooden carceres set up in 329 B.C. (Liv. 8, 20, 1) and in 176 perhaps replaced by carceres of stone (cf. Liv. 41, 27—a fragmentary passage).
- 6. ore timebat: possible parallels are cited by Vahlen, op. cit. 1152, n. 2; especially pro Mil. 79: quid vultu extimuistis?
- 7. utri: unnecessarily understood by Peerlkamp (on Hor. Carm. 4, 6, 23) and Thoresen (ad h. loc.) as a genitive; but cf. Vahlen, op. cit. 1153; Sauppe, Ausgew. Schriften (1896), 796.
- 8. interea, etc.: Breiter (on Manil. 4, 818 ff.) understands these lines to refer





Exin candida se radiis dedit icta foras lux, Et simul ex alto longe pulcherruma praepes Laeva volavit avis. Simul aureus exoritur sol

to an eclipse, but remarks that L. Tarquitius Firmanus failed to mention it in his horoscope of the city of Rome (cf. 2, 98 infra). But had it been an eclipse Ennius would surely have described it in a less casual manner, and, as Bergk (Kl. Schr. 1 (1884), 242-244) argues, the reference to an eclipse at the foundation of the city contained in Plut. Rom. 12 is probably due to later tradition. Nor, again, can the view of Merula that the sol albus means the moon be accepted; cf. Bergk, op. cit. 1, 241. Bergk himself (op. cit. 1, 240) would transfer the line interea . . . noctis to a position after the line regni . . . augurioque, against which proposal see Vahlen. op. cit. 1155; cf. Rhein. Mus. 16 (1861), 572. But probably the view of Vahlen (op. cit. 1153-1156) must be accepted, who compares the mention in rapid succession in Od. 426-428 of the sunset and the coming of the dawn, and suggests that either Ennius made no mention of any events in the intervening night (when augury would be out of the question) or else Cicero has omitted this portion as superfluous for his argument. On preparations for the taking of auspices made during the last part of the preceding night (partly because the day was reckoned from midnight to midnight, as Gell. 3, 2, 17 says, and partly perhaps because of the activity of birds in the early morning hours) cf. the passages collected by Bergk in his Kl. Schriften, 1 (1884), 237-239.

[294]8. sol albus: cf. Ann. 557: albus iubar; Catull. 63, 40: aethera album. For this adjective (='bright') as applied to the sun see also Hygin. Astron. 4, 13, p. 113 Bunte; Ambros. Hexam. 2, 3, 14. Bergk (op. cit. 241-242) also compares Matius ap. Gell. 15, 25, 1: albicascit Phoebus; Mart. 10, 62, 6: albae . . . luces.

[294]8. in infera: cf. 1, 107; servat at; 2, 115: saeva evasit; Isocr. rexpn, fr. 4:

μηδέ τελευτάν και άρχεσθαι άπό τής αθτής συλλαβής οίον είπουσα σαφή, ήλίκα καλά, Ενθα Oalfis; Quintil. 9, 4, 41: videndum etiam ne syllabae verbi prioris ultimae sint primae sequentis. id ne quis praecipi miretur, Ciceroni in epistulis excidit: Res mihi invisae visae sunt, Brute. et in carmine: O fortunatam natam me consule Romam. The reason given by Serv. Aen. 2, 27 applies only to particular cases: Dorica castra mala est compositio ab ea syllaba incipere qua superius finilus est sermo; nam plerumque et cacemphaton facit, ut hoc loco. See also Vollmer on Stat. Silv. 3, 3, 12 (and works there cited); Bushnell in Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc. 41 (1910),

- 1. exin: at the beginning of a line in Ann. 155; 460; also exim in Ann. 44.
 - 1. se . . . dedit . . . foras: cf. 1, 41.
- 1. lux: for the monosyllabic verse ending cf. sol and dant just below; 2, 115: vim. Such cases of a final unelided monosyllable following a polysyllable are frequent in Ennius (36 cases in 628 lines of the Annales) and occasional in Cicero's Aratea. The usage in other Latin poets is examined by Manitius in Rhein. Mus. 46 (1891), 622-626; La Roche in Wiener Stud. 19 (1897), 7-13; Harkness in Amer. Journ. of Philol. 31 (1910), 170-171; cf. Peck in Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc. 28 (1897), 64-65. In the Technopaegnion of Ausonius such endings are deliberately sought.
- 2. simul: for auguries at daybreak see Vahlen, op. cit. 1154, n. 2.
- 2. pracpes: cf. 1, 106, n. (pracpetibus pinnis). With the alliteration cf. laeva volavit avis in the next line.
 - 3. laeva: cf. 1, 12, n. (a laeva); 2, 82.
- 3. avis: Thoresen (ad h. loc.) considers this as collective, because in the other accounts Remus first sees six birds and then Romulus sees twelve. For the same reason multa has been suggested for

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Cedunt de caelo ter quattuor corpora sancta Avium, praepetibus sese pulchrisque locis dant. Conspicit inde sibi data Romulus esse priora,

lacea. But, as Vahlen (op. cit. 1158) points out, this probably applies to a single bird seen by Remus, who, in fact, twelve lines above is spoken of as looking for avem, while Romulus servat genus altivolantum. The origin of the later tradition of six birds seen by Remus I cannot determine. On the varying accounts see Carter in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Romulus (1909), 180-181.

[295]3. simul: an awkward repetition after simul in the preceding line, but here used in the sense of simulac.

1. ter quattuor: duodecim is impossible in this metre, and this periphrasis or sometimes bis sex (Ann. 323) may be used for it; cf. Seibel, Quibus Artificiis Poetae Lat. Numerorum Vocabula difficilia evitaverint (1909), 1. The numeral probably modifies avium in the next line. Quattuor is to be read as a two-syllable word; cf. Ritschl, Opusc. 3 (1877), 638, n.; 650, n.; Lachmann on Lucr. 3, 917; Maurenbrecher, Parerga s. lat. Sprachgesch. (1916), 252.

The number of vultures seen by Romulus appears in most accounts as twelve; cf. however Lucan, 7, 437. For the supposed significance of the number cf. Censor. de Die natal. 17, 15: libro antiquitatum duodevicensimo ait (sc. Varro) fuisse Vettium Romae in augurio non ignobilem, ingenio magno, cuivis docto in disceptando parem; eum se audisse dicentem si ita esset ut traderent historici de Romuli urbis condendae auguriis ac XII vulturis. quoniam CXX annos incolumis praeterisset populus Romanus ad mille et ducentos perventurum (the practical applications of this prophecy in the fifth century after Christ are discussed by Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ch. 36, fin.). According to Liv. 1, 8, 3, some thought the number of the lictors derived from that of these birds. A similar omen of twelve vultures came to Octavian; cf. Suet. Aug. 7 (quoting from Enn. Ann. 502: augusto augurio postquam inclita condita Roma est), and especially 95; Dio Cass. 46, 46; App. B.C. 3, 94; Obseq. 69; Norden in Neue Jakrb. 7 (1901), 264, and n. 2. According to some authorities the name Augustus was derived from this augury. Twelve swans appear as an omen in Virg. Aen. 1, 393.

On the augural significance of vultures see Plut. Rom. 9; Act. Rom. 93; Hopf, Thierorakel u. Orakelthiere (1888), 98-100, who finds their meaning usually unlucky.

- 1. corpora sancta: cf. Lucr. 1, 1015: disum corpora sancta. The adjective is here used because of their prophetic significance.
 - 2. avium: disyllabic.
- 2. praepetibus, etc.: cf. Gell. 7, 6, 9: locos porro 'praepetes' et augures appellant, et Ennius in Annalium primo dixit: praepetibus sese pulcris < que > locis dant; also 1, 106, n. (praepetibus pinnis).

The scene here described is shown on a fragmentary relief found at Rome and published by Hartwig (Rom. Mittheil. 19 (1904), 23-37, especially 28 and 31, and pl. iv; cf. Strong, Roman Sculpture (1907), 303, and pl. xciii), in which in the pediment of a temple (of Quirinus?) three birds, probably representing a larger number to follow, are flying toward a figure on the left thought to be Romulus.

3. priora: Vahlen (op. cit. 1161, and n. 2) well recognizes that this is, for two contestants, what prima is for several; cf. Virg. Aen. 5, 338-339: victor . . . / prima tenet; and several cases of xpara so used are cited by Vahlen. There is, accordingly, no question involved in the word of priority of time in seeing the birds, but simply of priority of rank based upon the omen seen (cf. 1, 124, n. (potest, etc.) infra), and hence it is unnecessary to emend the passage.

Auspicio regni stabilita scamna solumque.

XLIX. 109. Sed ut unde huc digressa est eodem redeat oratio: si nihil queam disputare quam ob rem quidque fiat, et tantum modo fieri ea quae commemoravi doceam, parumne Epicuro Carneadive respondeam? Quid, si etiam ratio exstat artificiosae praesensionis facilis, divinae autem paulo obscurior? Quae enim extis, quae fulgoribus, quae portentis, quae astris praesentiuntur, haec notata sunt observatione diuturna. Adfert autem vetustas omnibus in rebus longinqua observatione incredibilem scientiam; quae potest esse etiam sine motu atque inpulsu deorum, cum quid ex quoque eveniat et quid quamque rem significet crebra animadversione perspectum est. 110. Altera divinatio est naturalis, ut ante dixi; quae physica disputandi subtilitate referenda est ad naturam deorum, a qua, ut doctissimis sapientissimisque placuit, haustos animos et libatos

- 1. stabilita: the long final syllable is treated by Hale in *Harv. Stud. in Class. Philol.* 7 (1896), 267.
- 1. scamna solumque: cf. Ann. 150: Tarquinio dedit imperium simul et sola regni; Virg. Aen. 9, 9; 10, 852.
- 2. sed ut, etc.: cf. de Or. 2, 157: sed ut eo revocetur unde huc declinavit oratio; N. D. 3, 60: sed eo iam unde huc digressi sumus revertamur; Off. 2, 77; Tusc. 5, 66; 5, 80; 2 Verr. 4, 35; 5, 59.
- 2. eodem: cf. Plasberg on Tim. 28. The point to which he returns is probably the end of 1, 105; but cf. also 1, 85-87.
 - 3. nihil queam disputare: cf. 1, 99.
- 4. Epicuro Carneadive: cf. 1, 12; 1, 23; 1, 87.
- 5. artificiosae, etc.: cf. 1, 11, n. (duo sunt enim); 2, 26.
- 5. facilis: for the apparent inconsistency of this with a later statement see 1, 130, n. (difficile est).
- 7f. observatione diuturna ... longinqua observatione: cf. 1, 2, n. (diuturna observatione).
- 8f. incredibilem scientiam: cf. Phil. 9, 10: incredibilis ac paene divina scientia. For the thought see also 1, 111, n. (rationis humanae).
- 10. quid ex quoque eveniat: for effect, cause, and sign cf. 1, 29, n. (non causaş adferunt); 1, 131.
 - 11f. ut ante dixi: 1, 12; al.

- 12. physica: 'philosophical,' or 'metaphysical'; cf. N. D. 2, 23; 2, 54; 2, 63; 2, 64; 3, 92; also physice in 1, 126 infra.
- 12. disputandi subtilitate: cf. N. D. 2, 98: remota subtilitate disputandi; Tusc. 5, 68: subtilitas disserendi.
- 12. referenda est ad naturam deorum: cf. 1, 117.
- 13. haustos animos et libatos: cf. 2. 26: ex divinitate unde omnes animos haustos aut acceptos aut libatos haberemus. For the source of this view see de Sen. 78: audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus; N. D. 1, 27: Pythagoras qui censuit animum esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum et commeantem, ex quo nostri animi carperentur; Tusc. 5, 38: humanus autem animus decerptus ex mente divina cum alio nullo nisi cum ipso deo, si hoc fas est dictu, comparari potest; Leg. 1, 24; Sext. Empir. adv. Math. 9, 127: οί μέν ούν περί τον Πυθαγόραν και τον Έμπεδοκλέα και το λοιπόν των Ίταλων πλήθος φασι μή μόνον ήμεν πρός άλλήλους και πρός τούς θεούς είναι τινα κοινωνίαν άλλά και πρός τά άλογα των ζώων. Εν γάρ δπάρχει πνεθμα τό διά παντός του κόσμου διήκον ψυχής τρόπον, τό και ἐνοῦν ήμᾶς πρός ἐκεῖνα; Diog. L. 7, 143 (of the Stoics): ζώον άρα δ κόσμος. Εμψυχον δέ, ώς δήλον έκ τής ήμετέρας ψυχής έκείθεν οδοης άποσπάσματος; 8, 27 (of Pythagoras):

habemus; cumque omnia completa et referta sint aeterno sensu et mente divina necesse est cognatione divinorum animorum animos humanos commoveri. Sed vigilantes animi vitae necessitatibus serviunt diiunguntque se a societate divina vinclis corporis inpediti. 111. Rarum est quoddam genus eorum qui se a corpore avocent et ad divinarum rerum cognitionem cura omni studioque rapiantur. Horum sunt auguria non divini

- 1. sint rolg., sunt C.
- 2. cognatione O, Mäller, cognitione C, contagione Davies, Christ, Beiler, Thoresen.

και ανθρώπων είναι πρός θεούς συγγένειαν, κατά το μετέχειν άνθρωπον θερμού. διό καί προνοείσθαι τον θεών ήμων; 8, 28: είναι δέ την ψυχήν απόσπασμα αίθέρος και του θερμού και του ψυχρού, τώ συμμετέχειν ψυχρού αιθέρος. διαφέρειν τε ψυχήν ζωής. άθάνατον τε είναι αύτήν, ἐπειδήπερ καὶ τὸ ἀφ' οδ ἀπέσπασται άθάνατόν έστι; Plut. Plat. Quaest. p. 1001c: ή δὲ ψυχή, νοθ μετασχούσα καὶ λογισμοθ καὶ άρμονίας, ούκ έργον έστι τοῦ θεοῦ μόνον άλλά και μέρος, ούδ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ άλλά και ἀπ' αὐτοῦ και & αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. See also Xen. Mem. 4, 3, 14: ἀνθρώπου γε ψυχή, είπερ τι καὶ άλλο τῶν άνθρωπίνων, του θείου μετέχει; Diod. 37, 20, 2: δτι al ανθρώπιναι ψυχαί μετέχουσι θείας τινός φύσεως ένιστε προκαταμαντευόμεναι τά μέλλοντα, και κατά τινας φυσικάς είδωλοποιίας προορώνται τὸ συμβησόμανον; Epict. 1, 14, 6: άλλ' al ψυχαί μέν ούτως είσιν **Ενδεδεμέν**αι καί συναφείς τῷ θεῷ ἄτε αὐτοῦ μόρια οὖσαι καὶ άποσπάσματα; 2, 8, 11; M. Aurel. 5, 27: outh de beois d ourexus deuxids abrois the αθτού ψυχήν . . . ποιούσαν . . . δσα βούλεται δ δαίμων δυ δκάστω προστάτην και ήγεμόνα δ Ζούς έδωκον άπόσπασμα έαυτοῦ, οῦτος δέ έστιν δ έκάστου νοῦς και λόγος.

That this doctrine really goes back to Pythagoras is denied by Zeller (Phil. d. Griechen, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 416-417), who would trace it to Platonic and Stoic sources; cf. Bauer, Der ältere Pythagoreismus (1897), 164, n. 3. The question appears in other forms in connection with the incarnation of Christ; cf. the passages cited by Davies from Origen, περὶ ἀρχῶν, 2, 6, 3; Ps.-Clem. Homil. 16, 16.

- 1. completa et referta: cf. Ac. 2, 125: cum ita completa et conferta sint omnia.
- 1. aeterno sensu: not very different from the following mente divina; cf. 2, 148.

Thoresen (ad h. loc.) compares the vis quaedam sentiens of 1, 118; 2, 35.

- 1f. mente divina: a favorite phrase with Cicero; cf. Merguet, Lex s. d. phil. Schr. 1 (1887), 742.
- 2. cognatione, etc.: cf. 1, 64 and notes; in view of that passage it seems unnecessary to emend to contagione.
- 3. vitae necessitatibus: cf. 2 Verr. 3, 164: necessitatem salutis et vitae.
- 4. vinclis corporis: cf. 1, 62-63, and notes; de Sen. 77; 81; Rep. 6, 14: hi vivunt qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evoluterunt (doubtless suggested by Plat. Phaed. p. 62b). Burnet (on Plato, I.c.) cites numerous parallels for this view from Philolaus and the Orphics onward. The conception of the body as the tomb of the soul (with a play upon σωμα and σήμα) is probably also due to Philolaus (Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 315, no. 14), and appears in Plato (Gorg. p. 493a; Crat. p. 400c). Further compare Sen. Dial. 11, 9, 3: animus fratris mei velut ex diutino carcere emissus; 12, 11, 7: corpusculum hoc, custodia et vinculum animi.
- 4. rarum est, etc.: cf. Off. 1, 119: maxime rarum genus est eorum qui, etc.; Tusc. 5, 9: raros esse quosdam qui, etc.; de Am. 79: rarum genus.
- 5. a corpore avocent: for the thought cf. Tusc. 1, 74-75; Sen. Ep. 88, 10: vir magnus ac prudens animum deducit a corpore; Corssen, De Posidonio Rhodio (1878), 39.
- 5f. divinarum rerum cognitionem: part of sapientia as defined in Tusc. 5, 7; cf. 4, 57; Off. 1, 153; 2, 5.
- 6. rapiantur: for this use of the word see Rep. 1, 3; Off. 3, 101.

impetus sed rationis humanae; nam et natura futura praesentiunt, ut aquarum eluviones et deflagrationem futuram aliquando caeli atque terrarum; alii autem in re publica exercitati, ut de Atheniensi Solone accepimus, orientem tyrannidem multo ante prospiciunt; quos prudentes possumus dicere, id est providentes, divinos nullo modo possumus, non

2. eluviones Turnebus, fluxiones ABV, flexiones H.

- 1. rationis humanae: the distinction between divination and scientific forecasting is noted in 1, 110; 2, 14; cf. Max. Τυτ. 13, 5: ήδη δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου ἡ γνώμη μαντική δηλωτική. πώς και τίνα τρόπον έκατέρα; αύχμούς μέν και άνομβρίας και σωσμούς γής και πυρός έκβολάς και πνευμάτων έμβολάς και άξρων μεταβολάς ου θεός οίδεν μόνος άλλά και άνθρώπων δσοι δαιμόνιοι. οδτω καί Φερεκύδης σεισμόν Σαμίοις (cf. 1, 112 infra) προεμήνυσεν και Ίπποκράτης Θετταλοίς προσιόντα λοιμόν και Τιμήσιος Κλαζομενίοις δελείποντα ήλιον, και άλλος άλλο τι; Diog. L. 1, 68: Χείλων . . . Εφασκε πρόνοιαν περί τοῦ μέλλοντος λογισμῷ καταληπτήν είναι άνδρὸς aperty; Ps.-Clem. Homil. 3, 11. Cf. M. Casaubon, Treatise concerning Enthusiasme (1655), 41.
- 1. nam et: cf. Madvig, 3 ed. of De Finibus (1876), 790; also 1, 40, n. (et); Schuppe, De Anacoluthis Ciceronianis (1860), 44, for parallel cases.
- 1. natura futura: an awkward instance of homocoteleuton; cf. 1, 108, n. (in infera); 1, 112: quidem idem; de Am. 79: praeciara rara; de Or. 2, 256: Nobiliorem mobiliorem.
- 2. eluviones et deflagrationem: cf. Rep. 6, 23: propter eluviones exustionesque terrarum quas accidere tempore certo necesse est non modo non aeternam sed ne diuturnam quidem gloriam adsequi possumus; Off. 2, 16.

The doctrine of ἐκπύρωσις apparently originated with Heraclitus; cf. Simplic. in Arist. de Caelo, 1, 10 (p. 294 Heiberg): καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ἐὰ ποτὰ μέν ἐκπυροῦσθαι λέγαι τὸν κόσμον, ποτὰ δὰ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς συνίστασθαι πάλιν αὐτὸν κατά τινας χρόνων περιόδους . . .

ταύτης δε της δόξης ύστερον εγένοντο και οί Στωικοί. This familiar view is set forth in N.D. 2, 118: ex quo eventurum nostri putant id de quo Panaetium addubitare dicebant, ut ad extremum omnis mundus ignesceret, cum umore consumpto neque terra ali posset nec remearet aër cuius ortus aqua omni exhausta esse non posset; ita relinqui nihil praeter ignem a quo rursum animante ac deo renovatio mundi fieret atque idem ornatus oreretur; cf. Ac. 2, 119. The beliefs of the older Stoics in regard to this doctrine will be found in S. V. F. 1 (1905), 29-32; 2 (1903), 181-191; for those of their successors see Arnold, Roman Stoicism (1911), 95-96; 190-193; and for Posidonius in particular, whom Cicero is probably here following, see Schmekel, Die Philos. der mittl. Stoa (1892), 241; Arnold, op. cit. 192. The devastation of the earth by a deluge is, however, the theory described by Seneca (N. Q. 3, 27, 1-15).

3. Solone: cf. Val. Max. 5, 3, ext. 3: iam Solon . . . qui Pisistrati tyrannidem primus vidit orientem, solus armis opprimi debere palam dictitare est ausus; Diog. L. 1, 49: ήξας γάρ (sc. δ Σόλων) els τινα έκκλησίαν μετά δόρατος καί άσπίδος προείπεν αύτοῖς τήν επίθεσιν τοῦ Πεισιστράτου και οδ μόνον, άλλά και βοηθείν έτοιμος είναι, λέγων ταθτα "Δνδρες 'Δθηναίοι, των μέν σοφωτερος των δέ άνδρειότερός είμι σοφώτερος μέν τών τήν άπάτην Πασιστράτου μή συνιέντων, άνδραιόταρος δέ των έπισταμένων μέν, διά δέος δέ σιωπώντων; 1, 65; Plut. Solon, 29-31; Ael. V. H. 8, 16. The verses in which Solon is said to have made the prediction are quoted by Diod. 9, 20, 2; 19, 1, 4. Philostratus (Vit. Apollon. 5, 11) credits Apollonius of Tyana with having foreseen the short reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.

^{1.} impetus: cf. Ov. ex Pont. 4, 2, 25: impetus ille sacer qui vatum pectora nutrit; 1, 89 supra.

plus quam Milesium Thalem, qui, ut obiurgatores suos convinceret, ostenderetque etiam philosophum, si ei commodum esset, pecuniam facere posse, omnem oleam, ante quam florere coepisset, in agro Milesio coë-

[299]5. id est providentes: cf. Rep. 6, 1: prudentiam . . . quae ipsum nomen hoc nacta est ex providendo; Leg. 1, 60: quae virtus ex providendo est appellata prudentia; Prag. Phil. 5, 33 Müller (ap. Non. p. 41 M.): prudentiam a providendo dictam dilucide ostendit M. Tullius in Hortensio: id enim est sapientis, providere; ex quo sapientia est appellata prudentia.

1. Thalem: two forms of the accusative are found in Greek: Θαλήν (Ar. Nub. 180; Plat. Theaet. p. 174a; C. I. G. 1, 261) and Θάλητα (Paus. 1, 14, 4). In Latin at least four forms appear (some perhaps due to manuscript corruption): Thalen (2, 58 infra; de Or. 3, 137; Lact. Inst. 3, 14, 5), Thalem (as here; Plaut. Capt. 274), Thaleta (Serv. Georg. 4, 363; 4, 381), Thaletem (Rep. 1, 25; Serv. Aen. 3, 241). In most of these passages variants occur.

For this story of Thales cf. Arist. Pol. 1, 11, p. 1259 a 3 ff.: Eri be kal ra λεγόμενα σποράδην δι' ων ξπιτετυχήκασιν Ενιοι χρηματιζόμενοι, δεί συλλέγειν πάντα γάρ ώφέλιμα ταθτ' έστι τοις τιμώσι τήν χρηματιστικήν, οίον και το Θάλων του Μιλησίου· τοῦτο γάρ έστι κατανόημά τι χρηματιστικόν, άλλ' έκείνω μέν διά την σοφίαν προσάπτουσι, τυγχάνει δὲ καθόλου τι δν. δρειδιζόρτων γάρ αύτω διά την πενίαν ώς άνωφελούς τής φιλοσοφίας ούσης, κατανοήσαντά φασιν αυτόν έλαιων φοράν έσομένην έκ τής άστρολογίας, έτι χειμώνος δυτος εύπορήσαντα χρημάτων όλίγων άρραβώνας διαδούναι τών έλαιουργείων των τ' έν Μιλήτφ και Χίφ πάντων, όλίγου μισθωσάμενον ατ' ούδενός έπιβάλλοντος έπειδή δ' δ καιρός ήκε, πολλών ζητουμένων άμα και έξαιφνης, έκμισθούντα δν τρόπον ήβούλετο, πολλά χρήματα συλλέξαντα **ἐπιδ**είξαι δτι **ῥάδιόν ἐ**στι πλουτείν τοίς φιλοσόφοις αν βούλωνται, άλλ' ου τοῦτ' έστι περί δ σπουδάζουσιν. Θαλής μέν οδν λέγεται τοθτον τον τρόπον επίδειξιν ποιήσασθαι τής σοφίας, κτλ.; Diog. L. 1, 26: φησί και δ 'Ρόδιος 'Ιερώνυμος 🖢 τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν σποράδην ύπομνημάτων ότι βουλόμενος δείξαι βάον είναι

πλουτείν, φοράς μελλούσης έλαιών έσεσθαι, προνοήσας έμισθώσατο τὰ έλαιουργεία καλ πάμπλειστα συνείλε χρήματα; Philostr. Vit. A pollon. 8, 7, 9: tl bè Halfis te kal 'Arafayoρας, τω Ίωνε, ὁ μέν την εύφορίαν την των έλαιων, ο δε πολλά των ούρανίων παθών προειπόντε. As has been noted by Victorius and by Newman (on Arist. l.c.), Cicero loses the main point of the story by making no mention of the smallness of the capital with which Thales cornered the market. Cicero's purpose, however, is to emphasize the skill of Thales in prognostication rather than his astuteness in finance. Pliny (N. H. 18, 273) ascribes the device to Democritus: ferunt Democritum, qui primus intellexit ostenditque caeli cum terris societatem, spernentibus hanc curam eius opulentissimis civium, **praevisa** olei caritate futura ex vergiliarum ortu qua diximus ratione ostendemusque iam planius, magna tum vilitate propter spem olivae coëmisse in toto tractu omne oleum, mirantibus qui paupertatem quietemque doctrinarum ei sciebant in primis cordi esse, alque ut apparuit causa et ingens divitiarum cursus, restituisse mercedem anxiae et avidae dominorum poenitentiae, contentum probavisse opes sibi in facili cum vellet fore.

1. obiurgatores: on the charges that philosophers were unpractical, and on ancient estimates of the shrewdness of Thales see the passages collected by Newman, op. cit. 204-205; also 1, 132, n. (qui sibi, etc.). Other cases of cornering the market are narrated by Aristotle in the passage following that quoted.

2. pecuniam facere: cf. Leg. 2, 51; and the Greek χρήματα ποιείσθαι.

3. ante quam florere coepisset: at the time of flowering it was customary to make forecasts of the crop; cf. 2, 16; Theophr. Hist. Pl. 1, 13, 3: δλάα ἡς καὶ ἀποπίπτοντα διατετρημένα φαίνεται, καὶ τοῦτο σημεῖον λαμβάνουσιν el καλῶς ἀπήνθηκων ἐὰν γὰρ συγκαυθῆ ἡ βρεχθῆ, συναποβάλλει τὸν

misse dicitur. 112. Animadverterat fortasse quadam scientia olearum ubertatem fore. Et quidem idem primus defectionem solis, quae Astyage regnante facta est, praedixisse fertur.

L. Multa medici, multa gubernatores, agricolae etiam multa praesen-

καρπόν και οδ τετρημένον γίγνεται; 1, 14, 2: και φασιν δταν (ἐλὰα) ἄκρον ἐνέγκη σημεῖον εὐφορίας εἶναι. And, for the diseases and pests of the olive at flowering which injure the crop, id. 4, 14, 9; de Caus. Pl. 5, 10, 3; Plin. N. H. 17, 229.

Hence the significance of the story, for Cicero, lies in the scientia by which Thales could anticipate the predictions of the practical farmers and on account of his connection in other ways with the study of the stars it was natural that astrology should have been given as the basis of his forecast.

[300]3. in agro Milesio: in the account in Aristotle the scene is laid in Chios also.

2. defectionem: on eclipses of the sun see 1, 18, n. (abdidit); 1, 44, n. (liquier); 2, 17. The question of Babylonian predictions of eclipses and the apparent lack of such predictions in Egypt (Diod. 1, 50 to the contrary) is discussed by Boll in P.-W. s.v. Finsternisse (1909), 2337-2341. For the contributions of Thales in this field see Boll, op. cit. 2341-2342; Heath. Aristarchus of Samos (1913), 13-18, and the works cited by them; the ancient authorities are collected by Martin in Rev. arch. 9 (1864), 184 ff.; Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 1 ff. There may be here quoted Diog. L. 1, 23: δοκεί δὲ κατά τινας πρώτος άστρολογήσαι καί ήλιακάς έκλείψεις και τροπάς προειτείν, ώς φησιν Εδδημος & τή περί των 'Αστρολογουμένων Ιστορία δθεν αύτον και Ξενοφάνης και 'Ηρόδοτος θαυμάζει; also Hdt. 1, 74 (of a battle between Alyattes and Cyaxares): συνήνεικε ώστε της μάχης συνεστεώσης την ημέρην έξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. την δέ μεταλλαγήν ταύτην της ήμέρης Θαλής δ Μιλήσιος τοις Ίωσι προηγόρευσε έσεσθαι, ούρον προθέμενος ένιαυτόν τούτον έν τῷ δή καί έγένετο ή μεταβολή. There is much discussion whether this and the many later statements to this effect are correct, and

whether the prediction (which, it should be noted, was a rough one) was made possible by some knowledge of a periodic recurrence of eclipses (cf. Martin, op. cit. 182; Diels, op. cit. 1, 7), gained probably from oriental sources (on the early knowledge of the Saros see Boll, op. cit. 2338-2339), or whether we should accept the testimony of Eudemus (fr. 94 Spreng. ap. Theo. Smyrn. de Astronom. p. 322 M.): τίς τι εδρεν εν μαθηματική Εδδημος Ιστορεί 🖢 ταις άστρολογίαις ότι Οίνοπίδης εδρε πρώτος την του ζωδιακού διάζωσιν . . . Θαλής δέ ήλίου Ελλειψιν και την κατά τάς τροπάς αὐτοῦ περίοδον . . . 'Αναξιμένης δὲ δτι ή σελήνη έκ του ήλιου έχει το φως και τίνα exhelmes robnov, from which it appears that it was not the prediction but rather the explanation of eclipses which was first given by Thales; cf. Doxogr. Gr. 353-354; Rep. 1, 25. Martin (op. cit. 173-181) further points out that in order to know in advance at what points an eclipse of the sun would be visible there is necessary a knowledge of the calculation of parallax which does not appear until the time of Hipparchus and the later Greek astronomers. Mythical discoverers of the causes of eclipses were Atreus (Serv. Aen. 1, 568) and Palamedes (Philostr. Heroic. 11, 2).

The date of the eclipse here mentioned is set, following the calculations of the English scientists Airy and Hind and the German Zech (references in Martin, op. cit. 184, n. 5), on 28 May, 585 B.C., when there was a total eclipse of the sun visible at Miletus, on which see also Boll, op. cit. 2353-2354.

2f. Astyage regnante: but according to Hdt. 1, 74 it was during the reign of Cyaxares, and that view is accepted in the chronology of Meyer, who dates Astyages from 585-550 (Gesch. d. Altert. 2 (1893), 763; P.-W. s.v. Astyages (1896), 1865), and places this event in the reign of

tiunt, sed nullam eorum divinationem voco, ne illam quidem qua ab Anaximandro physico moniti Lacedaemonii sunt ut urbem et tecta linquerent armatique in agro excubarent, quod terrae motus instaret, tum cum et urbs tota corruit et e monte Taygeto extrema montis quasi puppis avolsa

Cyaxares (in P.-W. s.v. Alyattes (1894), 1707). See note on defectionem supra.

[301]4. medici, etc.: cf. 1, 24, n. (an medicina).

1. nullam eorum divinationem voco: brachylogy; cf. Leg. 1, 49: nullam virtutem nisi malitiam putent.

1f. Anaximandro, etc.: cf. Plin. N. H. 2, 191: praeclara quaedam et inmortalis in eo, si credimus, divinitas perhibetur Anaximandro Milesio physico, quem ferunt Lacedaemoniis praedixisse ut urbem ac tecta custodirent, instare enim motum terrae, cum et urbs tota eorum corruit et Taygeli montis magna pars, ad formam puppis eminens, abrupta cladem eam insuper ruina pressit. perhibetur et Pherecydi, Pythagorae doctori, alia coniectatio, sed et illa divina, haustu aquae e puteo praesensisse ac praedixisse civibus terrae motum. Pliny here appears to copy Cicero. See also Strab. 8, p. 367: ebo el o ros δ' ή Λακωνική και δή τοῦ Ταϋγέτου κορυφάς τινας άπορραγήναι τινές μνημονεύουσιν; Plut. Cim. 16: 'Αρχιδάμου τοῦ Ζευξιδάμου τέταρτον έτος έν Σπάρτη βασιλεύοντος ύπο μεγίστου δή τών μνημονευομένων πρότερον ή τε χώρα τών Λακεδαιμονίων χάσμασιν ενώλισθε πολλοίς καί τών Ταϋγέτων τιναχθέντων κορυφαί τινες άπερράγησαν, αυτή δ' ή πόλις όλη συνεχύθη πλήν οίκιων πέντε, τάς δ' άλλας ήρειψεν δ σεισμός. This earthquake, however, at the time of the revolt of the helots about 465 B.C. (mentioned also by Thuc. 1, 101; Diod. 11, 63, 5; Paus. 4, 24, 6; Schol. Ar. Lysistr. 1141) of course falls far outside the limits of the lifetime of Anaximander (b. 610, d. soon after 547, according to Wellmann in P.-W. s.v. Anaximandros (1894), 2085), so that Cicero's account (with the dependent one of Pliny) either wrongly ascribes the prediction to Anaximander or else describes another earthquake with very similar features.

Explanations of earthquakes were given by Anaximander, according to Amm. Marc. 17, 7, 12: Anaximander ait arescentem nimia aestuum siccitate aut post madores imbrium terram rimas pandere grandiores, quas penetral supernus aër violentus et nimius ac per eas vehementi spiritu quassatam, cieri propriis sedibus. qua de causa terrores huius modi, vaporatis temporibus, aut nimia aquarum caelestium superfusione contingunt, ideoque Neptunum umentis substantiae polestatem, Ennosigaeon et Sisichthona poetae veteres et theologi nuncuparunt. On the doctrines of Anaximander see Zeller, Die Philos. der Griechen, 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 196-238; his remains are collected by Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 14-21. On the seismic theories of Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, and Democritus see Arist. Meteor. 2, 7.

- 2. physico: cf. 1, 110, n. (physica).
- 2. urbem et tecta: cf. N.D. 2, 99: tectis et urbibus.
- 3. armati: for protection against a revolt of the helots.
- 3. in agro excubarent: cf. 1, 96, n. (excubabant). Here the word means 'sleep out-of-doors,' for the danger inside a house in the country would obviously be wellnigh as great as in one in the town.
 - 4. urbs tota corruit: cf. 1, 78.
- 4. Taygeto: bounding the west side of the Eurotas valley and distant 2-3 miles from the town. The foot of its steep slopes is lined with talus formed from such slides as this.
- 4. extrema: probably not with pars understood but modifying puppis; for the order cf. Tusc. 4, 63: ad recentes quasi tumores.
- 4. montis: for the repetition cf. Mayor on N.D. 3, 28.

est. Ne Pherecydes quidem, ille Pythagorae magister, potius divinus habebitur quam physicus, quod cum vidisset haustam aquam de iugi puteo terrae motus dixit instare. 113. Nec vero umquam animus hominis naturaliter divinat, nisi cum ita solutus est et vacuus ut ei plane nihil sit cum corpore; quod aut vatibus contingit aut dormientibus. Itaque

[302]4f. avoisa est: Cicero does not say, as Pliny appears to, that the part which broke off fell upon the city of Sparta. The distance is, of course, too great for that to have occurred. It might, however, have fallen upon some outlying village.

1. Pherecydes: cf. 2, 31; Max. Tyr. 13, 5: ούτω Φερεκύδης σεισμόν Σαμίοις προεupwer. The scene of the incident is laid by Apollon. Mirab. 5 in Syrus (or Scyrus): τά δὲ περί Φερεκύδην τοσαθτά τινα Ιστορείται. 🖢 Σύρφ (Σκύρφ Xylander) ποτέ τῆ νήσφ διψώντα δδάτιον αλτήσαι παρά τινος τών γρωρίμων, τόν δὲ πιόντα εἰπεῖν σεισμόν έσομενον & τη νήσω μετά τρίτην ήμεραν. τούτου δὲ συμβάντος μεγάλην δόξαν αύτὸν άπενέγκασθαι. Cf. Diog. L. 1, 116 (of Pherecydes): και άνιμηθέντος έκ φρέατος ύδατος πιόντα προειπείν ώς els τρίτην ήμεραν ξσοιτο σεισμός, και γενέσθαι; Porphyr. ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 10, pp. 464d-465a: "Ανδρωνος γάρ 🖢 τῷ Τρίποδι περί Πυθαγόρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου τὰ περί τὰς προρρήσεις Ιστορηκότος, είπόντος τε ώς δυψήσας ποτέ έν Μεταποντίω και έκ τινος φρέατος άνιμήσας και πιών προείπεν ώς els τρίτην ημέραν ξσοιτο σεισμός. και ξτερά τινα τούτοις έπαγαγών έπιλέγει ταῦτ' οὖν του "Ανδρωνος περί Πυθαγόρου Ιστορηκότος πάντα δφείλετο Θεόπομπος. el μέν περί Πυθαγόρου λέγων τάχα αν και έτεροι ήπίσταντο περί αύτου και έλεγον, ταυτα και αυτός <είπεν>· νθν δέ κλοπήν δήλην πεποίηκεν ή του ονόματος μετάθεσις. τοῖς μέν γάρ πράγμασι κέχρηται τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἔτερον δ' δνομα μετενήνοχε. Φερεκύδην γάρ τον Σύριον πεποίηκε ταθτα προλέγοντα, ού μόνον δὲ τούτφ τῷ ὀνόματι ἀποκρύπτει τὴν κλοπὴν ἀλλά καὶ τόπων μεταθέσει. τό τε γάρ περί τῆς προρρήσεως τοῦ σεισμοῦ νέ Μεταποντίφ ὑπ' "Ανδρωνος φηθέν έν Συρία είρησθαί φασιν δ Θεόπομπος, κτλ.; Iambl. Vit. Pyth. 136 (of Pythagoras): λέγεται δ' δτι και σεισμόν ξσόμενον άπὸ φρέατος οδ ξγεύσατο προηγόρευσε ; Amm. Marc. 22, 16, 22 still further transfers the story: Anaxagoras . . . putealem limum contrectans tremores futuros praedizeral terrae.

Thales is said to have considered water the cause of earthquakes (Hippol. in Doxogr. Gr. 555, 4; Galen in the same work 633, 20; cf. Aëtius in the same, 225), and the connection between wells or springs and seismic disturbances, by which they might either be caused or dried up, is noted by various authors: Arist. de Plant. 2, 2, p. 822 b 32 ff., et al.; Paus. 7, 24, 7-8 (and Frazer's note for modern parallels); Plin. N. H. 31, 54; Serv. Aen. 4, 377; cf. Procop. Bell. Goth. 4, 7, 7. Plin. N. H. 2, 197 remarks that at times of earthquakes est et in puteis turbidior aqua nec sine edoris taedio. It should further be noted that Posidon is both κρηνούχος or νυμφαγέτης (Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 4 (1907), 5; cf. Cook in Folk-Lore, 15 (1904), 281, n. 127; Frazer, Golden Bough, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 203) and also the god of earthquakes; cf. Etym. Mag. 223, 8: και Εννοσίγαιος λέγεται. τή γάρ του ύδατος παρά χρόνον τινά μεταστάσει γίνεται δ σεισμός. For the prediction of earthquakes cf. 1, 18, n. (se . . . tremefecit); Philostr. Vit. Apollon. 4, 6; Epist. Apollon. 68. Of the skill of Pherecydes in prediction Diog. L. 1, 116 ff., gives numerous examples.

- 1. Pythagorae magister: the tradition as to the teachers of Pythagoras is somewhat uncertain; cf. Zeller, Die Philos. d. Griechen, 1, 1, 5 ed. (1892), 299, n. 1.
- 2f. ingi puteo: cf. 2, 31; N. D. 2, 25: puteis ingibus. The adjective is used chiefly of water; cf. Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 19 (s.v. aevum).
 - 4. solutus est et vacuus: cf. 1, 129.

ea duo genera a Dicaearcho probantur et, ut dixi, a Cratippo nostro; si propterea quod ea proficiscuntur a natura, sint summa sane, modo ne sola; sin autem nihil esse in observatione putant, multa tollunt quibus vitae ratio continetur. Sed quoniam dant aliquid, idque non parvum, [vaticinationes cum somniis,] nihil est quod cum his magnopere pugnemus, praesertim cum sint qui omnino nullam divinationem probent. 114. Ergo et ii quorum animi spretis corporibus evolant atque excurrunt foras ardore aliquo inflammati atque incitati cernunt illa profecto quae vaticinantes pronuntiant, multisque rebus inflammantur tales animi qui corporibus non inhaerent, ut ii qui sono quodam vocum et Phrygiis cantibus incitantur. Multos nemora silvaeque, multos amnes aut maria commovent, quorum

4-5. vaticinationes cum somniis secluserunt Davies, Boiler, Müller, Thoresen.

6. et ii vulg., et hi ABV, et hii H.

10. ii valg., hi ABV, hii H.

[303]4f. plane nihil: cf. Ac. 2, 48; Tusc. 2, 31.

[303]5. aut vatibus . . . aut dormientibus: cf. 1, 117; 1, 129.

- 1. Dicaearcho... Cratippo: cf. 1, 5, nn. (Dicaearchus; Cratippus).
- 2. proficiscuntur: cf. 1, 130; Off. 2,
- 2. sint . . . sane modo ne: cf. Rep. 1, 32.
 - 3. nihil esse in: cf. 1, 105.
- 3f. vitae ratio continetur: cf. Ac. 2, 132
- 4f. vaticinationes cum somniis: baldly expressed and an evident gloss.
 - 5. nihil est quod: cf. de Inv. 2, 171.
- 5. magnopere pugnemus: cf. N.D. 3, 3: magnopere pugnare.
 - 6. omnino nullam: cf. 1, 65; 2, 61.
- 6. ergo et ii: on this use of et see Madvig, 3 ed. of De Finibus (1876), 789; also 1, 111, n. (nam et); 1, 126: et observatione.
- 7. evolant atque excurrunt: cf. 1, 115; Rep. 6, 14: immo vero, inquit, hi vivunt qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt; 6, 29: animus velocius in hanc sedem et domum suam pervolabit... si iam tum, cum erit inclusus in corpore, eminebit foras et ea quae extra erunt contemplans quam maxime se a corpore abstrahet; Plut. de Gen. Socr. p. 592c: kk δè τῶν εὐηνίων ἐκείνων καὶ κατηκόων εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ γενέσεως τοῦ οἰκείου δαίμονος καὶ τὸ μαντικόν ἐστι καὶ θεοκλυτούμενον γένος.

ων την Ερμοδώρου τοῦ Κλαζομενίου ψυχήν άκήκοας δήπουθεν, ώς άπολείπουσα παντάπασι τὸ σῶμα νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπλανᾶτο πολύν τόπον, είτ' αίθις έπανήει, πολλοίς τών μακράν λεγομένων και πραττομένων έντυχοῦσα καὶ παραγενομένη, κτλ. (for other accounts of this man see Wellmann in P.-W. s.v. Hermotimos (1913), 904-905); de Def. Orac. p. 432d (after Plat. Tim. p. 71e). Heinze, Xenokrates (1892), 131, notes that this power of the soul when separated from the body was a favorite conception of Posidonius. Cf. also 1, 63, and notes, supra. Perhaps our passage may also show a trace of the primitive belief that the soul leaves the body during sleep, a theory widespread in savage society; cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, 3, 3 ed. (1911), 36-42.

- 10. sono quodam vocum . . . cantibus: cf. 1, 80, n. (vocum gravitate et cantibus).
- 10. Phrygiis: cf. Sen. Ep. 108, 7: quidam ad magnificas voces excitantur et transeunt in adfectum dicentium alacres vultu et animo nec aliter concitantur quam solent Phrygii tibicinis sono semiviri et ex imperio furentes. So also Arist. Pol. 5, p. 1340 b 4 ff.; p. 1342 b 1 ff.; Lucr. 2, 620; etc. The Dorian mode was associated with σεμνότης, the Lydian with lamentation, and the Phrygian with ενθουσιασμός. Of the last mentioned the flute was the appropriate instrument.
- 11. multos nemora, etc.: the effect of natural scenery upon the mind is also

furibunda mens videt ante multo quae sint futura. Quo de genere illa sunt:

Eheu videte!

Iudicabit inclitum iudicium inter deas tris aliquis,

Quo iudicio Lacedaemonia mulier, Furiarum una, adveniet.

Eodem enim modo multa a vaticinantibus saepe praedicta sunt, neque solum verbis sed etiam

Versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant.

1. sint C, vulg., sunt Salisb. et O, Maller.

indicated in Sen. Ep. 41, 3: frequens lucus et conspectum caeli ramorum aliorum alios protegentium summovens obtentu, illa proceritas silvae et secretum loci et admiratio umbrae in aberto tam densae atque continuae fidem tibi numinis faciet. si quis specus saxis penitus exesis montem suspenderit, non manu factus sed naturalibus causis in tantam laxitatem excavatus, animum tuum quadam religionis suspicione percutiet. magnorum fluminum capita veneramur, etc.; cf. Hor. Carm. 3, 25, 8-14: non secus in iugis / exsomnis stupet Euias / Hebrum prospiciens et nive candidam / Thracen ac pede barbaro / lustratam Rhodopen, ut mihi devio / ripas et vacuum nemus / mirari libet. It is noteworthy that Cicero does not mention mountains as a source of mantic inspiration, though his appreciation of them is shown by de Am. 68. The distinction must be drawn between the liking for quiet and pastoral scenery and that for the wild and romantic; the Greeks and Romans seem in general to have preferred the former, though to the stirring effects of the wild and grand the Dionysiac revels seem to bear witness.

1. ante multo: the reverse order is more frequent, but this is found in Plin. N. H. 2, 31; 7, 186; cf. Rep. 2, 9: ante paulo; in Vat. 25: ante aliquanto; ad Att. 3, 8, 1.

- 1. illa: cf. 1, 14, n. (illa); 1, 40, n. (illa).
- 3. eheu videte: cf. 2, 112: at multi saepe vera vaticinati, ut Cassandra: Iamque mari magno (1, 67 supra), eademque

paulo post: Eheu videte. For this fragment (=Enn. Alex. 69-71 Vahlen) see 1, 66, n. (sed quid, etc.). The change of metre between this line and the next is noteworthy and has troubled scholars. Probably in the original there were lines which are here omitted.

- 4. iudicium: the judgment of Paris.
- 4. tris: for the form cf. Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre d. lat. Spr. 2, 3 ed. (1892), 284-285.
- 4. aliquis: the indefiniteness is part of the prophetic language of Cassandra.
- 5. Furiarum una: cf. Aesch. Agam. 748, where Helen is called ρυμφόκλαυτος Έρινος; Virg. Aen. 2, 573 (of Helen): Troiae et patriae communis Erinys. In the Cypria Helen was the daughter of Nemesis; cf. Rossbach in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Nemesis (1902), 128.
- 6. eodem enim modo: cf. the eodemque modo in the same transition in 2, 113.
- 7. verbis: perhaps here extended a little in its meaning to signify 'prose,' in order to make an alliterative contrast with versibus. Moser, however, compares Ammon. de Diff. Vocab. p. 88 Valcken.: λόγος ποιήσεως διαφέρει. λόγος μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ή δίχα μέτρου σύνταξις. Thoresen suggests that solutis (modifying verbis) may have slipped out after solum.

8. versibus, etc.: Enn. Ann. 214 Vahlen. From Brul. 76 it appears that this verse was preceded by the words scripsere alii rem; cf. Orat. 157; Norden (Ennius u. Vergilius (1915), 150) considers it part of the exordium of Book VII, and unites still other fragments with

- 115. Similiter Marcius et Publicius vates cecinisse dicuntur; quo de genere Apollinis operta prolata sunt. Credo etiam anhelitus quosdam fuisse terrarum quibus inflatae mentes oracla funderent.
- LI. Atque haec quidem vatium ratio est, nec dissimilis sane somniorum. Nam quae vigilantibus accidunt vatibus eadem nobis dormientibus. Viget enim animus in somnis liber ab sensibus omnique inpeditione curarum iacente et mortuo paene corpore. Qui quia vixit ab omni aeternitate versatusque est cum innumerabilibus animis, omnia quae in natura rerum sunt videt, si modo temperatis escis modicisque potionibus ita est adfectus ut sopito corpore ipse vigilet. Haec somniantis est divinatio. 116. Hic magna quaedam exoritur neque ea naturalis sed artificiosa somniorum
 - 6. liber ab sensibus omnique Christ, liberque (libetque H) sensibus ab omni C, liberque est sensibus Moser, O.
- it. Cicero also quotes this verse in *Brut.* 71, and *Orat.* 171; for quotations by other authors see Vahlen ad loc.
- On the association of Faunus with Saturnian verse see Wissowa in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Faunus (1886), 1456, to which add Auct. Orig. Gent. Rom. 4, 5; Mar. Vict. in G. L. K. 6, 138, 32 f.
- [305]8. versibus: on the prosody cf. 1, 40, n. (artubus).

[305]8. Fauni: cf. 1, 101, n. (Fauni).

- 1. Marcius: cf. 1, 89, n. (Marcios quosdam fratres).
 - 1. Publicius: cf. 2, 113.
- 1f. quo de genere: this hardly means that all these prophecies were in Saturnian verse, but simply that they were in verse of some sort. It is not necessary, with J. F. Meyer followed by Clark (The Descent of Manuscripts (1918), 361) to transfer the clause quo de genere . . . prolata sunt to a position after the next sentence, following oracla funderent; cf. the appendix to Thoresen's edition, 223.
- 2. Apollinis operta: doubtless unofficial distributions of such. That we have a reference to the collection of oracles made by Chrysippus (1, 6; 2, 115), as some have thought, is, as Thoresen (l.c.) points out, unlikely, because of the latter part of 2, 113 infra.
- 2f. anhelitus . . . terrarum: cf. 1, 38, n. (vis illa terrae); 2, 117. Such oracles as that at Delphi are clearly here in mind.

- 4. vatium: on the form cf. Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre d. lat. Spr. 1, 3 ed. (1902), 401, comparing Leg. 2, 20; 2, 30. Contrast vatum in 1, 4 supra.
 - 5. quae vigilantibus: cf. 1, 34.
 - 6. viget, etc.: cf. 1, 63; 1, 70.
- 6. liber ab sensibus: cf. 2, 27. The word sensibus here = 'sensations.'
- 6. inpeditione: a rare word found also in Vitruvius and Arnobius.
- 7. iacente et mortuo paene corpore: cf. 1, 63, and notes; Gronau, Poseidonios u. die jüdisch-christl. Genesisexegese (1914), 187, n. 1.
- 7. vixit, etc.: cf. 1, 131; and for the belief of Posidonius in the preëxistence of the soul see Schmekel, Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa (1892), 250, and n. 3; Mayor on N. D. 2, 62. Corssen (De Posidonio Rhodio (1878), 30) and Giambelli (in Rivista di Filol. class. 17 (1889), 131 ff.) find here an indication of the Pythagorising or Platonizing tendencies of Posidonius as opposed to the orthodox Stoic views of the life of the soul as limited by the periodic ἐκπύρωσις, but Zeller-Wellmann (Die Philos. d. Griechen, 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 603, n. 1 (cf. 597, n. 3)) suggest that Cicero may have modified the teaching of Posidonius by the addition of the phrases ab omni aeternitate here and semper in 1, 131.
- 9. temperatis escis, etc.: cf. 1, 61, and notes. For the coupling of escis and potionibus cf. N. D. 2, 59; Fin. 2, 90.

[Antiphontis] interpretatio eodemque modo et oraculorum et vaticinationum [sunt enim explanatores, ut grammatici poetarum]. Nam ut aurum et argentum, aes, ferrum frustra natura divina genuisset nisi eadem docuisset quem ad modum ad eorum venas perveniretur, nec fruges terrae bacasve arborum cum utilitate ulla generi humano dedisset, nisi earum cultus et conditiones tradidisset, materiave quicquam iuvaret, nisi confectionis eius fabricam haberemus, sic cum omni utilitate quam di hominibus dederunt ars aliqua coniuncta est per quam illa utilitas percipi possit. Item igitur somniis, vaticinationibus, oraclis, quod erant multa obscura, multa ambigua, explanationes adhibitae sunt interpretum.

- 117. Quo modo autem aut vates aut somniantes ea videant quae nusquam etiam tunc sint magna quaestio est. Sed explorata si sint ea quae ante quaeri debeant sint haec quae quaerimus faciliora. Continet enim totam hanc quaestionem ea ratio quae est de natura deorum, quae a
 - 1. antiphonis C, Antiphontis sulg., secluserunt Bailer, Müller, Thoresen.
- sunt . . . poetarum secluserumi Kayser, Boiler, Müller, Thoresen, ut . . . poetarum seclusii Christ, qui
 cum Braestio enim seclusii, sunt enim harum rerum explanatores Lambinus.
 - 6. quicquam Madvig (quidquam), Maller, Thoresen, quid C, Christ, Boiler.
 - 6-7. confectionis H, confectiones A V1, consectionis BV2, Christ, Bailer, Müller, Thoresen, consectionibus Devies.
- 1. Antiphontis: clearly a gloss; the double genitive construction is very awkward and, as Baiter (in his critical note) remarks, we have here a question not of individual interpreters but of interpretation in general.
- 2. sunt enim, etc.: an awkward gloss, perhaps by the person who added Antiphontis, made up from 1, 34 supra.
- 3. aurum et argentum, etc.: descending in order of value; cf. the four world ages. In the title of the III VIRI A.A. A.F.F. the order seems to vary; cf. Leg. 3, 6; ad Fam. 7, 13, 2. Cf. also N. D. 2, 151: nos aeris argenti auri venas penitus abditas invenimus; also 2, 98 of the same work: auri argentique venas.
- 4f. fruges . . . bacas: cf. de Sen. 5: arborum bacis terraeque fructibus; Leg. 2, 19; Tusc. 5, 37.
- 5. bacas: for the most part applied to drupaceous fruits.
- 6. cultus et conditiones: an alliterative pair. As in N. D. 2, 146 conditiones is a derivative of condio.
- 6f. confectionis: Plasberg on N. D. 2, 151 (arborum autem omnique materia) defends both there and here conf- as opposed to cons-. Consectio is cited by the

Thes. Ling. Lat. from only one other place in Latin literature (Cass. Fel. 18). Confectio is also a more general term in its inclusiveness, and therefore more appropriate here.

- 7. fabricam: on the uses of this word cf. Mayor on N. D. 1, 19.
- 8. ars aliqua: among the advantages bestowed upon man by Providence (as set forth in N. D. 2, 132) are included artes denique innumerabiles ad victum et ad vitam necessariae; cf. Tert. de An. 46: sed et Stoici deum malunt providentissimum humanae institutioni inter cetera praesidia divinatricem artium et disciplinarum somnia quoque nobis indidisse, peculiare solacium naturalis oraculi.
- 11. aut . . . aut: cf. 1, 113, n. (aut vatibus aut dormientibus).
- 11f. quae nusquam . . . sint: cf. 1, 128.
- 12. magna quaestio est: cf. 1, 38, n. (magna enim quaestio est).
- 13f. continet . . . quaestionem: cf. 2, 3; Ac. 2, 40: quae quasi contineant omnem hanc quaestionem.
 - 14. ratio: 'doctrine.'
- 14. natura deorum: cf. 1, 7, n. (de natura deorum).

te secundo libro est explicata dilucide. Quam si obtinemus stabit illud quod hunc locum continet, de quo agimus, esse deos, et eorum providentia mundum administrari, eosdemque consulere rebus humanis, nec solum universis verum etiam singulis. Haec si tenemus, quae mihi quidem non videntur posse convelli, profecto hominibus a dis futura significari necesse est. LII. 118. Sed distinguendum videtur quonam modo. Nam non placet Stoicis singulis iecorum fissis aut avium cantibus interesse deum; neque enim decorum est nec dis dignum nec fieri ullo pacto potest; sed ita a principio inchoatum esse mundum ut certis rebus certa signa praecurrerent, alia in extis, alia in avibus, alia in fulgoribus, alia in ostentis, alia in stellis, alia in somniantium visis, alia in furentium vocibus. Ea quibus bene percepta sunt ii non saepe falluntur; male coniecta maleque interpretata falsa sunt non rerum vitio sed interpretum inscientia. Hoc autem posito atque concesso, esse quandam vim divinam hominum vitam continentem non difficile est, quae fieri certe videmus, ea qua ratione fiant, suspicari.

- 2. locum: cf. 1, 7, n. (loco).
- 3. mundum administrari . . . consulere rebus humanis: frequently repeated phrases in the Stoic terminology of book two of the *De Natura Deorum*.
- 3f. nec solum universis: cf. N. D. 2, 164: nec vero universo generi hominum solum sed etiam singulis a dis immortalibus consuli et provideri solet; Min. Fel. Oct. 18, 3; also Sen. Ep. 95, 50 (without Madvig's emendation).
- 4. haec ai tenemus: cf. Tusc. 2, 28; 5, 46; Leg. 3, 30.
 - 5. convelli: cf. Ac. 1, 41.
- 5. a dis: cf. 1, 125: a deo; Ac. 2, 47: nam cum dicatis, inquiunt, visa quaedam mitti a deo, velut ea quae in somnis videantur quaeque oraculis auspiciis extis declarentur—haec enim aiunt probari Stoicis, etc. (and Reid's note). This view, especially in the case of dreams, was long and widely held; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 280-284.

- 6f. non placet Stoicis, etc.: cf. 1, 12, n. (*Iuppiterne*). Heeringa (ad loc.) well quotes N. D. 2, 167; 3, 6; 3, 90; 3, 93 for the gods' neglect of small matters. Cf. Hier. in Abacuc, 1, p. 604 Vall.
- 7. iecorum: Cicero follows this form of declension for the word rather than iecin- or iocin-; cf. Neue-Wagener, Formenlehre d. lat. Spr. 1, 3 ed. (1902), 837-838.
- 7. fissis: cf. 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis). Thulin (Die etrusk. Disciplin, 2 (1906), 41) considers that the expression singulis . . . fissis is evidence for the existence of several such fissa in one liver.
- 8. decorum: πρέπον; cf. Off. 1, 93. See also 1, 82 supra. The unworthiness of this conception lies partly in ascribing to the gods an interest too trivial, and partly in restricting the divine power to so narrow a compass. Moser here compares Plotin. 22, 20 for the omnipresence of the divine.
- 8. nec fieri ullo pacto potest: cf. Tusc. 2, 38; 3, 73; 5, 80; Rep. 2, 69; Leg. 1, 20; 3, 41; al.
- 9. signa praecurrerent: cf. 1, 12, n. (eventa); Reid on Ac. 1, 45.
- 12. interpretata: cf. 1, 53, n. (esse interpretatum).
- 13. interpretum inscientia: cf. 1, 24, and notes.

^{12.} ii valg., hi BV, hii H, om. A.

^{1.} secundo libro: cf. 1, 9 supra.

^{1.} quam ai obtinemus stabit illud: for the logical connection made by the Stoics between belief in the gods and belief in divination see 1, 10, n. (ut et si divinatio sit); 1, 82-83; and for the expression cf. Ac. 2, 18: quam nisi obtinemus.

Nam et ad hostiam deligendam potest dux esse vis quaedam sentiens, quae est toto confusa mundo, et tum ipsum cum immolare velis extorum fieri mutatio potest, ut aut absit aliquid aut supersit; parvis enim momentis multa natura aut adfingit aut mutat aut detrahit. 119. Quod ne dubitare possimus maximo est argumento quod paulo ante interitum Caesaris contigit. Qui cum immolaret illo die quo primum in sella aurea sedit et

[308]14. quandam vim divinam: cf. 2, 124; also 2, 35.

1. ad hostiam deligendam, etc.: cf. 2, 35. Further see 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis); Iambl. de Myster. 3, 16: τοὺς δὲ δρνιθας κινεῖ μὲν καὶ ἡ τῆς ἰδιας ψυχῆς ὁρμἡ, κινεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ζώων ἔφορος δαίμων . . . πάντα συμφωνοῦντα τοῖς βουλήμασι τῶν θεῶν ἄγει αὐτὰς ὁμολογουμένως οῖς οὶ θεοὶ καταρχὰς ἐπιτάττουσι. See also the marvel described by Apollon. Hist. mirab. 13. The numerous cases related of animals escaping from sacrifice perhaps represent, conversely, the unwillingness of the divine power at certain times to furnish good omens.

1. potest: as Heeringa (ad loc.) has noticed, in 2, 35 there is no word corresponding to potest here and a couple of lines below, and he compares the similar treatment of the potest in 1, 38 which is omitted in 2, 117; also the putantur of 1, 9 omitted in 2, 13. These omissions of the qualifying words used by Posidonius he believes are due, not to Cicero, but to his source (probably Clitomachus). Yet cf. 1, 9, n. (de divinatione).

1. vis quaedam sentiens: cf. N. D.

1, 39: ait enim (sc. Chrysippus) vim
divinam in ratione esse positam et in
universae naturae animo atque mente,
ipsumque mundum deum dicit esse et eius
animi fusionem universam; 2, 85: aut
igitur nihil est quod sentiente natura regatur
aut mundum regi confitendum est; also 2,
22; 2, 75; Reid on Ac. 1, 28; Mayor on
N. D. 3, 92. Davies compares Virg. Aen.
6, 724-727: caelum ac terras camposque
liquentis / . . . / spiritus intus alit, totamque
infusa per artus / mens agitat molem, et
magno se corpore miscet; Amm. Marc. 21,
1, 8.

2. tum ipsum: cf. Fin. 2, 63; Off. 2, 60; the phrase is analogous to nunc ipsum (see Madvig on Fin. 2, 63); Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 629.

2f. extorum . . . mutatio: cf. 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis); also Sen. N. Q. 2, 32, 4: ista nihilominus divina ope geruntur si non a deo . . . pecudum viscera sub ipsa securi formantur; Arnob. 4, 12.

3. parvis . . . momentis: cf. Phil. 5, 26: minimis momentis . . . maximae inclinationes . . . funt; Manil. 1, 57: quantaque quam parvi facerent discrimina motus.

4. adfingit aut mutat aut detrahit: Schmekel (Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa (1892), 246, n. 2) well points out that these are forms of change defined by Posidonius ap. Stob. Ecl. 1, 17 (Doxogr. Gr. 462, 13 ff.): Ποσειδώνιος δὲ φθορὰς καὶ γενέσεις τέτταρας εἶναὶ φησιν... τὴν μὲν εἶναι κατὰ διαίρεσιν, τὴν δὲ κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ σύγχυσιν, τὴν δὲ κατ' ἀλλοίωσιν, λεγομένην δὲ κατ' ἀνάλυσιν.

5. maximo est argumento: cf. N. D. 1, 1; Fin. 2, 29; de Sen. 78.

5. paulo ante interitum Caesaris: an important indication in regard to the date of this part of the work, discussed in the introduction, 5.

6. illo die: cf. 2, 36. For the various omens at different times before the death of Caesar cf. Obseq. 67; Ov. Met. 15, 782-798; Dio Cass. 43, 17; Suet. Iul. 81; App. B. C. 2, 115-116; Vell. 2, 57, 1-3; Plut. Caes. 63; Nicol. Damasc. 99, xxiii-xxiv (in F. H. G. 3, 444-445); al. Suet. (l.c.) says: pluribus hostiis caesis, cum litare non posset; cf. Flor. 2, 13, 94: nec perlitare centum victimis poluerat. The present occurrence is to be dated in 45 B.C.

cum purpurea veste processit in extis bovis opimi cor non fuit. Num igitur

[309]6. sella aurea: among the honors voted Caesar Suet. Iul. 76 mentions et ampliora etiam humano fastigio decerni sibi passus est: sedem auream in curia et pro tribunali; cf. Phil. 2, 85: sedebat in rostris conlega tuus, amictus toga purpurea, in sella aurea, coronatus. For other references see Drumann-Groebe, Gesch. Roms, 3, 2 ed. (1906), 596, n. 4. The sella curulis and the praetexta were part of the regular insignia of the dictator. The former is shown on coins (Babelon, Monnaies de la Rép. rom. 2 (1886), 44-45), and later became a symbol of the Roman emperors; cf. Cagnat in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Imperator (1900), 426. Here, like the purpurea veste, it is probably inserted by Cicero with some satisfaction to enhance the contrast of Caesar's fortune with his foreshadowed fate.

- cum: cf. 1, 59, n. (cum fascibus);
 Mayor on N. D. 2, 6 (who compares Greek uses of σύν); Thes. Ling. Lat. 4,
 1352.
- 1. purpures veste: the purple robe of the Roman kings, for which see Drumann-Groebe, op. cit. 3, 596, n. 5.
- 1. in extis, etc.: cf. Plin. N. H. 11, 186-187: in corde summo pinguitudo quaedam est lactis extis. non semper autem in parte extorum habitum est. L. Postumio L. f. Albino rege sacrorum post CXXVI Olympiadem, cum rex Pyrrhus ex Italia decessisset, cor in extis haruspices inspicere coeperunt. Caesari dictatori quo die primum veste purpurea processil alque in sella aurea sedit sacrificanti bovis in extis defuit. unde quaestio magna de divinatione argumentantibus potueritne sine illo viscere hostia vivere an ad tempus amiserit; Obseq. 67: Caesari dictatori exta sine corde inventa; Val. Max. 1, 6, 13: te enim accepimus eo die quo purpurea veste velatus aurea in sella consedisti . . . mactato . . . opimo bove cor in extis non repperisse, ac responsum tibi ab Spurinna aruspice pertinere id signum ad vitam et consilium

tuum, quod utraque haec corde continerentur; Suet. Iul. 77: eoque arrogantiae progressus est ut, haruspice tristia et sine corde exta nuntiante, futura diceret laetiora cum vellet; nec pro ostento ducendum si pecudi cor defuisset; App. B. C. 2, 116: και πάλιν των ίερων ήν τῷ Καίσαρι τὸ μέν πρώτον άνευ καρδίας, ή, ώς έτεροι λέγουσιν, ή κεφαλή τοίς σπλάγχνοις έλειπε. και του μάντεως είπόντος θανάτου τὸ σημείον είναι, γελάσας έφη τοιούτον αύτῷ καὶ περί 'Ιβηρίαν γενέσθαι πολεμούντι Πομπηίω, κτλ. (cf. Polyaen. 8, 23, 32); Plut. Caes. 63: abrû 84 Καίσαρι θύοντι την καρδίαν άφανή γενέσθαι τοῦ ἰερείου καὶ δεινόν είναι τὸ τέρας. οδ γάρ Δν φύσει γε συστήναι ζφον άκάρδιον.

On this omen in general see also Paul. ex Fest. p. 244M.: pestifera auspicia esse dicebant cum cor in extis aut caput in iocinore non fuisset. Apparent lack of a heart is occasionally mentioned as an abnormality in the exta; cf. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 418, and n. 7; to which add Iambl. de Myster. 3, 16: σημεῖον δὲ τὸ πολλάκις εὐρΙσκεσθαι αὐτὰ ἀκάρδια ἡ ἄλλως ἄμοιρα τῶν κυριωτάτων μερῶν, ἀπεστερημένα οὐχ οἰά τε ἦν δλως τοῖς ζψοις παρέχειν τὸ ζῆν; Plin. N. H. 28, 11: sic repente extis adimi capita vel corda aut geminari victima stante; Jul. Capit. Pert. 11, 2-3.

Caesar was little subject to the influence of omens as is shown by the passages already cited; cf. also Suet. Iul. 59: ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus umquam vel retardatus est; and the jest in Polyaen. 8, 23, 33: Καίσαρ ακαρδίου θύματος εδρεθέντος "και τί παράδοξον," ξφη, "εί άλογον ζφον καρδίαν οὐκ Exa;" (with which compare the jest in 2, 37 infra). The words that follow in Polyaenus (οι στρατιώται τοῦτ' ἀκούσαντες θάρρησα») show that the incident is connected with his Spanish campaign rather than with the time just before his death; see above.

1. bovis opimi: cf. 2. 29; 2, 36-37.

censes ullum animal quod sanguinem habeat sine corde esse posse? †Qua ille rei novitate perculsus, cum Spurinna diceret timendum esse ne et consilium et vita deficeret; earum enim rerum utramque a corde proficisci. Postero die caput in iecore non fuit. Quae quidem illi portendebantur a dis immortalibus ut videret interitum, non ut caveret. Cum igitur eae partes in extis non reperiuntur sine quibus victuma illa vivere nequisset intellegendum est in ipso immolationis tempore eas partes quae absint interisse.

1-2. qua ille rei novitate perculsus C, qua illo rei novitate perculso Devies, qua rei novitate perculsus Hottinger, qua illa re nova non ita est perculsus Moser, qua ille rei novitate non perculsus Foerisch, qua ille rei novitate non est perculsus Klots; lacunes signum post proficiaci add. Christ, Baiter.

[310]1. non fuit: an emphatically abrupt sentence ending, as a few lines below (non fuit).

1. sine corde esse posse: cf. 2, 36-37; Arist. de Part. Anim. 3, 4, p. 665 b 9-10: καρδία μὲν οῦν ἄπασιν ὑπάρχει τοῖς ἐναίμοις; p. 666 a 22-24: μαρτύριον δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐναίμοις ὑπάρχειν αὐτήν ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ αἴματος; de Somn. et Vig. 2, p. 456 a 4-5: πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἔναιμα καρδίαν ἔχει. For a theory of Asclepiades that some animals might continue to live with the heart removed see Tert. de An. 15.

1f. qua ille, etc.: from the general attitude of Caesar in regard to omens (see above) it would seem that a negative is needed in this sentence, in which case the cum will be concessive. For the phrase rei novitate cf. 2, 60.

2. Spurinna: this haruspex (Etruscan, as his name shows) foretold to Caesar the events of the Ides of March (cf. Suet. Iul. 81; Val. Max. 8, 11, 2), and is humorously said by Cicero (ad Fam. 9, 24, 2) to have been consulted by himself in 43 B.C. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 110; also 1, 72, n. (Postumius haruspex) supra.

3. consilium et vita: cf. Off. 1, 58; Fin. 4, 52.

4. caput: for its anatomy see 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis), and works there cited; also Moore in Oriental. Stud. Th. Nöldeke gewidmet, 2 (1906), 761-769. For the significance of its absence see 2, 32 infra; also the cases collected by Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 69, n. 8; Blecher, De Extispicio (1905), 3-22;

Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 2 (1906), 31-32; Moore, op. cit. 764; Jastrow in Studies in Honor of C. H. Toy (1912), 160-161. This lobe, according to Thulin, op. cit. 2, 32, is often reduced to a mere rudimentary trace.

5. ut videret . . . non ut caveret: cf. Tac. Hist. 1, 18: seu quae fato manent quamvis significata non vitantur; Heliod. Aethiop. 2, 24: nal δμμα Κρόνιον els τον οίκον ένέσκηψε, την έπι το χείρον έπαγον μεταβολήν, ήν έμοι σοφία μέν προέφηνε, διαδράναι δὲ οὐκ ξδωκε. τοὺς γὰρ μοιρών άτρέπτους δρους προϊδείν μέν δυνατόν, έκφεύγειν δὲ οὐκ ἐφικτόν; Amm. Marc. 23, 5, 5 (of Julian, after a warning): posthabito tamen suasore cautissimo, fidentius ultra tendebat, quoniam multa vis humana vel virtus meruisse umquam potuit ut quod praescripsit fatalis ordo non fiat; Diogenianus ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 4, 3, p. 138b: τί γὰρ δφελος ήμιν ήν προμανθάνειν τα πάντως έσόμενα δυσχερή, α ούδι προφυλάξασθαι δυνατόν αν είη; κτλ.; also 1, 82, n. (erimus . . . cautiores) supra. The inconsistency of a belief in fate with belief in divination is treated at length in 2, 12-26; cf. N. D. 3, 14. The inexpediency of knowledge of the future was also a frequent subject of discussion, e.g., by Dicaearchus (2, 105 infra) and Favorinus (Gell. 14, 1, especially 35-36); see the context of the passage from Diogenianus cited above. The present sentence is quite inconsistent with 1, 82 (erimus enim cautiores si sciemus), but it is to be noted that that passage is taken from a Stoic source, while ours was obviously added, after the death of Caesar, by Cicero himself, who thereby

LIII. 120. Eademque efficit in avibus divina mens ut tum huc tum illuc volent alites, tum in hac tum in illa parte se occultent, tum a dextra tum a sinistra parte canant oscines. Nam si animal omne ut vult ita utitur motu

intrudes into the Stoic argument a bit of his own opposition to divination.

[311]7. in ipso immolationis tempore: in 2, 37 Marcus Cicero considers this false to all the principles of physiologia.

1. eademque: cf. Xen. Mem. 1, 1, 3: δσοι μαντικήν νομίζοντες οίωνοῖς τε χρώνται καί φήμαις καί συμβόλοις καί θυσίαις... ύπολαμβάνουσιν ού τούς δρνιθας ούδὲ τούς άπαντώντας είδεναι τὰ συμφέροντα τοῖς μαντευομένοις, άλλα τούς θεούς δια τούτων αυτά σημαίνειν; Epictet. 1, 17: οὐδὲ τὸν κόρακα θαυμάζομεν ή την κορώνην, άλλά τον θεόν σημαίνωντα διά τούτων; Orig. c. Cels. 4, 88 (=S. V. F. 2, no. 1212): ἐπειδήπερ οὶ μὲν ἀπό τινων δαιμόνων ή θεών μαντικών φασι γίγνεσθαι τάς κινήσεις τοῖς ζώοις, δρνισι μέν els διαφόρους πτήσεις καί είς διαφόρους φωνάς, τοις δε λοιποίς els τας τοιασδί κινήσεις ή τοιασδί, αλλοι δέ θειοτέρας αυτών και πρός τουτ' έπιτηδείους είναι τὰς ψυχάς. ὁπερ ἐστίν ἀπιθανώτατον; 4, 90 (= S. V. F. ibid.): λεκτέον ούν δτι είπερ τις θεία φύσις ήν εν αύτοις των μελλόντων προγρωστική και έπι τοσούτον πλουσία, ώς έκ περιουσίας και τῷ βουλομένω τῶν άνθρώπων δηλοθν τά ἐσόμενα, δηλονότι πολύ πρότερον τά περί ξαυτών εγίνωσκον; Macrob. Somn. Scip. 1, 19, 27: aves seu praetervolando seu stando futura pennis vel voce significant nescientes; Amm. Marc. 21, 1, 9: auguria et auspicia non volucrum arbitrio futura nescientium conliguntur (nec enim hoc vel insipiens quisquam dicet) sed volatus avium dirigit deus, ut rostrum sonans aut praetervolans pinna, turbido meatu vel leni, futura praemonstret; Clem. Alex. Protr. 10, p. 74 Stählin: οἱ γὰρ δείλαιοι τῶν άνθρώπων και δύλιοι διά μέν κόρακος και κολοιοῦ νομίζουσι τον θεόν έμβοδη; Joan. Saresb. Policr. 2, 19. Cf. 1, 12, n. (Iuppiterne); N. D. 3, 92; Spanheim on Callim. Hymn. in Pall. 123, p. 705. In N. D. 2, 160 the augurs are said to consider the expression of the divine will the reason for the existence of certain birds.

2. alites: cf. Fest. p. 197 M.: oscines aves Ap. Claudius esse ait quae ore canentes faciant auspicium, ut corvus, cornix, noctua; alites quae alis ac volatu, ut buteo, sangualis, inmusulus, vulturius, † picam aut † Martius Feroniusque et parra et in oscinibus et in alitibus habentur; cf. Serv. Aen. 1, 394; Paul. ex Fest. pp. 3; 196 M.; also N. D. 2, 160; ad Fam. 6, 6, 7; Serv. Aen. 4, 462; Mart. Cap. 1, 10; Hier. in Hierem. 5, 52, 3; Isid. Etym. 8, 9, 20: duo sunt autem genera auspiciorum: unum ad oculos, alterum ad aures pertinens. ad oculos scilicet volatus, ad aures vox avium; 12, 7, 75-77, with varieties of alites, praepetes, and inebrae, for which see also Fest. p. 205 M.; Paul. ex Fest. pp. 109; 244 M.; Serv. Aen. 3, 246; 3, 361; Gell. 7, 6. For the list of alites in Plin. N. H. 10, 6-28 (taken from some augural source) cf. Detlefsen in Hermes, 36 (1901), 5-15. On alites in general see further Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 413 ff.: Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 136, and n. 3; 4 (1882), 199-201; Regell, Frag. Auguralia (1882), 13; id., Comm. in Lib. augural. Frag. (1893), 13-15; Habel in P.-W. s.v. Alites (1894), 1497-1498; Wissowa in P.-W. s.v. Augures (1896), 2330-2333; Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 3 (1909), 106-110; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 530, and n. 3; also 1, 12, n. (cornicem . . . corvum) supra.

3. oscines: on the derivation of the word see Varr. L. L. 6, 76: hinc (sc. ab ore) oscines dicuntur apud augures, quae ore faciunt auspicium; Fest. p. 197 M.: oscinum tripudium est quod oris cantu significat quid portendi; cum cecinit corvus, cornix, noctua, parra, picus (cf. the passage quoted in the note on alites above); Paul. ex Fest. p. 196 M.: oscinum augurium a cantu avium. Corssen (Ueber Aussprache, Vokalismus, und Betonung d. lat. Spr. 1, 2 ed. (1868), 121) followed

sui corporis, prono, obliquo, supino, membraque quocumque vult flectit, contorquet, porrigit, contrahit, eaque ante efficit paene quam cogitat, quanto id deo est facilius, cuius numini parent omnia! 121. Idemque mittit et signa nobis eius generis qualia permulta historia tradidit, quale scriptum illud videmus: si luna paulo ante solis ortum defecisset in signo Leonis, fore ut armis Dareus et Persae ab Alexandro et Macedonibus [proelio] vincerentur Dareusque moreretur, et si puella nata biceps esset

6. armis del. Orelli, Baiter, Müller, Thoresen, Arbelis Foertsch.

7. proelio del. Davies, Christ.

by Walde (Lat. etym. Wörterbuck, 2 ed. (1910), 549) regards oscen as a compound of ob (*obs) and the stem appearing in cano. In support of this view may be taken the passages where the corresponding verb occino is used of the prophetic utterances of birds, e.g., Liv. 6, 41, 8; 10, 40, 14; Val. Max. 1, 4, 2; against it the etymological difficulties raised by V[ürtheim] in Mnemos. 37 (1909), 431-432, who suggests a connection with oscito. On these birds cf. Plin. N. H. 10, 29 ff.; Detlefsen, l.c.; also 1, 12, n. (cornicem . . . corvum).

1. prono, obliquo, supino: probably 'forward, sideways, backward.' For supinus in the sense of 'backward' cf. Ov. de Med. Fac. 40; ex Pont. 4, 5, 43; Mart. 2, 86, 1.

3. cuius numini, etc.: cf. 2, 35. Divine omnipotence is therefore connected with divine prescience and revelation; cf. the patristic passages cited by Lasaulx, Die prophetische Krast der menschl. Seele (1858), 40, n. 113.

4. et: cf. 1, 40, n. (et).

4. nobis: for the position of this word see the parallels cited by Plasberg on *Tim.* 38.

5. si luna, etc.: this passage has often been held to refer to an eclipse on 20 September, 331 B.C., which preceded the defeat of Darius III by Alexander at Gaugamela on 31 October of the same year. Ancient references to this eclipse are collected by Boll in P.-W. s.v. Finsternisse (1909), 2357. But, as Boll there notes and shows at greater length in Philologus, 69 (1910), 167-170, the facts mentioned by Cicero (paulo ante solis

ortum and luna . . . in signo Leonis) do not agree with facts for any eclipse during the short reign of Darius (336-330). If the eclipse occurred during his lifetime it may have been that of 3 February, 375, or, more likely, that of 13 February, 338, which was visible not only at Babylon but also in Athens, Memphis, and Rome. The words paulo ante solis ortum even then remain inexact. But Boll (op. cit. 169) suggests that they are due to an attempted symbolical interpretation: the moon (as in Hdt. 7, 37; Curt. 4, 10, 6-7) was the προδέκτωρ or έρμηνεύς of the Persians and along with it they lost their brightness (which must have appeared especially ominous in the sign of Leo, the βασιλικόν ζώδιον), while the sun of the new worldruler rose not long after. He further notes (p. 170) that if Cicero's eclipse is that of 338 it must refer, not to a single battle, but to the military failures of the reign of Darius; hence in omitting one of the words armis and proclio we should retain the former with Davies and Christ rather than the latter with Orelli, Baiter, Müller, and Thoresen.

With the form of the prediction Boll (op. cit. 168) compares an example from Nechepso-Petosiris: ἐάν ἡ Σελήνη ἐν Λέωντι ἐκλείπει ώρα πρώτη ἡ δευτέρα ἡ τρίτη δλη, μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀνὴρ μέγας δχλους πολλούς ἔχων Κύπρω ἐπιστρατεύει, κτλ. See also (for solar eclipses) Lydus, de Ostent. pp. 19-20 Wachsmuth: ὡς ὅταν ἔκλειψις < ἐν > λέωντι γένηται τοῦς μὲν βασιλεῦσι κάκωσιν σημαίνει τινά,

7. puella biceps: cf. 1, 93, n. (hominum pecudumve conceptu et satu); Paul. ex Fest. p. 156 M.: monstra dicuntur naturae

seditionem in populo fore, corruptelam et adulterium domi, et si mulier leonem peperisse visa esset, fore ut ab exteris gentibus vinceretur ea res publica in qua id contigisset. Eiusdem generis etiam illud est, quod scribit Herodotus, Croesi filium, cum esset infans, locutum; quo ostento regnum

modum egredientia, ut...homo duobus capitibus. Instances of this form of misbirth will be found in Liv. 41, 21, 12; Obseq. 51; Tac. Ann. 15, 47; Phleg. Trall. fr. 54 Müller (cf. fr. 49 for a four-headed child in the reign of Nero); Jul. Capit. Anton. P. 9, 3; Amm. Marc. 19, 12, 19-20. See also Jastrow, Die Relig. Babyloniens u. Assyriens, 2, 2 (1912), 902, for a number of cases in which the birth of a two-headed child foreshadowed an attack upon the land.

1. seditionem: cf. 2, 120. As Thoresen in the appendix to his edition (p. 223) points out, the word biceps typifies the condition of the state; cf. Flor. 2, 5, 3: iudiciaria lege Gracchi diviserant populum R. et bicipitem ex una fecerant civitatem; Varr. ap. Non. p. 454 M.: equestri ordini iudicia tradidit ac bicipitem civitatem fecit, discordiarum civilium fontem.

1. corruptelam et adulterium: coupled also in Tusc. 4, 75.

1f. mulier leonem peperisse: cf. 1, 39, n. (praegnans...somniavit). The mother of Pericles had this dream (Hdt. 6, 131; Plut. Pericl. 3); cf. the story in Hdt. 1, 84.

3f. scribit Herodotus: cf. Hdt. 1, 34: ήσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσφ δύο παίδες, τῶν οδτερος μέν διέφθαρτο, ήν γάρ δή κωφός; 1, 85: ήν οί παίς, του και πρότερον ξπεμνήσθην, τὰ μέν άλλα έπιεικής άφωνος δέ. . . . (The Pythia declared to Croesus concerning him) Λυδέ γένος, πολλών βασιλεύ, μέγα νήπιε Κροίσε, / μή βούλου πολύευκτον ίήν άνά δώματ' άκουειν / παιδός φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολύ λώιον άμφις / έμμεναι αδδήσει γάρ εν ήματι πρώτον ἀνόλβφ. ἀλισκομένου δή τοῦ τείχεος, ήιε γάρ των τις Περσέων άλλογνώσας Κροίσον ώς αποκτενέων, Κροίσος μέν νυν δρέων επιόντα ύπο της παρεούσης συμφορής παρημελήκει, ούδε τι οι διέφερε πληγέντι άποθανείν ο δε παίς ούτος ὁ άφωνος ώς είδε έπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, έπο δέους τε και κακοθ ξρρηξε φωνήν,

είπε δὶ "ώνθρωπε, μή κτείνε Κροίσον." οδτος μέν δή τοῦτο πρώτον έφθέγξατο, μετά δὶ τοῦτο ήδη εφώνει τον πάντα χρόνον της ζόης. It will be noticed that Herodotus does not mention the age or name of the child. See also Plin. N. H. 11, 270: sed semenstris locutus est Croesi filius et in crepundiis prodigio quo totum id concidit regnum; Val. Max. 5, 4, ext. 6: illa nimirum quae etiam Croesi filium loquendi usu defectum ad protegendam patris incolumitatem ministerio vocis instruxit; captis enim a Cyro Sardibus, cum unus e numero Persarum ignarus viri in caedem eius concitato im petu ferretur, velut oblitus quid sibi fortuna nascenti denegasset, ne Croesum regem occideret proclamando paene iam inpressum iugulo mucronem revocavit. ita qui ad id tempus mutus sibi vixerat saluti parentis vocalis factus est; Gell. 5, 9: filius Croesi regis, cum iam fari per aetatem posset, infans erat et cum iam multum adolevisset item nihil fari quibat. mutus adeo et elinguis diu habitus est, cum in patrem eius bello magno victum et urbe in qua erat capta hostis gladio deducto regem esse ignorans invaderet, deduxit adulescens os clamare nitens eoque nisu alque impetu spiritus vitium nodumque linguae rupit planeque et articulate elocutus est clamans in hostem ne rex Croesus occideretur, tum et hostis gladium reduxit et rex vita donatus est et adulescens loqui prorsum deinceps incepit. etc. (in what follows he tells a similar story of an athlete at Samos); Nicol. Damasc. fr. 68 Müller mentions the later speech of this son in which he says: εύτυχούντα μέν έκτρεπόμενος ύπ' αίδους διά τήν τότε μοι προσούσαν άφωνίαν τε και λώβην έπει δ' ήρξάμεθα δυστυχείν τότε φωνήν άφηκα, και μ' els τοῦτο μόνον ήρθρωσαν οι θεοί δπως αν δδύρωμαι τάς ήμετέρας τύχας, κτλ. The account in Solin. 1, 112 confuses this son with his brother Atys; cf. Hdt. 1, 34. The muteness of this child became proverbial; patris et domum funditus concidisse. Caput arsisse Servio Tullio dor-

cf. Greg. Cypr. 3, 79 (Paroemiogr. Gr. 1, 374): τοῦ Κροίσου παιδὸς σιγηλότερος; Apostol. 17, 99 (Paroemiogr. Gr. 2, 686); also Luc. Vit. Auct. 3; Somn. 25; pro Imagin. 20.

The proper form of the story is dis-Jastrow (in Religionsgeschichtl. puted. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, 14 (1914), 57, n. 4) considers the form in Cicero the older. that is, a story of a speaking infant (see below), and thinks that in Herodutus the tale was rationalized to make the son of Croesus dumb for many years, but suddenly acquiring the power of speech, by which the story, he thinks, loses its point. But as Schultz (Wochenschr. f. kl. Philol. 33 (1916), 75) well remarks, to regard Cicero as a primary source in preference to Herodotus is incorrect, and the story of the dumb youth who acquires at a crisis the ability to speak is widely spread. Again, though Schultz does not mention this, the frequency of the proverbial expression above cited makes against the view of Jastrow, and it seems rather Cicero who has reversed the story, unless, as is quite possible, he here uses infans in its literal sense of 'not able to speak' (cf. Non. p. 55 M.: infans a non fando dictus est), rather than in its derived sense of 'babe.' So Varro ap. Non. p. 56 M.: voces Amphionem tragoedum . . . infantior est quam meus est mulio; Cic. Brut. 108: P. Decius . . . non infans ille quidem sed ut vita sic oratione etiam turbulentus; where, as in other cases, the word has no reference to age but to inability or lack of skill in speaking. This idea was doubtless misunderstood by Pliny, but not by the other writers above cited, and it still allows ample point for the story. In fact Pliny's mention of the age (semenstris) looks surprisingly like a confusion with the story told by Val. Max. 1, 6, 5: puerum semenstrem in foro boario triumphum clamasse. The omen of the speaking of one naturally mute, like the speech of animals (1, 73, n. (kinnitum) supra), is especially striking,

and it is doubtless for this reason that the divine power was thought of as employing it when other methods might pass unnoticed. Cf. Pease in Class. Philol. 15(1920), 201-202.

For cases of speaking infants see the story of Tages (2, 50) and that of the Erythraean Sibyl (Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 168, and n. 6); Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens bei den Römern (1903), 20; Jastrow, op. cit. 39, and n. 3; to which add Serv. Ed. 4, 1; 4, 60 (son of Pollio); Aug. C. D. 21, 14, and Solin. 1, 72 (Zoroaster); Steph. Byz. s.v. Tappaxirn; Travels of Sir John Mandeville (1905 ed.), 89-90 (a Saracen legend that Jesus spoke immediately after birth); N. Y. Nation, 1912, 305 (Ahmed-el-Bedawi). Important is also what Plutarch (de Isid. et Osir. 14) tells of such beliefs in Egypt. The same phenomenon while the child was still in the womb is described by Liv. 24, 10, 10, and Aug. C. D. 3, 31. These occurrences were usually a sign of trouble. On the other hand, dreams of talking babes, unlike dreams of other precocious acts, were not unlucky; cf. Artemid. Onirocr. 4, 19. On the whole subject of speaking babes see Arist. Probl. 11, 27. Predictions by children were usually considered important, as not liable to intentional bias; cf. Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 69; Plut. de Isid. et Osir. 14; Matth. 21, 16; Frazer on Paus: 7, 22, 4; Chamberlain, The Child and Childhood in Folk-Thought (1896), 293-300.

1. caput arsisse: cf. Rep. 2, 37: non latuit scintilla ingeni quae iam tum elucebat in puero; Liv. 1, 39, 1-2: puero dormienti cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen caput arsisse ferunt multorum in conspectu. plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos reges et cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguendum ferret ab regina retentum, sedatoque iam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum donec sua sponte experrectus esset. mox cum somno et flammam abisse. This omen Tanaquil inter-

mienti quae historia non prodidit? Ut igitur qui se tradidit quieti praeparato animo cum bonis cogitationibus tum rebus ad tranquillitatem adcommodatus certa et vera cernit in somnis, sic castus animus purusque vigilantis et ad astrorum et ad avium reliquorumque signorum et ad extorum veritatem est paratior.

LIV. 122. Hoc nimirum est illud quod de Socrate accepimus quodque ab ipso in libris Socraticorum saepe dicitur, esse divinum quiddam, quod 1. tradidit Maller, tradet ita C, tradet dett., O, tradit Christ, Boiler.

preted as a sign that the boy would be lumen quondam rebus nostris. See also the accounts in Dion. Hal. 4, 2; Plut. de Fort. Rom. 10; Ov. Fast. 6, 635-636; Plin. N. H. 2, 241; 36, 204: in regia cubanti ei puero caput arsisse creditumque Laris familiaris filium; Val. Max. 1, 6, 1; Apul. de Deo Socr. 7; Flor. 1, 1, 6, 1; Dio Cass. ap. Zonar. 7, 9, 2; Auct. de Vir. ill. 7, 1-2; Serv. Aen. 2, 683; Schol. Veron. Virg. Aen. 2, 682; Jordanes, Roman. 1, 101.

Other stories of the same phenomenon appear in connection with L. Marcius (Liv. 25, 39, 16; Plin. N. H. 2, 241; Val. Max. 1, 6, 2), the young Masinissa (Sil. Ital. 16, 118 ff.), a soldier of Caesar (Plut. Caes. 63), a shepherd (Dio Cass. 48, 33), also the mythological cases in Virgil relative to Ascanius (Aen. 2, 680 ff.; Claud. de quart. Cons. Hon. 192 ff.), Lavinia (Aen. 7, 73 ff.), and Augustus (Aen. 8, 680-681). Later cases are the cloven tongues of fire at the day of Pentecost (Acis, 2, 3); a ball of fire on the head of St. Martin (Sulp. Sev. Dial. 2, 2); see also Barry in Journ. of Amer. Folk-Lore, 27 (1914), 86-87. Professor J. A. Lomax has stated in my hearing that the phenomenon is sometimes seen on the heads of cattle in Texas during electric disturbances. other such manifestations have been discussed in 1, 75, n. (stellaeque); see also 2, 77. Here should perhaps also be classed the omens from trees and bushes bursting into flames and burning unconsumed, e.g., the burning bush of Exod. 3, 2 (cf. Smith, Relig. of the Semites, 2 ed. (1894), 193-194), and perhaps the burning olive tree of Athen. 12, p. 524a.

1. ut igitur, etc.: cf. 1, 61.

- 2. rebus: those physical matters, like food, which in 1, 61-62 are explained as hampering the clear action of the mind.
- 3. castus animus purusque: on the rewards of such a condition see *Tusc.* 1, 72; *Consol.* fr. 12 Müller; also Matth. 5, 8. With the phrase cf. N. D. 1, 3: pure atque caste.
- 4. reliquorumque signorum: Hottinger wished to place these words after extorum, feeling that where they stand they interrupt the series of signa. But Usener (in Neue Jahrb. 139 (1889), 392) successfully defends the MS order, observing that the three cases of ad introduce the three main kinds of artificial divination: astrology, augury, and haruspicine, and for classing reliqua signa with birds he quotes 2, 70: avium reliquorumve signorum observatione.
- 6. hoc nimirum est illud: numerous similar introductory phrases from Cicero are collected by Seyffert on de Amic. 52.
- 6. de Socrate accepimus: cf. 1, 9; 1, 111; Off. 1, 90: de Socrate . . . accepimus; 2, 47: de Demosthene accepimus.
- 7. dicitur: see note on numquam impellenti infra.
- 7. divinum quiddam: the δαιμόνιον of Socrates has been discussed by a host of later writers. In addition to the works of Plutarch (de Genio Socratis), Maximus of Tyre 8 and 9, and Apuleius (de Deo Socratis), see the collection of Willing, De Socr. Daemonio quae antiquis Temporibus fuerint Opiniones, in Comment. philol. Ienenses, 8, 2 (1909), for ancient views; for the views of Christian writers cf. Geffcken, Sokrates u. das alte Christentum (1908), 40 ff.; and for modern theories,

δαιμόνιον appellat, cui semper ipse paruerit numquam impellenti, saepe revocanti. Et Socrates quidem (quo quem auctorem meliorem quaerimus?) Xenophonti consulenti sequereturne Cyrum, posteaquam exposuit quae ipsi videbantur: 'Et nostrum quidem,' inquit, 'humanum est consilium; sed de rebus et obscuris et incertis ad Apollinem censeo referundum,' ad quem etiam Athenienses publice de maioribus rebus semper rettulerunt. 123. Scriptum est item cum Critonis, sui familiaris, oculum alligatum vidisset quaesivisse quid esset; cum autem ille respondisset in agro ambu-

- 1. Sample valg., demonion ABV, demon H.
- 3. Cyrum codd. dett., epicurum C, et ipse Cyrum Comerarius.

among other works, Zeller, Die Philos. d. Griechen, 2, 1, 4 ed. (1889), 73-91; Joel, Der echte u. d. xenophont. Sokrates, 1 (1893), 70-89; Ueberweg-Praechter, Grundr. d. Gesch. d. Philos. 1, 10 ed. (1909), bibliogr. p. 43; Zuccante, Socrate (1909), 365 ff.; Jaeger, De Oraculis quid veteres Philosophi iudicaverint (1910), 17 ff.; Kiesow in Boll. di Filol. Class. 24 (1917), 34-40; 52-57. On Socrates and divination see also 1, 5, n. (Socrates).

The form of expression here used suggests Plat. A pol. p. 31c: θεϊόν τι και δαιμόνιον. Elsewhere (A pol. p. 40a) it is called τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημεῖον, or (Phaedr. p. 242b) τὸ δαιμόνιόν τε και τὸ εἰωθὸς σημεῖόν μοι γίγνεσθαι, or (Xen. Mem. 4, 8, 6) τῷ θεῷ (cf. deo in 1, 123 infra).

- 1. δαιμόνιον: cf. 1, 1, n. (μαντικήν).
- 1. numquam impellenti: cf. Plat. A pol. p. 31d: έμοι δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν ἐκ παιδός ἀρξάμενον φωνή τις γιγνομένη, ή δταν γένηται ἀεὶ ἀποτρέπει με τοῦτο δ ἄν μέλλω πράττειν, προτρέπει δὲ οῦποτε; Phaedr. p. 242c: ἀεὶ δὲ με ἐπίσχει δ ἀν μέλλω πράττειν; Theag. p. 128d: ἐστι δὲ τοῦτο φωνή, ή δταν γένηται ἀεὶ μοι σημαίνει δ ἄν μέλλω πράττειν, τούτου ἀποτροπήν, προτρέπει δὲ οὐδέποτε (quoted in Ael. V. H. 8, 1, 1; cf. Clem. Strom. 1, 17, p. 54 Stählin). This negative character is lost sight of by Xen. Mem. 1, 1, 4; 1, 4, 15; 4, 3, 12 (cf. A pol. 12?); Plut. de Gen. Socr. p. 581b; Min. Fel. Oct. 26, 9.
- 2. quo quem, etc.: cf. Off. 3, 100: num locupletiores quaeris auctores; also 1, 17 supra, and note.
- 3. Xenophonti: cf. Xen. Anab. 3, 1, 5: δ μέντοι Ζενοφών . . . ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ 'Αθηναίφ περί τῆς πορείας. καὶ δ

Σωκράτης . . . συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφώντι Ελθόντα els Δελφούς άνακοινώσαι τῷ θεῷ περί της πορείας; Mem. 1, 1, 6: τὰ μέν γάρ άναγκαῖα συνεβούλευε και πράττειν, ώς ἐνόμιζεν άριστ' αν πραχθήναι περί δέ των άδηλων, δπως αποβήσοιτο, μαντευσομένους ξπεμπεν, εί ποιητέα; 1, 1, 7-8: πάντα τὰ τοιαθτα μαθήματα και άνθρώπου γνώμη αιρετά ένόμιζεν είναι τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἔφη τοὺς θεούς εαυτοίς καταλείπεσθαι, ων ούδεν δήλον είναι τοις άνθρώποις; Diog. L. 2, 49-50: δ δὲ (sc. Ξενοφῶν) την ἐπιστολήν (inviting him to join Proxenus) δεικνύει Σωκράτει και σύμβουλον ήρειτο, και δε άπέστειλεν αύτον είς Δελφούς χρησόμενον τῷ θεῷ. πείθεται Ζενοφών, κτλ.

- · 4. ipsi: for this use of the pronoun see Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 630.
- 4. et nostrum, etc.: the exact source from which Cicero took this is not preserved; it will be seen to vary somewhat from the passages quoted in the note on Xenophonti supra. It is doubtless translated more or less exactly from a Greek source (Posidonius?), as the words quidem . . . sed (= µiv . . . 8i) might suggest.
- 5. de rebus . . . referundum: cf. 1, 32.
 - 5f. ad quem, etc.: cf. 1, 95.
- 7. scriptum est: no Greek source for this incident appears to be preserved.
- 7. Critonis: the intimate friend of Socrates, described in Plat. A pol. p. 33d as Κρίτων οὐτοσί, ἐμὸς ἡλικιώτης καὶ δημότης, for whom one of Plato's best known dialogues is named, and who is frequently mentioned in the others, as well as by Diogenes Laertius, et al.

lanti ramulum adductum, ut remissus esset, in oculum suum recidisse, tum Socrates: 'Non enim paruisti mihi revocanti, cum uterer qua soleo praesagitione divina.' Idem etiam Socrates, cum apud Delium male pugnatum esset Lachete praetore fugeretque cum ipso Lachete, ut ventum est in

- 2-3. praesagitione sulg. (cf. 1, 66), praesagatione C.
- 3. Delium I. Diacetius (f) in Copiis Victorianis b (ex cod. Ven.), duellium C.
- [317]7. alligatum: so used of a wound in Tusc. 2, 39.
- 2. enim: elliptical usage, as in etenim and neque enim; in Greek γλρ is so used; e.g., Plat. Symp. p. 194a; cf. Ar. Ran. 262.
 - 2f. praesagitione: cf. 1, 66.
- 3. apud Delium, etc.: in 424 B.C. the Boeotians defeated the Athenians Cf. Plat. Symp. p. 220e-221a: άξιον ήν θεάσασθαι Σωκράτη ότε άπό Δηλίου φυγή άνεχώρει τὸ στρατόπεδον έτυχον γάρ παραγενόμενος Ιππον έχων, ούτος δὲ δπλα. άνεχώρει οδν έσκεδασμένων ήδη των άνθρώπων οὖτός τε άμα και Λάχης, κτλ.; Lach. p. 181b: έν γάρ τη άπο Δηλίου φυγή μετ' έμου συνανεχώρει, κάγώ σοι λέγω ότι el ol άλλοι ήθελον τοιοθτοι είναι όρθη άν ημών ή πόλις ήν καί ούκ αν έπεσε τότε τοιοθτον πραγμα; A pol. p. 28e, where Socrates is mentioned as having taken part in the campaign at Delium; also Athen. 5, pp. 215d-216a. An incident relating to Socrates in the flight from Delium is told by Strab. 9, p. 403: 🖢 δὲ τῆ φυγῆ πεσόντα άφ' Ιππου Ξενοφώντα ίδων κείμενον τόν Γρύλλου Σωκράτης δ φιλόσοφος στρατείων πεζός τοῦ Ιππου γεγονότος έκποδών άνέλαβε τοῖς ώμοις αὐτόν, και έσωσεν έπι πολλούς σταδίους έως έπαύσατο φυγή (cf. Diog. L. 2, 23, who speaks of the coolness of Socrates during the flight). Plut. Alcib. 7 tells of help given by Alcibiades to Socrates at this time. Other references to Socrates at Delium are Ael. V. H. 3, 17; Aristid. 45, p. 96 Dindorf; 46, pp. 262-263 Dindorf; Liban. Declam. 1, 130 (vol. 5, 87 Foerster). For other accounts of the battle see Philippson in P.-W. s.v. Delion (1901), 2443, and the works there cited.
- 3. male pugnatum: for the phrase cf. Sall. Jug. 114.
- 4. practore: a translation of στρατηγόs, as in Off. 1, 144; Fin. 5, 92; de Inv. 1, 55.

4. ut ventum est, etc.: the separation of the Athenians in the flight is noted by various writers: Thuc. 4, 96: kal ol µèr πρός το Δήλιον τε και την θάλασσαν ώρμησαν, οί δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ 'Ωρωποῦ, ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς Πάρνηθα τὸ δρος, οὶ δὲ ὡς ἔκαστοί τινα εἶχον ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας . . . καὶ τἢ ὑστεραία οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ 'Ωρωποῦ και οι έκ τοῦ Δηλίου φυλακήν έγκαταλιπόντες . . . άπεκομίσθησαν κατά θάλασσαν έπ' οίκου; Diod. 12, 70, 4; Athen. 5, p. 216a. The best account, however, is that in Plut. de Gen. Socr. p. 581d-e: Πυριλάμπης δ 'Αντιφώντος άλους έν τη διώξαι περί Δήλιον . . . ως ήκουσε των έπι τάς σπονδάς άφικομένων 'Αθήνηθεν ότι Σωκράτης μετ' 'Αλκιβιάδου και Λάχητος έπι 'Ρηγίστης καταβάς άπονενοστήκοι πολλά μέν τοῦτον άνεκαλέσατο πολλά δέ φίλους τινάς καί λοχίτας οις συνέβη μετ' αύτου παρά την Πάρνηθα φεύγουσιν ύπο των ημετέρων Ιππέων άποθανείν, ώς τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου παρακουσαντας, ετέραν δόδο ουχ ην εκείνος ήγε τραπομένους άπο της μάχης . . . διεβοήθη . . . ούκ ήρεμα τὸ Σωκράτους 'Αθήνησιν έκ τούτων δαιμόνιον. For 'Pηγίστης Hutten conjectures 'Petrobs (cf. Hesych. s. v. 'Petrol). No 'Pnylorn is elsewhere mentioned. On the topography of this region see Leake, J Travels in Northern Greece, 2 (1835), 449 ff.; Bursian, Geogr. von Griechenland, 1(1862), 218 ff.; Curtius u. Kaupert. Karten von Attika, 9(1900), 2; 9. From the account in Plutarch one may perhaps infer that Socrates fled in the direction of Oropus.

The story also appears in Ps.-Socr. Epist. 1, 9 (Epistologr. Gr. pp. 610-611): πλείστοι δέ μοι ήπίστησαν ἐν τῆ ἐπὶ Δηλίφ μάχη παρῆν γὰρ τότε τῆ στρατεία και συνεμαχόμην πανδημεί τῆς πόλεως ἐξεληλυθυίας. ἐν δὲ τῆ φυγή ἄμα πολλοί ὑπαπήειμεν, και ὡς ἐπὶ διαβάσεώς τινος ἐγενόμεθα συνέβη μοι τὸ εἰωθὸς σημεῖον. ἐνὲστην οῦν καὶ εἶπον "ἄνδρες,

trivium, eadem qua ceteri fugere noluit. Quibus quaerentibus cur non eadem via pergeret deterreri se a deo dixit; cum quidem ii qui alia via fugerant in hostium equitatum inciderunt. Permulta conlecta sunt ab Antipatro quae mirabiliter a Socrate divinata sunt; quae praetermittam; tibi enim nota sunt, mihi ad commemorandum non necessaria. 124. Illud tamen eius philosophi magnificum ac paene divinum, quod cum impiis sententiis damnatus esset aequissimo animo se dixit mori; neque enim domo egredienti neque illud suggestum in quo causam dixerat ascendenti signum sibi ullum quod consuesset a deo mali alicuius inpendentis datum.

LV. Equidem sic arbitror, etiamsi multa fallant eos qui aut arte aut coniectura divinare videantur, esse tamen divinationem; homines autem, ut in ceteris artibus, sic in hac posse falli. Potest accidere ut aliquod signum dubie datum pro certo sit acceptum, potest aliquod latuisse aut ipsum aut 3. conlecta P. Victorius, conlecta C.

ού μοι δοκεί ταύτην πορεύεσθαι τοῦ γὰρ δαιμονίου μοι ἡ φωνή γέγονεν." οι μέν οῦν πλείους πρός όργην ώσπερ παίζοντος έμοῦ ἐν οὸκ ἐπιτηδείφ καιρῷ ὀρμήσαντες εὐθεῖαν ἐβάδιζον, ὁλίγοι δὲ τινες ἐπείσθησαν καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐμοὶ συνετράποντο. καὶ οῖκαδε πορευόμενοι διεσώθημεν, τοὺς δ΄ ἄλλους ἡκων τις ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας ἔφη ἀπολωλέναι εἰς γὰρ τοὺς ἰππέας ἐμπεσεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπανιόντας ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως.

1. trivium: rare in the literal sense as here; but cf. C. I. L. VII, 163.

- 2. a deo: cf. 1, 122, n. (divinum quiddam).
- 4. Antipatro: cf. 1, 6, n. (duo Anti-
- 5. ad commemorandum . . . necessaria: cf. Auct. ad Herenn. 3, 18: necessarias ad probandum.
- 5f. illud . . . magnificum: cf. 2, 5; Reid on Ac. 2, 86. In de Am. 32 magnificum ac divinum are coupled.
- 7. aequissimo animo . . . mori: cf. de Sen. 83 for the expression, and for the thought Plat. A pol. p. 40a-b: ξμοί δὲ οῦτε ἐξιόντι ξωθεν οἴκοθεν ἡναντιώθη τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σημεῖον, οῦτε ἡνίκα ἀνέβαινον ἐνταυθοῖ ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον, οῦτε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ οὐδαμοῦ μὲλλοντί τι ἐρεῖν καίτοι ἐν ἄλλοις λόγοις πολλαχοῦ δἡ με ἐπέσχε λέγοντα μεταξύ; p. 41d: ἡδη τεθνάναι καὶ ἀπαλλάχθαι πραγμάτων βέλτιον ἡν μοι. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐμὲ οὐδαμοῦ ἀπέτρεψε τὸ σημεῖον καὶ ἔγωγε τοῖς

καταψηφισαμένοις μου και τοις κατηγόροις οδ πάνυ χαλεπαίνω.

- 8. suggestum: a βημα in the court room; cf. Wachsmuth, Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum (1890), 369-373; Caillemer in Daremb. et Saglio, Dict. des Antiq. s.v. Dikastai (1892), 195.
- 8. dixerat: the passages from Plato quoted above are not from the regular pleading of Socrates but from the remarks which he made to the court after the verdict had been rendered; hence the pluperfect tense.
- 9. mali . . . inpendentis: cf. Tusc. 3, 25; 4, 14; 4, 80.
- **10. equidem . . . arbitror:** cf. *N.D.* 1, 62.
- 10. multa fallant: cf. 1, 24, n. (an medicina).
 - 10f. arte aut coniectura: cf. 2, 14.
- 12f. signum dubie datum: cf., for example, the ambiguous type of oracle, as in 2, 115-116.
- 13. potest, etc.: either obscurely or illogically expressed; aut quod probably stands for aut aliud quod. Either the real meaning of the sign itself (ipsum) or the meaning of a contradictory sign may have been overlooked. This principle, which, of course, constituted an easy defence for such predictions as were not evidently fulfilled, appears widely in divination. So in the case of dreams cf. Arist. de Div. per

quod esset illi contrarium. Mihi autem ad hoc de quo disputo probandum satis est non modo plura sed etiam pauciora divine praesensa et praedicta reperiri. 125. Quin etiam hoc non dubitans dixerim, si unum aliquid ita sit praedictum praesensumque ut, cum evenerit, ita cadat ut praedictum sit, neque in eo quicquam casu et fortuito factum esse appareat, esse certe divinationem idque esse omnibus confitendum.

Quocirca primum mihi videtur, ut Posidonius facit, a deo, de quo satis dictum est, deinde a fato, deinde a natura vis omnis divinandi ratioque repetenda. Fieri igitur omnia fato ratio cogit fateri. Fatum autem id

Somn. 2, p. 463 b 22 ff.: ori o' obe anobalres πολλά των ένυπνίων ούδεν άτοπον. ούδε γάρ των έν τοις σώμασι σημείων και των ουρανίων οίον τὰ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τὰ τῶν πνευμάτων. ἄν γάρ άλλη κυριωτέρα ταύτης συμβή κίνησις άφ' ής μελλούσης έγένετο το σημείον ου γίνεται. καί πολλά βουληθέντα καλώς των πραχθήναι δεόντων διελύθη δι' άλλας κυριωτέρας άρχάς. The superior omen might be (1) one coming later and so superseding an earlier; so Serv. Aen. 2, 691: non enim unum augurium vidisse sufficit nisi confirmetur ex simili. nam si dissimilia sint posteriora solvuntur priora (but the example which he cites is of the next class); or (2) one from a superior animal or mode of divination; cf. Serv. Aen. 3, 374: ut puta si parra vel picus auspicium dederit et deinde contrarium aquila dederit auspicium aquilae praevalet; id., Ecl. 9, 13: minora enim auguria maioribus cedunt nec ullarum sunt virium licet priora sint; cf. 1, 108, n. (priora); or (3) one seen by an observer of superior rank; cf. the discussion of maiora and minora auspicia by Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 4 (1882), 218 ff.; also Mommsen, Röm. Staatsrecht, 1, 2 ed. (1876), 88, and n. 3. Against these theories, however, see the important passage in Sen. N.Q. 2, 34 (too long to be here quoted in full), of which the main point is: vero verius nihil est; si aves futura cecinerunt non potest hoc auspicium fulmine irritum fieri-aut non futura cecinerunt. non enim nunc avem comparo et fulmen sed duo veri signa quae si verum significant paria sunt. itaque quae fulminis interventus submovet extorum vel augurii indicia male inspectal exta male observata auguria sunt. non enim refert utrius rei species maior sit vel natura potentior; si utraque res veri attulit signa quantum ad hoc par est.

1f. ad . . . probandum satis est: cf. 1, 71; and for the idiom Ac. 2, 54; Fin. 2, 41; 2, 101; 5, 81.

2. non modo plura sed etiam pauciora: cf. ad Fam. 15, 6, 1: si non modo omnes verum etiam multi Catones essent.

- 3. si unum: cf. 1, 71.
- 4. praedictum praesensumque: the logical order is reversed, perhaps to give variety from praesensa et praedicta above.
 - 5. casu et fortuito: cf. 2, 18.
- 7. a deo: cf. 2, 27; Aët. Plac. 1, 28, 5 (Doxogr. Gr. 324): Ποσειδώνιος τρίτην άπὸ Διός. πρώτον μέν γάρ είναι τον Δία, δεύτερον δέ την φύσιν, τρίτον δέ την είμαρμένην (cf. Doxogr. Gr. 620). A similar triple division is found by Malchin (De Auctor. quibusdam qui Posidonii Libros meteorol. adhibuerunt (1893), 41) in Manil. 1, 25-65. It is significant that in the view of Posidonius fate and deity are not identical. For their identification in the teaching of the Stoics cf. S. V.F. 2, nos. 928-933; 945; Arnold, Roman Stoicism (1911), 203. Dobson (in Class. Quarterly, 12 (1918), 191) would consider the three conceptions here mentioned as but three aspects of one unit.
 - 8. vis . . . ratioque: cf. de Fat. 1.
- 9. fieri . . . omnia fato: cf. 1, 127; N.D. 3, 14: vos iidem fato fieri dicatis omnia; de Fat. 33: Stoicis, qui omnia fato fieri dicunt; cf. id. 44; Diog. L. 7, 149: καθ' εἰμαρμέτην δέ φασι τὰ πάντα γίνασθαι Χρύσιππος & τοῦς περὶ εἰμαρμέτης καὶ Ποσεν-

appello quod Graeci εἰμαρμένην, id est, ordinem seriemque causarum, cum causae causa nexa rem ex se gignat. Ea est ex omni aeternitate fluens veritas sempiterna. Quod cum ita sit, nihil est factum quod non futurum 1. εἰμαρμέτην τωίς, himarmenen C.

δώνιος & δευτέρφ περί είμαρμένης και Ζήνων, Βόηθος δὲ & ἐνδεκάτφ περί είμαρμένης; cf. S.V.F. 2, nos. 934-937; 946; 1000. This second section of the argument, on fate, extends through 1, 128.

[320]9. ratio: an awkward repetition of the word after its use in a different sense just above.

[320]9. fatum autem, etc.: with this definition cf. 1, 127: conligationem causarum omnium; Top. 59: ex hoc genere causarum ex aeternitate pendentium fatum a Stoicis nectitur; Tusc. 5, 70: ipsa enim cogitatio . . . rerum causas alias ex aliis aptas et necessitate nexas videt, quibus ab aeterno tempore fluentibus in aeternum ratio tamen mensque moderatur; N.D. 1, 55: hinc vobis extitit primum illa fatalis necessitas quam eluaputerne dicitis ut quicquid accidat id ex aeterna veritate causarumque continuatione fluxisse dicatis (and cf. Mayor's note); de Fat. 20: causarum seriem sempiternam; 38: ratio i psa coget et ex aeterni-🗸 tate quaedam esse vera et ea non esse nexa causis aeternis et a fati necessitate esse libera; frg. 2 (ap. Serv. Aen. 3, 376): falum esse conexio rerum per aeternitatem se invicem tenens, quae suo ordine et lege variatur, ita tamen ut ipsa varietas habeat aelernitatem.

This conception of fate as a series of €auses and effects appears in many passages, collected in S.V.F. 1, no. 175; 2, nos. 912-921; 945-951; 1000; Zeller-Wellmann, Die Philos. d. Griechen, 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 160-161; Schmekel, Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa (1892), 244-248; Reid on Ac. 1, 29; cf. Arnold, Roman Stoicism (1911), 202-203. For its relations to divination cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 58-64; S.V.F. 2, nos. 939-944.

The term elμαρμένη (sc. μοῖρα) is from the verb μelρομαι (root σμερ-), and so properly denotes one's 'allotment' (cf. Boisacq, Dict. elym. de la Langue gr. (1916), 621), but it seems in Stoic etymologies to have been referred to elouos (elow). with which cf. the Lat. series (sero; cf. de Fat. 27: causa causam serens). So Diogenianus ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 6, p. 263c (=S.V.F. 2, no. 914): τεκμήριον δὲ καὶ άλλο Ισχυρόν φέρειν Χρύσιππος οίεται της έν άπασιν είμαρμένης την θέσιν τών τοιούτων όνομάτων, την τε γάρ πεπρωμένην πεπερασμένην τινά φησιν είναι καί συντετελεσμένην διοίκησιν, τήν τε είμαρμένην είρομένην τινά είτε έκ θεοῦ βουλήσεως είτε έξ ής δήποτε airias; cf. Diog. L. 7, 149: Eστι δè εlμαρμένη alrla τῶν ὅντων εἰρομένη; Aët. Plac. 1, 28, 4 (=S.V.F. 2, no. 917; Doxogr. Gr. 324): οι Στωικοι είρμον αίτιων, τουτέστι τάξιν καί ξπισύνδεσιν ἀπαράβατον (SC. τὴν εἰμαρμένην); Suid. s.v. eluapuern; Nemes. de Nat. Hom. 37 (= S. V.F. 2, no. 918): el δè ή elμαρμένη είρμός τις ούσα αίτιῶν ἀπαράβατος; also Diodorus of Tarsus ap. Phot. Bibl. 23 (Migne, Patr. Gr. 103, 868); Psellus, de omnifaria Doctr. 78 (Migne Patr. Gr. 122, 736). This idea is doubtless reflected in our passage by the expression seriem . . . causarum.

1f. seriem . . . nexa: cf. N.D. 1, 9: series . . . rerum . . . alia ex alia nexa.

2f. ex omni acternitate . . . veritas: cf. 2, 19; N. D. 1, 40: sempiternam rerum futurarum veritatem; 1, 55 (quoted in note on fatum autem, etc. supra); 3, 14: quod . . . semper ex omni acternitate verum fuerit id esse fatum; de Fat. passim (the phrase ex acternitate verum (vera, falsum) occurs in the De Fato nine times). Cf. also 1, 25, n. (ab omni acternitate) supra. This veritas is opposed to chance, as in 1. 23.

 fluens: this verb emphasizes here, as in other passages (N.D. 1, 39; Tusc. 5, 70), not so much motion as continuity between past, present, and future.

3. nihil est, etc.: cf. 2, 19; de Fat. 17: nihil fieri quod non necesse fuerit et quicquid fieri possit id aut esse iam aut

- fuerit, eodemque modo nihil est futurum cuius non causas id ipsum efficientes natura contineat. 126. Ex quo intellegitur ut fatum sit non id quod superstitiose, sed id quod physice dicitur, causa aeterna rerum cur et ea quae praeterierunt facta sint et quae instant fiant et quae sequuntur futura sint. Ita fit ut et observatione notari possit quae res quamque causam plerumque consequatur, etiamsi non semper (nam id quidem adfirmare difficile est), easdemque causas veri simile est rerum futurarum cerni ab iis qui aut per furorem eas aut in quiete videant.
 - LVI. 127. Praeterea cum fato omnia fiant, id quod alio loco ostendetur, 7. simile est Manutius, similes C (in B posterius s ex corr.).
 - futurum esse; 19. For logical problems arising from this doctrine see the passages cited from the De Fato in S.V.F. 2, nos. 952-955; N.D. 1, 70, and Mayor's note; Arnold, op. cit. 148. The conflict of determinism and free will appears in many Stoic passages; cf. S.V.F. 2, nos. 974-1007.
 - 1. eodemque modo, etc.: the converse form is in de Fat. 20 ascribed to Chrysippus: causas enim efficientis quod non habebit id nec verum nec falsum erit; omnis autem enuntiatio aut vera aut falsa est; motus ergo sine causa nullus est. Cf. also Alex. Aphrod. de Fat. 22: πῶν τὸ γινόμενον ἔχειν τι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ῷ ὡς αἰτίφ συνφρτηται.
 - 2. ex quo intellegitur: cf. 1, 70, n. (ex quo intellegitur).
 - 2. intellegitur ut: cf. Fin. 5, 30, and Madvig's note.
 - 3. superstitiose . . . physice: cf. N.D. 3, 92: neque id dicitis superstitiose atque aniliter, sed physica constantique ratione. So in 2, 149 infra religio . . . est iuncta cum cognitione naturae, and is opposed to superstitio; cf. Lucr. 1, 146-148. For the meaning of superstitio see 2, 128 infra; for physice cf. 1, 110, n. (physica).
 - 3. causa, etc.: cf. Stob. Ecl. 1, 79, 1 W.(=S.V.F. 2, no. 913): &ν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ περὶ "Ορων καὶ &ν τοῖς περὶ τῆς Εἰμαρμένης καὶ &ν ἄλλοις σποράδην πολυτρόπως ἀποφαίνεται (sc. δ Χρισιππος) λέγων εἰμαρμένη ἐστὶν δ τοῦ κόσμου λόγος, ἢ λόγος τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ διοικουμένων, ἢ λόγος καθ' δν τὰ μὲν γεγονότα γέγονε, τὰ δὲ γινόμενα γίνεται, τὰ δὲ γενησόμενα γενήσεται.

- 4. instant: of the present similarly used in de Or. 2, 105: . . . plerumque ex futuri, raro ex instantis aut acti; Tusc. 4, 11; al.
 - 5. et: cf. 1, 114, n. (ergo et ii).
- 5. observatione: cf. 1, 2, n. (diuturna observatione).
- 6. etiamsi non semper: cf. 1, 71; 1, 124-125; 1, 128. The lapses or apparent exceptions were held to be due, however, not to variations in the laws of cause and effect, but to the interposition of other disregarded or unnoticed causes; cf. A&t. Plac. 1, 29, 7(= Doxogr. Gr. 326; S.V.F. 2, no. 966): 'Αναξαγόρας και οι Στωικοί (sc. τὴν τύχην) άδηλον αιτίαν ἀνθρωπίνω λογισμώ; and the similar definitions collected in S.V.F. 2, nos. 965-973; also Ac. 1, 29: fortunam quod efficial multa improvisa ac necopinata nobis propter obscuritatem ignorationemque causarum.
- 8. cerni . . . videant: cerno is often used of mental sight, either visualization or insight, and is thus probably here contrasted with video; cf. 1, 17; 1, 63; 1, 114; 1, 129: animi . . . cernunt ea quae permixti cum corpore animi videre non possunt. Anyone may see a vision in a dream (video, and such a sight is a visum), but to understand its meaning and see (cerno) its interrelation with other things is a different and more subtle process.
- 9. fato omnia fiant: cf. 1, 125, n. (fieri . . . omnia fato). Our passage = S. V. F. 2, no. 944.
- 9. alio loco ostendetur: as far as the subject matter goes we should naturally

si quis mortalis possit esse qui conligationem causarum omnium perspiciat animo nihil eum profecto fallat. Qui enim teneat causas rerum futurarum dem necesse est omnia teneat quae futura sint. Quod cum nemo facere nisi deus possit relinquendum est homini ut signis quibusdam consequentia

expect this promise to be redeemed in the De Fato, which Cicero had in mind at the time when our work was published; cf. 2, 3. But it has often been pointed out that that work contains no positive exposition of Stoic views, but rather an attack upon them. Nor does Quintus play a part in that book. Again, would Quintus in this discussion, upon which he had entered only after assurances that Marcus was at leisure (1, 10), have naturally indicated in so casual yet so confident a manner that he was going to give another discourse, on the subject of fate? (How such a promise might really have been introduced by Quintus may be gathered from the words of Lucilius in N.D. 3, 94.) The phrase alio loco, moreover, seems more applicable to a book than to a dialogue.

Various explanations have been advanced: (1) the clause is a gloss, according to Hottinger and Rath, and Thoresen brackets it (yet why should it have been inserted, when the De Fato does not bear out the apparently intended reference?). Thoresen (in the appendix of his edition, p. 223) thinks that after 1, 125 (fieri igitur omnia fato ratio cogit fateri) a promise to prove this truth is redundant. But it is conceivable that 1, 125 is from a different source than that here followed, in which case duplication and inconsistency might easily have arisen; nor even without this does it appear that there is a necessary inconsistency in promising to give the arguments upon which the ratio of 1, 125 may be based. Again (2) the clause is perhaps carelessly taken with its context directly from Posidonius, as Thoresen (l.c.)suggests. But this is a degree of carelessness, I think, hardly equalled in Cicero, hasty though he often is in his borrowings. (3) Perhaps at the time of this work Cicero planned that the De Fato should consist

of two books, one containing the Stoic views, set forth, as here, by Quintus, and the second being the reply of Marcus to it. This plan would later have been changed at the request of Hirtius, to the present one-book De Fato, with its argument unfavorable to the Stoic view. For this change of plan see de Fat. 1; 4. Cicero, then, at the time of writing the De Fato forgot the promise here made, as writers sometimes do. This is the view elaborated by Hirzel, Der Dialog, 1 (1895), 540-541, who minimizes, however, the difficulties noted above in putting promises of another book into the mouth of Quintus rather than that of Marcus. (4) Kayser suggested that Cicero the author has here, by oversight, temporarily assumed the role of Quintus Cicero to make a promise for discussion in the De Fato. For such oversights in dialogues (of Cicero and others) cf. Hirzel, op, cit. 1, 471, n. 2; 478, n. 2; 497, n. 3. Then, when the plan of the De Fato was changed from that for two books to that for one, this promise was forgotten. This theory involves, to be sure, as Hirzel (op. cit. 1, 541, n.) points out, a double assumption, but it appears, on the whole, the most likely.

- 1. conligationem: cf. de Fat. 31; 32.
- 2. qui enim teneat, etc.: this belief is a part of the doctrine of συμπάθεια treated in 2, 34-35; 2, 124; 2, 142-143; etc. Viewed in any particular field it may be said to be related to the scientific study of causes and predictions from them; cf. Schmekel, Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa (1892), 245.
 - 3. facere: cf. 1, 49.
- 4. nisi deus: cf. 1, 82 on divine omniscience, which is here assumed as axiomatic.
- 4. signis quibusdam: cf. 1, 29, n. (non causas adferunt).

declarantibus futura praesentiat. Non enim illa quae futura sunt subito exsistunt, sed est quasi rudentis explicatio sic traductio temporis nihil novi efficientis et primum quidque replicantis. Quod et ii vident quibus naturalis divinatio data est et ii quibus cursus rerum observando notatus est. Qui etsi causas ipsas non cernunt signa tamen causarum et notas cernunt; ad quas adhibita memoria et diligentia et monumentis superiorum efficitur ea divinatio quae artificiosa dicitur, extorum, fulgorum, ostentorum, signorumque caelestium. 128. Non est igitur ut mirandum sit ea praesentiri a divinantibus quae nusquam sint; sunt enim omnia sed tempore absunt. Atque ut in seminibus vis inest earum rerum quae ex iis progignuntur sic in causis conditae sunt res futurae quas esse futuras aut concitata mens aut soluta somno cernit aut ratio aut coniectura praesentit. Atque ut ii qui solis et lunae reliquorumque siderum ortus, obitus, motusque cogno-

- 3. ii vulg., hi ABV, hii H; et sic item paule post.
- 9. nusquam Victorius, numquam C.
- 10. iis vulg., his C.
- 12. ii vulg., hi ABV, hii H.
- 1f. subito exsistunt: cf. 1, 75; N. D. 1, 6.
- 2. explicatio: here in the literal (and in Cicero an unusual) sense.
- 2. traductio: parallel to the frequent use of traduco with words like tempus, vita, etc., but apparently so used only here.
- 2. nihil novi: that is, nothing the occurrence of which is independent of and out of causal sequence with what has preceded. Or is there also, perhaps, a hint on the part of Quintus at the Stoic doctrine of cyclic change and repetition?
- 3. primum quidque replicantis: the figure of uncoiling (explicatio) and coiling again (replicatio) is an inexact and illadapted one to convey the idea of a cyclic or even of an eternally repeated series of actions.
 - 4. cursus rerum: cf. 1, 128.
- 4. observando notatus: cf. 2, 146: observando notare.
- 5. signa: cf. 1, 25, n. (isdem signis antegressis).
- 6. adhibita . . . diligentia: cf. de Am. 95. The singular verb with several subjects is common in the ablative absolute; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 46.
- 8. non est . . . ut: cf. de Or. 2, 152; Off. 2, 84; pro Mil. 35; Hor. Ep. 1, 12, 2;

- Carm. 3, 1, 9; perhaps the original had ούκ ἔστιν ὅπως.
- 8f. ea praesentiri . . . quae nusquam sint: cf. 1, 117; also 1, 63, n. (meminit, etc.).
- 10. ut in seminibus vis: with this simile cf. N.D. 2, 58: ut ceterae naturae suis seminibus quaeque giguntur . . . sic, etc.; for the vis seminum see also 2, 94 infra; N.D. 2, 81; 2, 127. The comparison between seeds and causes appears further in Sext. Emp. 9, 196: είπερ τοίνυν, φασίν, έστι σπέρμα, έστι καὶ αίτιον, ἐπείπερ τὸ σπέρμα αίτιὸν ἐστι τῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φυομένων τε καὶ γεννωμένων. Note also the Stoic doctrine of the σπερματικοί λόγοι (Aĕt. Plac. 1, 7, 33, in Doxogr. Gr. 305-306; Zeller-Wellmann, Die Philos. d. Griechen, 3, 1, 4 ed. (1909), 161-163; Arnold, Roman Stoicism (1911), 161.
- 11. concitata mens: cf. 1, 38, n. (mentem . . . concitabat).
- 12. soluta: cf. 1, 113; 1, 129; and for the coupling of concitata and soluta cf. 1, 34, n. (concitatione). For soluta somno cf. Weissenborn on Liv. 5, 45, 3 (where the phrase is used in a different sense; cf. Cic. Rep. 6, 29); Madvig on Fin. 2, 64.
- 12. ratio aut coniectura: cf. 1, 34; 2, 16. Friedrich's conjecture (in Neue Jahrb. 127 (1883), 431) of ratione, chang-

runt, quo quidque tempore eorum futurum sit multo ante praedicunt, sic qui cursum rerum eventorumque consequentiam diuturnitate pertractata v notaverunt aut semper, aut, si difficile est, plerumque, quodsi ne id quidem conceditur, non numquam certe, quid futurum sit intellegunt. Atque haec quidem et quaedam eiusdem modi argumenta cur sit divinatio ducuntur a fato.

LVII. 129. A natura autem alia quaedam ratio est quae docet quanta sit animi vis seiuncta a corporis sensibus, quod maxime contingit aut dormientibus aut mente permotis. Ut enim deorum animi sine oculis, sine auribus, sine lingua sentiunt inter se quid quisque sentiat (ex quo fit 4. intellegant vol intelligant C.

ing the whole phrase to the ablative, is unnecessary.

[324]13. ortus, obitus, motusque: cf. N. D. 2, 153: nos astrorum ortus obitus cursusque cognovimus; de Fat. 17.

- 2. cursum rerum: cf. 1, 127.
- 2. consequentiam: the first occurrence of the word in Latin. In Fin. 2, 113 there is mentioned a consecture consequentium non multum a divinatione differens.
- 2. pertractata: surely not ablative modifying diuturnitate (as Davies, Merguet, and others would take it), but, in spite of the rarity of the construction, a neuter accusative referring to cursum and consequentiam. Stamm (in Neue Jahrb. 137 (1888), 769) asserts that Cicero makes a predicate adjective agree with the nearer of two subjects of different gender (e.g. in Ac. 2, 65), and considers this the only instance in which the masculine and feminine are taken up by a neuter plural. He would accordingly emend to pertractatam. On this subject cf. Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 52. And for the thought expressed see 1, 2, n. (diuturna observatione).
- 3. aut semper, etc.: cf. 1, 71, n. (possunt autem aliquando, etc.); 1, 126, n. (etiamsi non semper).
 - 3. difficile: cf. 1, 126.
 - 5. argumenta cur: cf. 1, 5.
- 7. a natura: the third of the reasons noted in 1, 125, the discussion of which extends through 1, 129-131.
- 8. animi vis: cf. Fin. 5, 44: ut vim corporis animique norimus. Logically we

- might expect animi vis seiuncti (suggested by Madvig) but the transference of the adjective is not a difficult one. For the thought cf. 1, 63; 1, 80, n. (mentis vis quaedam).
- 8. quod maxime contingit: cf. 1, 113, n. (aut vatibus aut dormientibus).
- 9. sine oculis, etc.: because the gods, according to the Stoics, are not anthropomorphic (cf. Diog. L, 7, 147: θεὸν . . . μτ) elpai . . . $d > \theta \rho \omega \pi \delta \mu \rho \rho \phi \sigma r$; S. V.F. 2, nos. 1057-1060), and have no need of the ordinary sense organs; cf. Clem. Strom. 7, 7, p. 852 (= S. V.F. 2, no. 1058): obe obv άνθρωποειδής δ θεός τουδ' ένεκα ίνα άκουση. ούδε αίσθησεων αύτω δεί, καθάπερ ήρεσεν τοίς Στωικοίς, μάλιστα άκοής και δψεως, μή γάρ δύνασθαί ποτε έτέρως άντιλαβέσθαι· άλλά καί τό εύπαθές τοῦ άξρος και ή όξυτάτη συναίσθησις των άγγέλων ή τε του συνειδότος έπαφωμένη της ψυχης δύναμις δυνάμει τινί άρρητω καί άνευ της αἰσθητης άκοης άμα νοήματι πάντα γινώσκει κάν μή τήν φωνήν τις έξικνεισθαι πρός τον θεόν λέγη κάτω περί τον άξρα κυλινδουμένην, άλλά τὰ νοήματα τῶν άγίων τέμνει ου μόνον τον άέρα, άλλά και τον δλον κόσμον. Φθάνει δὲ ἡ θεία δύναμις, καθάπερ φως, όλην διιδείν την ψυχήν. τίδ'; ούχι και al προαιρέσεις φθάνουσι πρός τον θεόν προϊείσαι την φωνήν την έαυτῶν; κτλ. This and the preceding and following context are, of course, not all Stoic, but seem not inappropriate for citation here.
- 10. sentiunt . . . sentiat: for the awkward repetition cf. 1, 3, n. (videretur); 1, 72, n. (subito ex tempore); 1, 99, n. (disputavisset . . . disputat . . . disputat);

ut homines, etiam cum taciti optent quid aut voveant, non dubitent quin di illud exaudiant), sic animi hominum, cum aut somno soluti vacant corpore aut mente permoti per se ipsi liberi incitati moventur, cernunt ea quae permixti cum corpore animi videre non possunt. 130. Atque hanc quidem rationem naturae difficile est fortasse traducere ad id genus divinationis quod ex arte profectum dicimus, sed tamen id quoque rimatur quantum potest Posidonius. Esse censet in natura signa quaedam rerum

N.D. 2, 26 (terrae); Reid on Ac. 2, 31; Mayor on N.D. 2, 145.

1. taciti optent, etc.: ancient prayers were usually uttered aloud rather than silent; cf. the study of Sudhaus on spoken and silent prayer in Archiv f. Religiouswissenschaft, 9 (1906), 185-200; Appel, De Romanorum Precationibus (1909), 210; and especially Schmidt, Veteres Philosophi quomodo iudicaverint de Precibus (in Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, 4, 1 (1907), 55-71. Silent prayers were in the earlier period chiefly for magical purposes or for the attainment of wishes which the worshipper was ashamed or afraid to mention aloud, but later, especially in Christian usage, were far more generally employed (perhaps under the influence of such passages as Matth. 6, 6).

2. somno soluti: cf. 1, 128, n. (soluta).

2f. vacant corpore: for the phrase cf.

N.D. 1, 25; Tusc. 1, 50; 1, 78; for the thought 1, 63, n. (sevocatus).

3. mente: the post, often mentioned in connection with the animus; cf. Giese ad h. loc.; Kühner on Tusc. 3, 10 (who cites other Ciceronian examples); also 1, 70, n. (eam partem, etc.).

3. per se ipsi liberi incitati moventur: a characteristic Ciceronian redundancy; cf. N. D. 2, 32: ipsum ex se sua sponte moveatur (also 1, 31); Ac. 2, 48; Fin. 2, 50: ipsum . . . per se sua vi sua sponte sua natura laudabile; and many other examples in Merguet, Lexikon s.d. philos. Schriften, 2 (1892), 367. Editors have, however, been troubled; Christ obelizes liberi; Baiter and Thoresen (following a suggestion of Christ) bracket incitati; Christ, Baiter, and Thoresen (following Manu-

tius) bracket animi; while Davies and Orelli read libere. For the thought see 1, 4; 2, 100; 2, 126; Ac. 2, 48.

3f. cernunt . . . videre: cf. 1, 126, n. (cerni . . . videant).

4. animi: unnecessarily repeated; cf. Madvig on Fin. 1, 3; Plasberg on N.D. 1, 22; note on per se ipsi liberi incitati moventur supra.

5. rationem naturae: cf. 1, 90 (where it translates φυσιολογία, as in N.D. 1, 20); 2, 60.

5. difficile est: Schmekel (Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa (1892), 253), well points out the inconsistency of this passage with 1, 109 supra; cf. Malchin, De Auctorib. quibusdam qui Posid. Libros meteor. adhibuerunt (1893), 42; 1, 131, n. (quae si, etc.) infra.

5. traducere: cf. N.D. 1, 41: ortumque virginis ad physiologiam traducens.

6. rimatur: a strong figure; cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 276M.: rimari est valde quaerere, ut in rimis quaerere.

7. Posidonius: cf. 1, 6, n. (Posidonius). He was the inventor of a planetarium (N.D. 2, 88), and the author of a work called μετεωρολογικά (οτ περί μετεώρων) in at least seventeen books, of which a long fragment (in which Heraclides Ponticus is cited) is quoted by Simplicius on Arist. Phys. 2, 2 (pp. 291-292 Diels), and traces of which are found in other works; cf. Malchin, op. cit.; Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Gesch. d. gr. Lit. 2, 1, 5 ed. (1911), 270, and n. 1; for the fragments see Bake, Posidonii Rhodii Reliquiae Doctrinae (1810).

7. signa quaedam: as Dobson (in Class. Quarterly, 12 (1918), 187) notes,

futurarum. Etenim Ceos accepimus ortum Caniculae diligenter quotannis
1. etenim Monutius, ut enim C.

these were weather signs rather than mantic prognostications.

1. etenim Coos, etc.: this is assigned by Voss, De Heraclidis Pontici Vita et Scriptis (1896), 88, to the προσπτικόν of Heraclides (cf. 1, 46, n. (Ponticus Heraclides) supra), but it might, perhaps, be placed in some other of his works dealing with literary and mythological subjects.

1. ortum Caniculae: the Greeks distinguished between the Greater Dog or Sirius (κόων) and the Lesser (προκόων), but the Romans for the most part applied the term Canicula to Sirius and gave no distinctive name to προκόων (except Plin. N. H. 18, 268 and perhaps Hygin. Astron. 2, 4, who use Canicula for προκόων; cf. Haebler in P.-W. s.v. Canis (1899), 1481).

The rising of this constellation is noted also in 2, 93 as occurring in his locis quae nos incolimus post solstitium; in de Fat. 12 its astrological significance is treated: si quis verbi causa oriente Canicula natus est is in mari non morietur. Cf. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 2, 498 (also 2, 526): ήρι δ' έτήσιοι αθραι' έπιφέρει καί 'Απολλώνιος δι' ήν altlar πνέουσι τῷ θέρει. του γάρ κατηστερισμένου Κυνός φλέγοντος τάς Κυκλάδας νήσους και πολύν χρόνον αύχμοθ τε και άπορίας ούσης οι την Κέω κατοικοθντες έκ θεοπροπίου έπεκαλέσαντο 'Αρισταΐον τόν 'Απόλλωνος και Κυρήνης έκ Φθίας. ὁ δὲ παραλαβών τινας έξ 'Αρκαδίας ήλθεν els την Κέω και Διός Ιερόν Ιδρύσατο Ίκμαιου ένεκα τοθ τούς δμβρους γίνεσθαι, και τὸν Κύνα Ειλάσατο καί Ενομοθέτησε κατ' ένιαυτόν τοῦς Kelois μεθ' δπλων (cf. Gruppe, Gr. Mythol. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 954, n. 6) ἐπιτηρεῖν τὴν ἐπιτολὴν τοῦ Κυνός και θύειν αυτώ. δθεν οι έτησιαι πνέουσι καταψύχοντες τῷ θέρει τὴν γῆν, καὶ αύχμοῦ άπηλλάγησαν ol "Ελληνες; Diod. 4, 82, 2-3: Aristaeus came to Ceos, λοιμοθ δὲ τὴν Έλλάδα κατασχόντος ποιήσασθαι την θυσίαν ύπερ απάντων των Έλληνων. γενομένης δε τής θυσίας κατά την του σειρίου άστρου έπιτολήν, καθ' ήν συνέβαινε πνείν τούς έτησίας. λήξαι τάς λοιμικάς νόσους. τοῦτο δ' αν τις συλλογιζόμενος είκοτως θαυμάσαι το τής περιπετείας ίδιον. ὁ γάρ ὁπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ίδων του υίου τετελευτηκότα ούτος των κατά του ούρανον άστρων το την αυτήν έχον προσηγορίαν και φθείρειν νομιζόμενον τούς άνθρώπους ξπαυσε, κτλ. See also the account in Hygin. Astron. 2, 4, from which I quote a part: canem autem sua appellatione et specie Caniculam dixerunt. quae a Graecis, quod ante maiorem Canem exoritur, Procyon appellatur . . . praeterea Canicula exoriens aestu Ceorum loca et agros fructibus orbabat et ipsos morbo adfectos poenas Icaro cum dolore sufferre cogebat Aristaeus then seeks aid from Apollo . . . quem deus iubet multis hostiis expiari Icari mortem et ab Iove petere ut quo tempore Canicula exoriretur dies XL ventum daret qui aestum Caniculae mederetur, quod iussum Aristaeus confecit et ab love impetravit ut elesiae flarent, etc.; Clem. Strom. 6, 3, p. 753 P.; Nonn. 5, 269-279; Frazer, Golden Bough, 5, 3 ed. (1914), 35, n. 2, and works there cited. Frazer notes that the rising of Sirius marked the beginning of the sacred Egyptian year.

For Canicula as a weather sign cf. Manil. 1, 401-404: hanc qui surgentem, primo cum redditur ortu, / montis ab excelso speculantur vertice Tauri, / eventus frugum varios et tempora dicunt, / quaeque valetudo veniat, concordia quanta (and the note of Housman, who points out that our passage has nothing to do with the effect of the weather on crops (in which case it would have had to be earlier in the year) but only with the effect upon the healthfulness of climate, in which case it applies well to its morning rising in July). For calculations as to the dates of rising of Sirius at different periods in antiquity cf. Haebler, op. cit. 1480. The passages which I have quoted above also connect its rising with the time of the etesian winds. (Manilius deals with an evening rising about 1 January.)

For the supposed effect of the dog star upon health (a view beginning as solere servare coniecturamque capere, ut scribit Ponticus Heraclides, salubrisne an pestilens annus futurus sit. Nam si obscurior et quasi caliginosa stella extiterit pingue et concretum esse caelum ut eius adspiratio gravis et pestilens futura sit; sin inlustris et perlucida stella apparuerit significari caelum esse tenue purumque et propterea salubre. 131. Demo2. et quasi codd. dett., quasi C.

early as Il. 22, 30-31: κακόν δέ τε σήμα τέτυκται, / και τε φέρει πολλόν πυρετόν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν—and see Leaf's note) cf. Gruppe, l.c.; Haebler, op. cit. 1481; also Hor. Carm. 1, 17, 7; 3, 13, 9; etc.

- 1. servare: cf. 1, 36, n. (servantes).
- 1. coniecturam . . . capere: cf. pro Sex. Rosc. 97; 2 Verr. 3, 111; pro Mur. 9.
- 1. Ponticus Heraclides: cf. 1, 46, n. (Ponticus Heraclides).
- 2. salubrisne an pestilens: cf. 1, 79, n. (pestilentes . . . salubres).
- 3. pingue et concretum: cf. 1, 18, n. (concreto lumine).
- 3. adspiratio: cf. N.D. 2, 83: animantes autem adspiratione aëris sustinentur; 2, 136: cibus animalis quo maxime aluntur animantes.
- 4. gravis: cf. ad Fam. 5, 15, 4: gravissimo et pestilentissimo anno; ad Q. Pr. 2, 15, 1: anni tempore gravissimo; Hor. Carm. 3, 23, 8: pomifero grave tempus anno; Liv. 3, 6, 2: grave tempus et . . . annus pestilens; 10, 31, 8: annus . . . pestilentia gravis; Ov. Met. 7, 557: auraeque graves; Tac. Hist. 5, 7: solo . . . caeloque iuxta gravi; also Caes. B.C. 3, 2; Virg. Ecl. 10, 75-76.
- 4. inlustris, etc.: cf. Sacred Books of the East, 11, 198, for Hindu omens from the clearness or cloudiness of the sun, moon, or planets at their risings and settings.
- 5. caelum esse tenue: cf. De Fat. 7.

 5f. Democritus: this statement is found in Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 379. One might be tempted to assign it to his work called περί λοιμῶν or to that περί σπερμάτων καί φυτῶν καί καρπῶν. Cf. 1, 5, n. (Democritus); 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis); 1, 61, n. (salubri et moderato cultu atque victu); 2, 30.

Variations in the exta, particularly in organs such as the liver which were closely connected with diet, might not unnaturally be expected to indicate variations in the food upon which the animals had fed. So Vitruv. 1, 4, 8-10 discusses the effect of special foods upon the livers of animals, and says: non dubitamus quin diligentius quaeri oporteat uti temperatissimas caeli regiones eligamus cum quaerenda fuerit in moenium conlocationibus salubritas. itaque etiam alque etiam velerem revocandam censeo rationem. maiores enim pecoribus immolatis quae pascebantur in is locis quibus aut oppida aut castra stativa constituebantur inspiciebant iocinera, et si erant livida et vitiosa primo alia immolabant dubitantes utrum morbo an pabuli vitio laesa essent . . . si autem vitiosa inveniebant judicium transferebant item humanis corporibus pestilentem futuram nascentem in his locis aguae cibique copiam . . . hoc autem fieri uti pabulo ciboque salubres proprietates terrae videantur, etc. The effect of damp or dry climate upon the flesh of animals is also noted by Cels. 2, 18: and the extreme form of the doctrine, as applied by epicures, is ridiculed by Hor. Sat. 2, 8, 6-7; 2, 8, 88. For a curious theory of the mantic power of the Sibyl, passing into plant life and thence affecting the exta of animals feeding thereon, see Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 169, n. 2. Later beliefs that the success of crops or the prospects for the weather can be foretold from the liver, spleen, or intestines of pigs are cited by Jastrow in Studies in Honor of C. H. Toy (1912), 153 (quoting Matthaeus Praetorius, Deliciae Prussicae) and (for Vermont) by Bergen in Mem. Amer. Folk-Lore Soc. 7 (1899), 53, no. 612.

critus autem censet sapienter instituisse veteres ut hostiarum immolatarum inspicerentur exta; quorum ex habitu atque ex colore tum salubritatis tum pestilentiae signa percipi, non numquam etiam quae sit vel sterilitas agrorum vel fertilitas futura. Quae si a natura profecta observatio atque usus agnovit multa adferre potuit dies quae animadvertendo notarentur, ut ille Pacuvianus, qui in Chryse physicus inducitur, minime naturam rerum cognosse videatur:

. . . nam isti qui linguam avium intellegunt

- 6. Chryse vulg., chrysi A²V, crysi A¹, crisy B, H hic deficit, qui se Nonius.
- 1. sapienter instituisse: cf. 1, 105, n. (sapienter . . . esse fictas).
- 2. inspicerentur: perhaps a technical term with the word exta; cf. 2, 28; 2, 32.
- 2. habitu . . . colore: cf. 2, 30Thulin (Die etrusk. Disciplin, 2 (1906),
 24, n. 1) compares Aesch. Prom. V. 493495: σπλάγχνων τε λειότητα, και χροιάν
 τίνα / ἔχοντ' ἀν εἶη δαίμοσιν πρὸς ἡδονήν, /
 χολῆς λοβοῦ τε ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν.
- 2f. salubritatis . . . pestilentiae: cf. 1, 79, n. (pestilentes . . . salubres).
- 3f. sterilitas . . . fertilitas: for inquiry into the prospects of crops cf. Ps.-Plut. de Fluviis, 21, 2.
- 4. quae si, etc.: a summing up of the attempt to explain away the inconsistency noted in 1, 130, n. (difficile est).
- 5. dies: cf. N.D. 2, 5: opinionis... commenta delet dies; ad Fam. 5, 16, 6; pro Cluent. 81.
- 6. ille: cf. 1, 40, n. (illa); pro Sex. Rosc. 46: senex ille Caecilianus.
- 6. Pacuvianus: cf. 1, 24, n. (Pacu-
- 6. Chryse: the fragments of this play are collected by Ribbeck, Trag. Rom. Frag. 3 ed. (1897), 98-103; for those quoted by Cicero in various works see Zillinger, Cicero u. d. altröm. Dichter (1911), 126-127. The play is named for the son of Agamemnon and Chryseis; for its theme see Ribbeck, Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung, 1 (1887), 171; v. Sybel in Roscher, Ausführ. Lexikon, s.v. Chryses (1886), 902 and works there cited. From variation in manuscript testimony at this point as to the name of the play Ribbeck (Röm. Trag. (1875), 256-258; Trag. Rom.

- Frag. 3 ed. (1897), 99) thinks that we should perhaps read, not Chryses, but Chrysippus, and compares, for the subject matter Eur. Chrysipp. fr. 839 Nauck (quoted in note on quidquid, etc. infra); cf. Munro on Lucr. 2, 991 ff. Against Ribbeck's theory, however, see Zillinger, op. cit. 126, n. 2, who cites the evidence of Nonius (see note on magis, etc. infra) as supporting the usually accepted title.
- 6. physicus: cf. 1, 110, n. (physica). Sellar (Roman Poets of the Republic, 3 ed. (1889), 137) calls attention in the second of the passages here quoted to an interest in physical philosophy first appearing in Latin in the Epicharmus of Ennius; cf. Patin, Études sur la Poésie Latine, 2 (1883), 147. That the lines could not have been spoken by the priest Chryses himself seems clear, and Zillinger (l.c.) suggests that they belong in the mouth of Thoas who is sneering at the belief of Orestes in divination.
- 7. cognosse: the syncopated forms are commoner in nosco and its compounds than are the simple; cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausführ. Gram. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 779; Cic. Orat. 157.
- 8. nam, etc.: this passage is found in Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed., 98, lines 83-85.
- 8f. isti . . . audiendum: a harsh anacoluthon, but not out of keeping with the freer style of early Latin poetry; cf. Brut. 258: Caecilium et Pacuvium male locutos videmus. Holtze (Syntaxis Frag. scaen. Poet. Rom. qui post Terent. fuerunt (1882), 36) thinks isti attracted by qui into the nominative, but Koterba (in Diss. philol.

Plusque ex alieno iecore sapiunt quam ex suo,
Magis audiendum quam auscultandum censeo.
Cur? quaeso, cum ipse paucis interpositis versibus dicas satis luculente:
Quidquid est hoc, omnia animat, format, alit, auget, creat,

Vindob. 8 (1905), 175-176; 180-181) more plausibly regards it as a case of anacoluthon, for in anacoluthon it is particularly common to start with a nominative and then pass to some other construction; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 586-587. It is quite unnecessary, to emend, as some scholars have done, to istis.

For the thought Creuzer compares Plut. Sept. Sap. Conviv. p. 152d: σὸ δὲ δεινὸς εἶ κοράκων ἐπαῖειν καὶ κολοιῶν, τῆς δὲ δεινὸς εἶ κοράκων ἐπαῖειν καὶ κολοιῶν, τῆς δὲ δεοῦ φωνῆς οἰκ ἀκριβῶς ἐξακούεις, which Wyttenbach in his note on the passage (6, 2(1810), 950) thinks an imitation of some Greek tragedian from whom Pacuvius has likewise borrowed the idea. Plato (Tim. p. 72b) remarks: ἡ μὲν οὖν φύσις ἡπατος διὰ ταῦτα τοιαύτη τε καὶ ἐν τόπψ ῷ λὲγομεν πέφυκε χάριν μαντικῆς καὶ ἔτι μὲν δὴ ζῶντος ἐκαστον τὸ τοιοῦτον σημεῖα ἐναργέστερα ἔχει, στερηθὲν δὲ τοῦ ζῆν γὲγονε τυφλὸν καὶ τὰ μαντεῖα ἀμυδρότερα ἔσχε τοῦ τι σαφὲς σημαίνειν.

[329]8. isti: doubtless contemptuous. The two groups represent, of course, augury and haruspicine.

- 1. sapiunt: cf. 1, 132.
- 1. ex suo: for primitive notions of the liver as the seat of intelligence cf. 1, 16, n. (fissum in extis).
- 2. magis, etc.: cf. Non. p. 246 M.: auscultare est obsequi. Pacuvius Chryse: magis audiendum quam auscultandum censeo... Caecilius Symbolo (196 Ribbeck): audire, ignoti quod imperant, / soleo, non auscultare; Varr. L. L. 6, 83: ab audiendo etiam auscultare declinatum, quod hi auscultare dicuntur qui auditis parent; Cato, 37, 1 Cortese: auditis non auscultatis, tamquam pharmacopolam. As Koterba (op. cit. 180) well notes, the passage sometimes cited from Apul. Apol. 83: nefario homini... nec auscultarent, sibi potius audirent, is not a close parallel to ours.

The verb ausculto is most often found in the dramatic writers and in the sermo vulgaris; cf. Wölfflin in Philologus, 34 (1876), 143; Sinko in Thes. Ling. Lat. s.v., 1534.

- 3. dicas: addressed to the physicus.
- 3. dicas . . . luculente: cf. Rep. 1, 65; Off. 3, 102.
- 4. quidquid, etc.: Ribbeck, Trag. Rom. Frag. 3 ed. (1897), 99, lines 91-93. These lines are preceded in Ribbeck's collection by the following (found in part in Varr. L. L. 5, 17, and in part in Non. p. 144 M.): hoc vide, circum supraque quod complexu continet / terram / solisque exortu capessit candorem, occasu nigret, / id quod nostri caelum memorant Grai perhibent aethera (cf. N.D. 2, 91). The connection of the first two and the fourth of these with our passage was seen by Scaliger. There follows in Ribbeck a line quoted by Non. p. 75 M.: mater terrast: parit haec corpus, animam < autem > aeter adiugat (sic).

For the thought cf. Eur. fr. 839 Nauck: Γαΐα μεγίστη και Διός Δίθηρ, / ο μέν άνθρώπων και θεών γενέτωρ, / ή δ' ύγροβόλους σταγόνας νοτίας / παραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνητούς, / τίκτει βοτάνην φθλά τε θηρών / δθεν ούκ άδίκως / μήτηρ πάντων νενόμισται. / χωρεί δ' όπισω / τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ' els γαίαν, /τὰ δ' ἀπ' αίθερίου βλαστόντα γονψε / els οδράνιον πάλιν ήλθε πόλον. / θνήσκει δ' ούδεν των γιγνομένων, / διακρινόμενον δ' άλλο πρός άλλου / μορφήν έτέραν απέδειξεν. This fragment is quoted, at least in part, by many writers, including Cicero (N. D. 2, 66), but only Clement (Strom. 6, p. 750 P.) assigns it to the Chrysippus, and perhaps it should belong to the Antiopa, for Prob. in Virg. Ecl. 6, 31 says: terram enim et aetherem (aerem MSS, corr. Wilamowitz) inducit (sc. Euripides) principia rerum esse in Antiopa. And to the Antiopa of Pacuvius Bergk (Kl. philol. Schr. 1(1884), Sepelit, recipitque in sese omnia omniumque idemst pater,

68) would assign the lines above quoted from Varro (hoc vide . . . aethera) which have their source in Eur. fr. 941 Nauck: δρῶς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα / καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις; / τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν, which is translated by Cicero in N. D. 2, 65, and by Ennius in his Thyestes (line 345 Vahlen).

This teaching may be traced from Euripides back to Anaxagoras, for Arist. de Plant. 1, 2, p. 817 a 26-28 (cf. Diels, Die Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, 1, 3 ed. (1912), 399, no. 117) says: 'Αναξαγόρας . . . Εφη πρὸς Λεχίνων ότι ή γη μήτηρ μέν έστι των φυτών, ό δὲ ήλιος πατήρ. The idea is expressed (more exactly, according to Zeller, Die Philos. d. Griechen, 1, 2, 5 ed. (1892), 1012) by Theophr. Hist. Plant. 3, 1, 4 (Diels, l. c.): 'Αναξαγόρας μέν τὸν άξρα πάντων φάσκων έχειν σπέρματα καί ταθτα συγκαταφερόμενα τῷ δδατι γεννάν τὰ φυτά; cf. Varr. R. R. 1, 40, 1. For the influence of Anaxagoras upon Euripides (Vit. Eur. p. 1 Schw.: άκουστής γενόμενος 'Αναξαγόρου, κτλ.) cf. Christ-Schmid-Stählin, Gesch. d. gr. Lit. 1, 5 ed. (1908), 330, n. 6, and works there cited; Vitruv. 8, praef. 1 (quoted below). In Latin there should be compared Lucr. 2, 991-1004: denique caelesti sumus omnes semine oriundi; / omnibus ille idem pater est, unde alma liquentis / umoris guttas mater cum terra recepit, / feta parit nitidas fruges arbustaque laeta / et genus humanum, parit omnia saecla ferarum, / pabula cum praebet quibus omnes corpora pascunt / et dulcem ducunt vitam prolemque propagant; / quapropter merito maternum nomen adepta est. / cedit item retro, de terra quod fuit ante, / in terras, et quod missumst ex aetheris oris, / id rursum caeli rellatum templa receptant. / nec sic interemit mors tes ut materiai / corpora conficiat, sed coetum dissupat ollis, / inde aliis aliud coniungit, etc., and in 5, 318-323 he paraphrases our passage: denique iam tuere hoc, circum supraque quod omnem / continet amplexu terram; si procreat ex se / omnia, quod quidem memorant, recipitque

perempta, / totum nativum mortali corpore constat. / nam quodcumque alias ex se res auget alitque / deminui debet, recreari, cum recipit res. Cf. also Vitruv. 8, praef. 1: Euripides auditor Anaxagorae, quem philosophum Athenienses scenicum appellaverunt aëra et terram samque ex caelestium imbrium conceptionibus inseminatam fetus gentium et omnium animalium in mundo procreavisse, et quae ex ea essent prognata cum dissolverentur temporum necessitate coacta, in eandem redire, quaeque de aëre nascerentur item in caeli regiones reverti, neque interitiones recipere, sed dissolutione mutata (Nauck, l.c., suggests mutua) in eandem recidere in qua fuerant proprietatem.

A not dissimilar view, however, applied to the earth, is found in N.D. 2, 66: terrena autem vis omnis atque natura Diti patri dedicata est qui Dives, ut a pud Graecos Πλούτων, quia et recidunt omnia in terras et oriuntur e terris; cf. Aug. C.D. 7, 23 fin.: quur ergo pontifices, ut ipse (sc. Varro) indicat, additis quoque aliis duobus quattuor dis faciunt rem divinam, Telluri, Tellumoni, Altori, Rusoris de Tellure et Tellumone iam dictum est. Altori quare? quod ex terra, inquit, aluntur omnia quae nata sunt. Rusori quarel quod rursus, inquit, cuncta eodem revolvuntur; Varr. Epicharm. 48 Vahlen (of Ops): terris gentis omnis peperit et resumit denuo. In Sen. Ep. 36, 10 it is nature (rerum natura) ex qua prodierunt ac mox processura sunt, reconduntur, consumi, etc.

[330]4. animat, format: Cicero too couples these words in 2, 89; cf. N.D. 1, 110: formare, figurare, colorare, animare.

[330]4. creat: possibly a case of hysteron proteron, appearing after the preceding verbs; less likely a summing up of the preceding processes; most probably in a very literal sense, similar in meaning to auget. The word is formed from the root *ker 'grow' (cf. cresco and Ceres); see Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 200. The words auget and creat may then be

Indidemque eadem aeque oriuntur de integro atque eodem occidunt.

Quid est igitur cur, cum domus sit omnium una, eademque communis, cumque animi hominum semper fuerint futurique sint, cur ii quid ex quoque eveniat et quid quamque rem significet perspicere non possint? Haec habui, inquit, de divinatione quae dicerem.

LVIII. 132. Nunc illa testabor non me sortilegos neque eos qui

- 1. eadem acque Bücheler, Ribbeck, Müller, Thoreson, quae A, que BHVO, Christ, Beiter.
- 1. atque C, aeque Scaliger, Christ, Baiter.
- 5. possint Lambinus, possunt C.

taken, in a somewhat redundant way, to mean 'gives increase and growth.'

- 1f. atque eodem: to be read with synizesis.
- 3. domus . . . una: cf. N.D. 2, 78; 2, 154: est . . . mundus quasi communis deorum atque hominum domus aut urbs utrorumque; 3, 26: mundum deorum domum; Rep. 3, 14: deos quorum domus esset omnis hic mundus; Leg. 1, 23: ut iam universus hic mundus una civitas sit communis deorum alque hominum existimanda; 2, 26: (sc. deorum) hic mundus omnis templum esset et domus; Fin. 3, 64: mundum autem censent regi numine deorum eumque esse quasi communem urbem et civitatem hominum et deorum. In addition to other passages bearing upon the Stoic theory of the 'world-dwelling' or the 'cosmopolis' cited by Zeller, Die Philos. d. Griechen, 3, 1, 3 ed. (1880), 301-302; Mayor on N.D. 2, 154; Wendland, Philo's Schrift über die Vorsehung (1892), 10, n. 1; William, ed. of Diogenes Oenoandensis (1907), 87; Diels on Philodemus mepl bewr (in Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss. phil.-hist. Kl. 1915, 7 (1916), 60, n. 3) see Max. Tyr. 13, 6 Hobein: οίκος ούτος είς θεών και άνθρώπων, ούρανός και γή; 32, 9: την πάσαν γήν ώς olкov ēva; Lact. Inst. 2, 5, 37: quid quod idem ipsi aiunt deorum et hominum causa mundum esse constructum quasi communem domum; cf. 2, 5, 41.
- 4. animi . . . semper fuerint: cf. 1, 115, n. (vixit, etc.).
- 4. fuerint futurique sint: for similar cases of adnominatio in Cicero with the verb sum cf. Parzinger, Beiträge z. Kennt-

- nis der Entwicklung des ciceron. Stils (1910), 27.
- 4. eur: for the repetition of this word a parallel is to be found in *Orat.* 144: nescio cur...cur nolis (though some editors there delete the first cur). For similar repetitions of ut cf. Reid on Ac. 2, 139.
- 5. quid quamque rem significet: cf. 1, 29, n. (non causas adjerunt); 1, 109.
- 6. haec habui . . . quae dicerem: a stock phrase at the end of a section of a Ciceronian dialogue; cf. N.D. 2, 168: haec mihi fere in mentem veniebant quae dicenda putarem de natura deorum; 3, 93: haec fere dicere habui de natura deorum; Tusc. 2, 67: haec fere hoc tempore putavi esse dicenda; de Sen. 85: haec habui de senectute quae dicerem; de Am. 104: haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem; de Inv. 1, 96: de reprehensione haec existimavimus esse dicenda.
- 6. inquit: Hottinger points out that this is inserted here to remind the reader that the views are those of Quintus, not those of Marcus.
 - 7. illa: cf. 1, 14, n. (illa).
- 7. non me, etc.: this sentence is perhaps a reply to the charge of Velleius in N.D. 1, 55, who reproaches the Stoics with attention to haruspices, augures, harioli, coniectores. The attempt seems to have been not infrequently made by the defenders of divination to separate from its supposedly higher forms those classes or cases which showed a plain deterioration into charlatanry. The line of division might be determined (1) by the respective degree of recognition given by the state

quaestus causa hariolentur, ne psychomantia quidem, quibus Appius, amicus
1. ne codd. doit. aliquot, noc C.

to different forms of divination (which, of course, largely determined their social standing), as in the different weight early laid at Rome upon augury and haruspicine: cf. 1. 3. n. (harus picum disciplina): Toy, Introd. to the Hist. of Relig. (1913); 512-513), the advice given by Maecenas to Octavian (Dio Cass. 52, 36), and the various restrictions laid by emperors upon the consultation of unauthorized diviners; (2) by purely civil measures to protect citizens against the mercenary impositions of quacks, the ayunta of the Greeks, as in the action of Agrippa (Dio Cass. 49, 43) and that of Tiberius (id. 57, 15), with which cf. Philostr. Vit. Apollon. 8, 7, 3; and (3) by the professional jealousies of one class of diviners for another; cf. Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 69, where he discusses the possibilities of disinterestedness on the part of diviners by different methods, and accepts only a limited number of methods as more likely to be free from the personal bias of their practitioners (for the Christian rejection of the false prophecy of the pagans cf. Tambornino, De Antiquorum Daemonismo (1909), 92 ff.). To the attempt of Cratippus, however, to differentiate between good and bad divination (1, 71 supra) Marcus Cicero makes answer in 2, 109 by showing the impossibility of denying to the less approved classes of diviners the privileges claimed by those more highly favored. The importance attached to a distinction between true and false divination is also perhaps enhanced, as Halliday (Greek Divination (1913), 42) remarks, by the primitive 'confusion between the act of making the future and that of predicting it.'

[332]7. sortilegos: on lots cf. 1, 12, n. (sortium). These sortilegi might be attached to a particular shrine (C.I.L. XIV, 2989 mentions at Praeneste a sortilego Fortunae Primigeniae; VI, 2274 a sortilegus ab Venere Erucina), or, more often, mere strolling quacks, like that described by Juv. 6, 582 ff. (and see the schol.); cf. Hor.

Sat. 1, 9, 29-30; Bulenger in Graevius, Thes. Antiq. 5 (1696), 367-368; van Dale, De Oraculis (1700), 280-324; Scudamore in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Christ. Antiq. 2 (1880 ed.) 1920; also the definition in Isid. Etym. 8, 9, 28.

[322]7f. qui... hariolentur: cf. 1, 4, n. (hariolorum). The verb is also found in ad Au. 8, 11, 3, and is common in comedy.

1. psychomantia: the process here alluded to was known by the Greeks as recvouartela (cf. Lucian's work of that name) or recola, and consisted in the evocation of ghosts for the purpose of learning from them of the future. It was especially associated with places called responantela (later corrupted into nicromantia (Schol. Prud. Peristeph. 13, 23 Burnam) and nigromantia, and by false etymology confused with Black Art; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. de la Div. 1 (1879), 330, n. 1; Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 236), νεκυομαντεία, ψυχομαντεία (cf. Tusc. 1, 115), ψυχοπομπεία, Οι ψυχαγώγια (cf. Etym. Mag. s.v.); for differentiation between these words made by some scholars cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 334, n. 1. These were especially at spots known as Plutonia (1, 79, n. (mortifera); Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 333; 3, 319; 3, 363-368), found in different parts of the Greco-Roman world (Gruppe, Gr. Myth. w. Relig. 2(1906), 935, n. 9; Rohde, Psyche, 1, 4 ed. (1907), 213, n.; 214), but it might also be practiced elsewhere (Bouché-Leclercq, l.c.), especially at the graves of the dead and in connection with rites of incubation (Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 290; 1, 330-331; Deubner, De Incubatione (1900), 6, n. 2; Gruppe, op. cit. 2, 935-936; Halliday, op. cit. 239). The ritual, first appearing in Od. 10, 517-534 (and well described by Headlam in Class. Rev. 16 (1902), 56-57; cf. Fahz, De Poet. Rom. Doctrina magica, in Religiousge-Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, 2, 3 schichtl. (1904), 110-121), was performed by a $\gamma \delta \eta s$, έπφδός, μάγος, οτ ψυχαγωγός (Headlam, tuus, uti solebat, agnoscere; non habeo denique nauci Marsum augurem, non
1. non habeo denique nauci codd. dett. aliquot, non ab eodem sanci (sancti B corr. in sanxi) C, non habeo dein nauci Dovies.

op. cit. 55; 60; Halliday, op. cit. 240; Aeschylus wrote a play called Ψυχαγωγοί). with whom compare the Latin necromantius (Isid. Etym. 8, 9, 11), of low social standing (Headlam, l.c.), and was designed to rend the earth (id. 56-57) that there might come forth the corpses of the dead or their shades (Serv. Aen. 6. 107; 6, 149 distinguishes between necromantia and sciomantia, and perhaps there was originally such a difference between respo- and osso- in all the compounds). According to the Homeric view these evoked spirits had no unusual knowledge of the future, and even Tiresias merely retained the mantic power which he had had in life. Yet through the influence of Platonism (according to Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 334-335) the disembodied spirits were assigned a knowledge of the secrets of creation and of the future. Evocation may be regarded as the converse of the method of the eleventh book of the Odyssey and the sixth book of the Aeneid in which the mortal goes to visit the shades instead of summoning them forth to meet him; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 332.

The geographical spread of necromancy is wide (Rose in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 4 (1912), 778), though it is less often found among savage peoples because of their fear of ghosts, while, at a higher stage of culture, it is often replaced by direct access to the gods, or, with a more refined view of the soul, by non-magical friendly intercourse with the dead (Toy, Introd. to the Hist. of Relig. (1913), 429-430). For its supposed Persian origin see Varr. ap. Aug. C. D. 7, 35; Headlam, op. cit. 55 ff. Jewish necromancy is treated by Gaster in Hastings, op. cit. 4, 811; Toy, op. cit. 156, n. 3; Frazer, Folk-Lore in the Old Test. 2(1918), 517-554; that among the Greeks and Romans by Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit. 1, 330-343 (who treats also the related methods

of ventriloquism, lecanomancy, and hydromancy); Headlam, op. cit. 52-61; Fahs, op. cit. 110-121; Gruppe, op. cit. 2, 928 ff.; Abt, Die Apologie des Apuleius in Religionsgeschichtl. Versuche u. Vorarbeiten, 4, 2(1908), 142-143; 240-243; Halliday, op. cit. 235-245. For its appearance in other lands see Rose, l.c.; Spence in Hastings, op. cit. 4, 781.

The attitude of Appius (1, 28, n. (scriptum habetis) supra) toward these rites is described in Tusc. 1, 37: animos enim per se ipsos viventes non poterant mente complecti; formam aliquam figuramque quaerebant. inde Homeri tota recula; inde ea quae meus amicus Appius recuparrela faciebat; inde in vicinia nostra Averni lacus: Unde animae excitantur, obscura umbra, aperto ostio / altae Acheruntis, falso sanguine, mortuorum imagines. Cicero charges Vatinius (in Vat. 14) with practicing this art.

Schmekel (Die Philos. der mittl. Stoa (1892), 256, n. 1) well observes that it is quite consistent with the view held by Posidonius that the soul after its separation from the body passed to higher regions to deny, as here, the evocation of ghosts from the underworld.

1. non habeo . . . nauci: the derivation of naucum is very uncertain, but perhaps connected with nugae; cf. Walde, Lat. etym. Wörterbuch, 2 ed. (1910), 509. See also Fest. p. 166 M.: naucum ait Ateius Philologus poni pro nugis. Cincius quod oleae nucisque intus sit. Aelius Stilo omnium rerum putamen. glossematorum autem scriptores fabae grani quod haereat in fabulo. quidam ex Graeco val kal obal, levem hominem significari. quidam nucis iuglandis . . . medium velut dissepimentum. The word is used by Plautus, Naevius, and Ennius (which has perhaps encouraged the idea that the quotation from Ennius about to be given should include this phrase), and by Ausonius, but in the intervening classical

vicanos haruspices, non de circo astrologos, non Isiacos coniectores, non interpretes somniorum; non enim sunt ii aut scientia aut arte divini, 2. ii vulg., bi AV, bii B, bic deficit H.

period appears only here. For its syntax cf. Kühner-Stegmann, Ausführ. Gram. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 461.

[334]1. Marsum augurem: cf. 1, 105, n. (Soranum); 2, 70.

1. vicanos haruspices: these were unofficial private haruspices, whose mercenary practices kept down the respect felt for their profession and led to such remarks as that quoted from Pacuvius in 1, 131, and the jest of Cato in 2, 51; cf. Thulin, Die etrusk. Disciplin, 3 (1909), 145; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 547, n. 7. Plaut. Curc. 483 mentions haruspices at the Velabrum. Similar places, at Rome or elsewhere, were, not unnaturally, the resorts of such charlatans, and Artemid. Onirocr. 1, 1 speaks disparagingly of two ev ayopa μάντεων; cf. Aesop. 286 Halm, of a μάντις έπ' άγοραs καθήμενος; Orig. c. Cels. 1, 68, who speaks of such & utoais ayopais; and Hier. Ep. 127, 9, in whose day they still haunted the plateac and the forum rerum venalium (cf. Aug. Tract. in Ioann. Evang. 8, 11, of the mathematici). In Quintil. 12, 10, 74-75 there is perhaps an allusion to this class.

1. de circo astrologos: cf. 1, 2, n. (ultimis): 2, 87-99. Of the locality Horace remarks (Sat. 1, 6, 113-114): fallacem circum vesperlinumque pererro / saepe forum; adsisto divinis (on which the scholiast (Pseudacro) says: an fallacem circum propler Circenses incerti eventus, aut propter samardacum qui circa metas solebat inducere? illic enim et mathematici olim stelerant <et> inperiti); cf. Juv. 6, 582-584: si mediocris erit, spatium lustrabit utrimque / metarum et sortes ducet frontemque manumque / praebebit vati crebrum poppysma roganti (schol.: si pauper erit mulier superstitiosa in circo quaerit quos consulat. ibi nam antea proponere solebant huius artis professores); 6, 588: plebeium in circo positum est et in aggere fatum; Dieterich in Rhein. Mus. 55 (1900),

208-210 (on Propert. 4, 1, 71). Liv. 39, 16, 8 speaks of the magistrates being at times authorized ut . . . sacrificulos vatesque foro circo urbe prohiberent, vaticinios libros conquirerent comburerentque. We are probably to imagine these quacks as chiefly haunting the arcades around the outside of the Circus, one of the most disreputable parts of the city (see Platner, Topogr. and Monum. of Anc. Rome, 2 ed. (1911), 408, n. 6; cf. Riess in P.-W. s.v. Astrologie (1896), 1815-1816; Hülsen in P.-W. s.v. Circus (1899), 2576). For their quackery cf. Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, Eng. tr. (1911), 105; 124-125; 168.

For the use of de in this phrase cf. pro Mil. 65: popa Licinius nescio qui de circo maximo.

1. Isiacos coniectores: coniectores are mentioned with contempt by Velleius in N.D. 1, 55, along with harus pices, augures, harioli, and vates. We may perhaps infer that they performed some explanatory service in connection with the dreamcommands received by the worshippers through incubation (1, 96, n. (excubabant) supra), which was practiced in the Isis cult: cf. 2, 123; Wolff, De novissima Oraculorum Aetate (1854), 31-33; Deubner, De Incubatione (1900), 96-98; Hamilton, Incubation (1906), 98-101. On the date of the introduction of the rites of Isis to Rome (the first temple was not built until 43 B.C.) see Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 351-352. Apul. Met. 11, 30 speaks of the cult as collegii vetustissimi et sub illis Syllae temporibus conditi, a tradition which Wissowa (l.c.) accepts, but we lack any evidence for carrying it back to the times of Ennius, so that we have here an added argument for supposing these words to be those of Cicero, not those of Ennius (see note on sed superstitiosi, etc., infra).

2. interpretes somniorum: their mediation is condemned by Marcus

Sed superstitiosi vates inpudentesque harioli Aut inertes aut insani aut quibus egestas imperat, Qui sibi semitam non sapiunt alteri monstrant viam;

Cicero in 2, 127. For such dream-interpreters at Athens cf. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la Div.* 1 (1879), 295-296.

[335]2. scientia: as in 1, 1. [335]2. divini: cf. 1, 58.

1. sed superstitiosi, etc.: these lines are found in Ennius, Telamo, 319-323 Vahlen. The identification of the fragment is as follows, 2, 104: an noster Ennius? qui magno plausu loquitur adsentiente populo: Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitum, / sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus (= Telamo, 316-317). et quidem cur sic opinatur rationem subicit; sed nihil est necesse dicere quae sequentur. But in N.D. 3, 79 he says: Telamo autem uno versu locum totum conficit cur di homines neglegant: Nam si curent bene bonis sit, male malis; quod nunc abest (= Telamo, 318). This last verse clearly falls in the paucis . . . versibus which a little below are said to intervene between sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus and our passage. The name of the play is attested by citations in other authors.

The question next arises as to where the quotation should be supposed to begin. Some of the older editors, such as Davies, Moser, and Giese, would begin the verses with non habeo denique and run on without break. But not only is this metrically harsh (e.g., astrologos; and one must correct somniorum to somnium), but the language is unpoetic and fitted rather for argumentative prose (for example, as Allen in his edition (1836) notes, denique, and non enim sunt ii aut scientia aut arte divini). Again, the reference to Isiacos coniectores is probably a chronological impossibility for the time of Ennius (see note on Isiacos coniectores supra). Possibly the other phrases may contain reminiscences of Ennius, but it is hardly safe to treat the passage as metrical.

It is further uncertain whether the word sed belongs to Ennius or to Cicero. Ribbeck (Trag. Rom. Frag. 2 ed. (1897), 62) is in doubt; Vahlen in his second edition of Ennius (1903), 179, thinks sed belongs only to Cicero.

Vahlen (l.c.) has attempted to find the source for verses 316-318 in the Ajax of Sophocles (but cf. Leo, Gesch. d. röm. Lit. 1 (1913), 190), and further compares the thought of our lines with Soph. O. T. 387-389: ὑφεὶς μάγον τοιόνδε μηχανορράφον, / δόλιον άγθρτην, δοτις ἐν τοῖς κέρδεσιν / μόνον δέδορκε, τὴν τέχνην δ' ἔφυ τυφλός. With our fragment should perhaps be combined verse 394 Vahlen (quoted in 1, 88 supra; see the note). An anonymous English verse translation of this passage is given in the Spectator, no. 505 (1712).

- 1. superstitiosi: on superstitio cf. 2, 148; also 1, 66: superstitiosis hariolationibus.
- 2. insani: cf. the note on qui sibi, etc. infra.
- 2. quibus egestas imperat: cf. Favorinus ap. Gell. 14, 1, 2: id praestigiarum atque offuciarum genus commentos esse homines aeruscatores et cibum quaestumque ex mendaciis captantes. In 14, 1, 34 Gellius quotes Accius, 169-170 Ribbeck: nil credo auguribus, qui auris verbis divitant / alienas, suas ut auro locupletent domos; cf. note on ab eis drachumam infra.
- 3. qui sibi, etc.: the expression is probably proverbial, and Otto (Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer (1890), 370) compares Phaedrus, 1, 9, 1-2: sibi non cavere et aliis consilium dare / stultum esse, and the same antithesis in Append. Prov. 4, 12: δδοῦ παρούσης τὴν ἀτραπὸν μὴ ζήτει. Prophets were often represented as ignorant of their own fate; cf. the examples collected by Halliday, Greek Divination (1913), 56, n. 1; also Aesch. Prom. V.

Quibus divitias pollicentur ab iis drachumam ipsi petunt.

1. iis vatg., his C.

1. drachumam post Ritschlium editores, drachmam B1O, dragmam B2V, dracmam A, hic deficit H.

85-87; 268; 335-336; 473-475; Ps.-Hecat. de Iudaeis, ap. Joseph. c. Ap. 1, 22 (= F. H. G. 2, 395, no. 14; cf. Cedren. Hist. (Migne, Patr. Gr. 121, 308) of a Jew who shoots a bird which has just been used for augury and remarks πως γάρ οὐτος τήν αύτου σωτηρίαν ου προϊδών περί της ημετέρας mopelas huir ar TI byies antryeiler: Hier. in Is. 41, 22 (of pagan oracles not foreseeing their own end); Aug. c. Acad. 1, 7, 21; Commod. Instr. 1, 19, 9: ipse sibi nescit divinare, ceteris audet; cf. Desoe, Life and Adventures of Mr. Douglas Campbell (1720), ch. 8 init.: "helpless (as it has been an observation concerning all such men in the account of the secondsight) and blind in his own future affairs." (The Erythraean Sibyl, however, did foresee her own fate; cf. Bouché-Leclercq. Hist. de la Div. 2 (1880), 168-169.) Tiberius, according to Tac. Ann. 6, 21, made test of the knowledge of diviners of their own fate to secure evidence of their prescience of that of others (cf. 1, 32, n. (cum temptaret) supra), and Origen c. Cels. 4, 90-91 uses the ignorance of augural animals of their own fate as evidence for their ignorance of that of men. Schuster in Zeitschr. f.d. deutschöst. Gymn. 69 (1919), 26-30 collects many instances of poetic mockery of diviners.

The argument has been constantly used, in a wider application, in disparagement of the learned but abstracted and unpractical scholar; cf. 1, 111; 2, 30; Eur. fr. 905 Nauck (quoted by Cicero ad Fam. 13, 15, 2): μσω σοφωτήν, δστις οδχ αδτώς σοφός, which was translated by Enn. Med. 273 Vahlen: qui ipse sibi sapiens prodesse non quit nequiquam sapit (Nauck quotes other Greek parallels to the thought); Mark, 15, 31: άλλους ξσωσεν, ξαυτόν οδ δίναται σώσαι.

Neither the criticism here raised, however, nor the remark of Socrates (Plat. A pol. p. 22c) of the θεομάντεις and χρησιμοδοί who λέγουσι μέν πολλά καὶ καλά, Ισασιν

δὲ ούδὲν ὢν λέγουσι, is a complete objection to the theory that prophets are mediums rather than rational interpreters of the divine will, and Quintus Cicero has been represented as led by the appropriateness of the first two and last two verses of the passage, illustrating the rapacity of quacks which he is condemning, to the inclusion of this intervening line, which well expresses the Epicurean disbelief of Ennius but accords somewhat ill with the Stoic theories of inspiration. The same objection will also apply to the word insani in the preceding line, for furor is of the very nature of prophecy, as has repeatedly been asserted in this book. The heresy of these Epicurean views is recognized below (ego autem qui et curare arbitror, etc.).

1. quibus: cf. 1, 66, n. (virginalis).

1. ab iis drachumam: for the contrast between the smallness of the fee and the greatness of the service cf. Isocr. c. Sophist. 7: κατίδωσι τούς την σοφίαν διδάσκοντας και την εύδαιμονίαν παραδιδόντας αύτούς τε πολλών δεομένους και τούς μαθητάς μικρόν πραττομένους; Max. Tyr. 13, 3 Hobein: των έν τοις κύκλοις άγειρόντων . . . οί δυοίν όβολοίν τῷ προστυχόντι ἀποθεσπίζουσι»; Juv. 6, 546-547: aere minuto/qualiacumque voles Iudaei somnia vendunt. Elsewhere, however, it is the dearness of the service which is condemned: Soph. Antig. 1055: τὸ μαντικόν γὰρ πᾶνφιλάργυρον yéros, where Jebb compares Eur. Hel. 755-756 (of divination): βίου γάρ άλλως δέλεαρ ηθρέθη τόδε, / κούδελς έπλούτησ' έμπυροισιν άργὸς ών; Ι. Τ. 520: τὸ μαντικόν πάν σπέρμα φιλότιμον κακόν. Christian writers contrast the greed of pagan diviners with the modesty of true Christian prophets: Hermae Pastor, Mand. 11, 12: μισθούς λαμβάνων της προφητείας αύτου. έαν δέ μή λάβη οἱ προφητεύει. δίναται οἶν πνεῦμα θείον μισθούς λαμβάνειν και προφητεύειν; Euseb. Pr. Ev. 4, 2, p. 134b; Clem. Strom. 1, p. 84 Stählin applies to many of the pagan prophets, of whom he has given a De his divitiis sibi deducant drachumam, reddant cetera.

Atque haec quidem Ennius, qui paucis ante versibus esse deos censet, sed eos non curare opinatur quid agat humanum genus. Ego autem, qui et curare arbitror et monere etiam ac multa praedicere, levitate, vanitate, malitia exclusa divinationem probo. Quae cum dixisset Quintus, Praeclare tu quidem, inquam, paratus . . .

- 1. drachumam AB^1V^1 , dracmam V^2 , dragmam B^2 , drachmam O, hie deficit H.
- 5. exclusa cum Turnebe O, Müller, exclusam C, Christ, Baiter.

long list, the phrase of John, 10, 8: αλέπται πάντες καὶ λησταί.

[337]1. drachumam: for the form cf. Ritschl, Opusc. 2 (1868), 469-473; and for similar cases of the anaptyptic or svarabhaktic vowel id. 2, 473-523; Stolz, Lat. Gram. 2 ed. (1890), 277-278; Lindsay, Latin Language (1894), 93-95; 145-147; Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausführ. Gram. 1 2 ed. (1912), 136-137.

- 1. de his, etc.: this line is bracketed by Ribbeck (Trag. Rom. Frag. 3 ed. (1897), 61-62) who thinks that it was added by some jocose reader. But Vahlen retains it without question, and it seems, as Zillinger (Cicero u. die altröm. Dichter (1911), 119, n. 2) thinks, greatly to strengthen the effect of the preceding lines. To determine whether a verse of this character would be out of place in a tragedy of Ennius would demand a more definite knowledge of its context than we possess.
- 2. paucis ante versibus: cf. note on sed superstitiosi, etc., supra.
- 2f. sed eos . . . genus: quoted exactly with the single change of opinor to the third person. For the thought cf. Accius, Antig. 142-143 Ribbeck: iam iam neque di regunt / neque profecto deum supremus rex <iam> curat hominibus. The Epicurean view of the gods is well illustrated in the passages collected by

Usener, Epicurea (1887), 232-241, and the theory of the divine indifference to human interests in the same work, 241-257; cf. 1, 82, n. (non diligunt homines) supra.

- 4. et monere etiam: the cases of et . . . etiam in Cicero are discussed by Reid on Ac. 1. 5.
- 4. levitate, vanitate: these qualities are coupled by Cicero in Vat. 40, and the adjectives vanos and leves appear together in Fin. 3, 38. The former quality is, of course, the opposite to the gravitas which Cicero so highly prized.

5f. praeclare . . . paratus: with this incomplete sentence cf. N.D. 3, 2, where Velleius is eager to hear Cotta's attack on Stoicism, and says: spero enim ie, ut soles, bene paratum venire; also Rep. 1, 34: qua in disputatione quoniam tu paratior es, etc. Doubtless Marcus here introduced some compliment to Quintus upon his defence of the Stoic cause (taken up again in 2, 8; cf. Sander in Philologus, 75(1919), 389-391), like those of Cotta to his opponents in N.D. 1, 57-59; 3, 4, though the compliment in 2, 8 might make even this unnecessary.

Probably little is here lost, for the main argument of Quintus has clearly been concluded and that of Marcus does not begin until the second book; cf. 1, 131, n. (haec habui . . . quae dicerem); introd. n. 76 supra.

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De Fragmenti Suetoniani de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus Codicum Nexu et Fide

SCRIPSIT

RODNEY POTTER ROBINSON

Apud Vniuersitatem Illinoiensem MDCCCCXXII

PARENTIBVS SACRVM

animis qualis neque candidiores terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter

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PRAEFATIO

Libelli Suetoniani de grammaticis et rhetoribus edendi admonitu uirorum doctissimorum Guilielmi Abbott Oldfather, Arthuri Stanley Pease, in Vniuersitate Illinoiensi profitentium, anno 1915 rationem inii. Cum autem post Augusti Reifferscheidi doctam editionem fragmenti Suetoniani denuo excutiendi laborem nihil profuturum, nisi omnibus codicibus superstitibus diligenter collatis atque imagine communis archetypi quoad fieri posset restituta certius fundamentum iaceretur, satis constaret, per Vniuersitatis Illinoiensis eximiam liberalitatem, cuius rei gratiae apud me numquam consenescent, omnium librorum manuscriptorum nec non uetustissimorum impressorum chartae phototypice depictae in meum usum conquisitae sunt. Quibus laboribus inceptis mora duorum annorum Marte furente intercessit, neque studia iterum suscipere potui ante exeuntem annum 1919. Deinde cum summos honores in philosophia ad finem illius anni scholastici adipisci uellem, et totum opus maioris nisus uideretur quam ut intra tam breue temporis spatium conficeretur, labores ita diuisi ut ea quae nunc lectoribus commendo quasi prolegomena editionis dissertationem inauguralem facultati Vniuersitatis Illinoiensis rettulerim, ipsam editionem, quae fortuna fauente mox proditura est, in aliud tempus reseruarim.

Eis omnibus qui me docuerunt aliterque studiis meis fauti sunt gratias amplissimas reddo; imprimis professoribus Oldfather et Pease, qui non solum docendo admonendo cohortando rectam uiam monstrabant et labores meos faciliores reddebant, sed etiam omni materia qua opus erat comparanda et quomodocumque fieri poterat plurimum ad uirtutem huius libelli, si qua inest, contulerunt. Quibus tamen paulo concedant Eua Johnston et Gualtherus Miller in Vniuersitate Missouriensi profitentes, quorum illa saepe admonendo omne iudicium in auctoribus classicis tractandis ex ipsis antiquis fontibus initium capere debere mihi altiora studia petenti prima uestigia bene direxit, hic autem, quae est eius eximia eruditio humanitasque, laboribus paulo longius progressis semper fautus est meque quasi nouo studio temporum antiquorum incendit. Viros quoque doctissimos Carolum Melville Moss, Leonardum Bloomfield, Howardum Vernon Canter, in Vniuersitate Illinoiensi docentes, nec non Gilbertum Campbell Scoggin, Guilielmum Gwathmey Manly, Ioannem Carleton Jones, Guidonem Blandin Colburn, Heber Michel Hays, quorum praeceptis Vniuersitstis Missouriensis adhuc alumnus fructus sum, honoris causa commemoro. Neque uero, cum longinquiora repeto, nomen Danae Slaughter Millar, feminae litterarum tam Graecarum quam Latinarum uero amore imbutae, silentio praetermittere possum. Denique mihi semper cordi erunt quattuor illi menses, cum stipendio merito Parisiis in clara illa sede litterarum Aemilium Chatelain, Ludouicum Havet aliosque uiros illustrissimos audiebam; quorum sapientiam modo gustaui, exemplum tamen mecum semper habebo. Postremo Racheliae L. Sargent in gymnasio Indianapolitano cui est nomen Shortridge docenti, cuius opera in typographorum erroribus tollendis usus sum, gratias debitas ago.

Kal. Aug. MDCCCCXXII

CAPVT I

In Qvo de Codice Hersfeldensi atque de eivs Inventione et Inventoribus disseritur

C. Suetoni Tranquilli fragmentum De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus inter renascentium litterarum aetatis homines primus qui nominatim commemoret Antonius Panormita Bononia mense Aprili ¹ anni 1426 Guarino Veronensi haec scribens mihi innotuit: "..... Praeterea est quod te non minori voluptate afficiat; sed omnino coenam parato, qua in re tu me non audis. Compertus est Cor. Tacitus de origine et situ Germanorum. Item eiusdem de vita Iulii Agricolae isque incipit: 'Clarorum virorum facta' caeterave. Quinetiam Sex. Iulii Frontonis de aquaeductibus qui in urbem Romam inducuntur; et est litteris aureis transcriptus. Item eiusdem Frontonis liber alter, qui in hunc modum iniciatur: 'Cum omnis res ab imperatore delegata mentionem exigat' et caetera. Et inventus est quidam dyalogus de oratore et est, ut coniectamus, Cor. Taciti, atque is ita incipit: 'Saepe ex me requirunt' et caetera. Inter quos et liber Suetonii Tranquilli repertus de grammaticis et rhetoribus: huic inicium est: 'Gramatica Romae'. Hi et innumerabiles alii qui in manibus versantur. et praeterea alii fortasse qui in usu non sunt, uno in loco simul sunt; ii vero omnes, qui ob hominum ignaviam in desuetudinem abierant ibique sunt, cuidam mihi coniunctissimo dimittentur propediem, ab illo autem ad me proxime et de repente; tu secundo proximus eris, qui renatos sane illustrissimos habiturus sis....." De eisdem libris inuentis fama magis quidem exigua Guarini in aures Ioannis Lamolae merito iam antea manauisse uidetur, ut ex illius uerbis in epistula ad eundem Lamolam Bononiae degentem die XXVI mensis Ianuarii eiusdem anni 2 1426 scripta colligitur: 2 ".....Quid nuntius renascentium virorum et in lucem prolatorum, quem mihi cum suavitate mirabili affers? O si Cornelium Tacitum ipsum, Plinii mei amicum socium collegam, spectare et coram affari detur!...."

Ineunte igitur anno 1426 fama de Suetoni fragmento De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, Taciti operibus minoribus, Frontini De Aquaeductibus nuper inuentis Bononiam perlata erat. Cuius de notitiae origine ad Francisci Poggi epistulam, quam Romae die III mensis Nouembris anni praecedentis

¹ Sabbadini, *Studi Italiani* VII p. 122 sq.; id. *Storia e Critica* p. 67 sq. Hanc epistulam, licet dies non sit appositus, Sabbadinius mensi Aprili anni 1426 fere certa ratione uindicat.

² De temporum ratione Sabbadinium ubique sequor.

⁸ Sabbadini, Stud. Ital. VII p. 120; id. Storia e Critica p. 264.

(1425) ad amicum suum Nicolaum de Nicolis Florentinum dedit, regrediamur necesse est: 4 ".....Quidam monachus amicus meus ex quodam monasterio Germaniae, qui olim a nobis recessit, ad me misit litteras, quas nudius quartus accepi; per quas scribit se reperisse aliqua volumina de nostris, quae permutare vellet cum Novella Ioannis Andreae vel tum Speculo tum Additionibus, et nomina librorum mittit interclusa.... Inter ea volumina est Iulius Frontinus et aliqua opera Cornelii Taciti nobis ignota: videbis inventarium et quaeres illa volumina legalia, si reperiri poterunt commodo pretio. Libri ponentur in Nurimberga, quo et deferri debent Speculum et Additiones, et exinde magna est facultas libros advehendi. Vt videbis per inventarium, haec est particula quaedam, nam multi alii restant; scribit enim in hunc modum: 'Sicuti mihi supplicastis de notando poetas, ut ex his eligeretis qui vobis placerent, inveni multos e quibus collegi aliquos, quos in cedula hac inclusa reperietis'....Romae die III novembris."

Hac igitur ex epistula compertum habemus monachum quendam, e monasterio Hersfeldensi, ut ex sequentibus apparebit, Poggio inuentarium quorundam librorum quos reppererat⁵ misisse. Apographon autem huius inuentari paulo post Bononiam expeditum esse uidetur, ubi in Panormitae Lamolaeque manibus uersaretur. Panormita etiam notitiam satis copiosam de libris, quorum descriptio hoc inuentario continebatur, cum Guarino Veronensi communicauit, neque tamen de origine eius quicquam protulit, nisi fore ut illi libri cuidam sibi coniunctissimo propediem dimitterentur. Inuentari apographon, quo usus est Panormita, neglegentius scriptum esse debebat, siquidem in illius epistula Prontonis pro Prontini et inter Dialogi uerba ineuntia requirunt pro requiris legimus. Post Panormitae epistulam ad Guarinum datam interuallo anni plus intermisso monachus



⁴ Poggii Epist. ed. Tonelli, Florentiae, 1832, I p. 168. Sabbadini, Stor. e Crit. p. 263; id. Stud. Ital. VII p. 119.

⁸ Sabbadini opinio (Stor. e Crit. p. 273-4), cui Annibaldius (p. 77, adn. 2) suffragatus est, eosdem codices iam anno 1421 a Bartholomaso de Capra Archiepiscopo Mediolanensi uisos esse, instabili fundamento nititur, ut Wissowa (p. III) recte iudicauit. Quam opinionem ad confirmandam nihil est nisi Poggi uerba tales historices in epistula Londini die X mensis Iunii (1422) data.

⁶ Tres epistulae a Poggio ad Nicolaum per hoc interuallum datae extant, quibus monachus Hersfeldensis laudatur. (1) Poggii *Bpist*. ed. Ton. I p. 172, siue apud Michaelisium *Proefst*. p. XX: (Romae) d. 15 m. Dec. (a. 1425). "...ad amicum nostrum pro libris misi binas litteras et quidem diversis nuntiis, quin ordinavi ut, cum litterae essent in Nurimberga, deferrentur ad monasterium per aliquem qui responsum referret, et ad id pecuniam paravi, itaque quam primum spero nos ecituros aliquid certius." (2) Poggii *Bpist*. ed. Ton. I p. 175, siue apud Michael. *Praefat*. p. XX: Romae V idus Febr. (a. 1426). "... ex Germania responsum est mihi litteras illas esse redditas, spero igitur me habiturum propediem litteras a monacho, et tum tecum omnia communicabe." (3) Poggii *Bpist*. ed. Ton. I p. 187, siue apud Michael. *Praefat*. p. XX: Romae noctu XVIII kal. Oct. (a. 1426). "... de libris Germanis nii dicam

Hersfeldensis Romam rediens alterum copiosius inuentarium secum apportauit. Hoc tamen inuentarium Poggium magna ex spe deiecit, quam ex monachi uerbis conceperat. Quae omnia alia epistula 7 a Poggio ad Nicolaum Romae data docet: "Dixeram Cosmo nostro, quemadmodum scribis, monachum illum Hersfeldensem dixisse cuidam se attulisse inventarium, sicut ei scripseram, plurium voluminum secundum notam meam. Postmodum cum summa cura quaererem hunc hominem, venit ad me afferens inventarium plenum verbis, re vacuum. Vir ille bonus, expers studiorum nostrorum, quicquid reperit ignotum sibi id et apud nos incognitum putavit. Itaque refersit illud libris quos habemus, qui sunt iidem de quibus alias cognovisti. Mitto autem ad te nunc partem inventarii sui, in quo describitur volumen illud Cornelii Taciti et aliorum quibus caremus; qui cum sint res quaedam parvulae, non satis magno sunt aestimandae. Decidi ex maxima spe quam conceperam ex verbis suis. Ea extitit causa propter quam non magnopere curavi hoc ad te scribere: nam si quid egregium fuisset aut dignum Minerva nostra, non solum scripsissem sed ipse advolassem ut significarem. Hic monachus eget pecunia; ingressus sum sermonem subveniendi sibi, dummodo Ammianus Marcellinus, prima decas Titi Livii et unum volumen orationum Tullii ex iis quae sunt apud nos communes et nonnulla alia opera, quae quamvis ea habeamus tamen non sunt negligenda, dentur mihi pro his pecuniis. Peto autem illa deferri eorum periculo usque Nurimbergam. Haec tracto, nescio quid concludam, omnia tamen a me scies postea. Romae XVI kal. iunii (1427)."

Poggium, cum ut Ammianus Marcellinus, Liui decas, Ciceronis orationum uolumen aliaque haberentur, curam dedisset, pretiosioris illius Corneli Taciti uoluminis, quo ut infra apparebit Suetoni quoque De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus continebatur, oblitum esse arguisse uidetur Nicolaus. Cuius dubitationes sequens Poggi epistula⁸ ad eum tollere debuit: "Optime suspicaris me cum obsignarem litteras oblitum esse illius inventarii, cuius mentionem feceram in litteris. Nunc illud ad te mitto. Id autem male accipis quia, cum procurem ut habeamus decadem Livii et reliqua volumina de quibus ad te scripsi, putes me omittere hoc volumen quo maxime indigemus. Id quidem imprimis est quod volo, quin mandavi isti

amplius nisi me non dormire more tuo sed vigilare. quod si quidam prout spero fidem servarit, liber ad nos veniet vel vi vel gratis. quin etiam dedi operam ut habeam inventarium cuiusdam vetustissimi monasterii in Germania, ubi est ingens librorum copia; sed ne tu me molestes ista tua dicacitate nil amplius scies."

⁷ Poggii *Bpist.* ed. Ton. I p. 207 sq., siue apud Michaelisium, *Praefat.* p. XX, siue apud Sabbadinium, *Stud. Ital.* VII p. 127 et *Stor. e Crit.* p. 272.

Poggii Epist. ed. Ton. I p. 210 sq., sive apud Michael. Praefat. p. XXI.

Scilicet uolumen quo Taciti Germonia, Agricola, Dialogus, Suetoni reliquiae continebantur.

monacho ut vel ipse secum deferret (nam credit se rediturum brevi) vel per alium monachum curaret deferendum; alios iussi Nurimbergam, hunc vero Romam proficisci recta via, et ita se facturum recepit. Romae pridie kal. Iun. (a. 1427)." Mense Septembri eiusdem anni (1427) Poggius Cornelium Tacitum adhuc expectabat: "De Cornelio Tacito qui est in Germania nil sentio; expecto responsum ab illo monacho... Omisi hanc curam librorum absentium et ad eos qui adsunt nobis animum converti; nam nil audio praeter fabulas." Quin etiam anno fere post Poggius nihil noui perceperat et de libris Taciteis conquirendis paene desperasse uidetur: "......Cornelius Tacitus silet inter Germanos neque quicquam exinde novi percepi de eius operibus."

Denique insequente anno (1429) monachus Romam iterum rediit et sine libro, ut Poggius in epistula Romae die XXVI mensis Februarii ad Nicolaum data queritur: "..... Monachus Hersfeldensis venit absque libro multumque est a me increpatus ob eam causam. Asseveravit se cito rediturum (nam litigat nomine monasterii) et portaturum librum. Rogavit me multa: dixi me nil facturum nisi librum haberemus. Ideo spero et illum nos habituros, quia eget favore nostro." 12

De hoc codice Hersfeldensi nil amplius in Poggi epistulis reperitur. Quamuis Poggius de uolumine Taciteo conquirendo desperasse uideatur, Nicolaus de Nicolis duobus annis post his aliisque opusculis habendis negotium dedit. Ineunte anno 1431 Iulianus Caesarini cardinalis Sancti Angeli comitante secretario Lucio Spoletino legatus pontificalis ad expeditionem contra Hussitos instituendam in Germaniam profectus est. ¹⁸ Item Nicolaus Albergati Sanctae Crucis cardinalis, comitante secretario Thoma Parentucellio, qui postea pontifex maximus Nicolaus V creatus est, legatus pontificalis in Galliam est missus. ¹⁴ Duobus autem cardinalibus profecturis indicem librorum conquirendorum dedit Nicolaus de Nicolis, quod Ambrosius Trauersarius quadam epistula¹⁸ ad eundem Nicolaum id temporis peregre degentem ¹⁸ Florentiae die VIII mensis Iulii (a. 1431) data com-



¹⁶ Data Romae V kal. Oct. a. 1427. Poggii Epist. ed. Ton. I p. 213, siue apud Michael. Praefat. p. XXI.

¹¹ Dats Romae die XI m. Sept. a. 1428. Poggii Epist. ed. Ton. I p. 218, siue Michael. Praefat. p. XXI.

¹³ Poggii Epist. ed. Ton. I p. 268, siue Michael. Praefat. p. XXII.

¹⁸ Sabbadini, *Storia e Critica* p. 3. Bulla pontificis maximi Martini V hoc negotium cardinali Iuliano confidentis die XI mensis Ianuarii a. 1431 est data. Mense Martio eiusdem anni Norimbergam iam peruentum erat.

¹⁴ Sabbadini, Storia e Critica p. 3. Fantuzzi, Scrittori Bolognesi I 120. Bulla pontificis maximi Eugeni IV potestatem huius legationis facientis die XXVIIII mensis Aprilis a. 1431 data est.

¹⁸ Traversarii *Epist.* ed. Petrus Cannetus VIII 2 p. 353, siue apud Sabbadinium, *Storia e Critica* p. 2.

[&]quot;Vide Sabbadini, Stor. e Crit. p. 3.

memorat: "Quod indicem dederis voluminum inquirendorum cum Iuliano nostro cardinali S. Angeli tum cardinali S. Crucis, Germaniam omnem omnemque Galliam diverso itinere peragraturis, fecisti tu studiose et ingenio tuo digne. Sed vereor ne cum occiduo gelu eorum quoque refrigescat ardor: quamvis Lucius ille adolescens promptus atque excitus magna de se polliceri videatur; vixque adduci possum illum non diligentissime hoc munus impleturum. Gustum illius cepi, brevem quidem; nam transiens per nos me vidit atque adlocutus est tanta suavitate atque copia, ut spem de illo conceperim maximam. Thomas item noster, non ambigo, geret votis tuis morem... Florentiae ex nostro monasterio VIII iulii (1431)." Ille ipse index librorum inquirendorum a Nicolao comparatus, cuius mentionem facit Trauersarius, anno 1913 in catalogo librariae antiquariae T. de Marinis et Soc. Florentinorum (ms. 10, p. 14-16) in lucem prouenit. Est autem ad finem cuiusdam codicis opera Ciceroniana philosophica complectentis, atque a manu diuersa ab ea quae ipsum codicem exarauit confectus est. Cuius codicis nunc Noui Eboraci in bibliotheca Ioannis Pierpont Morgan respositi ea pars quae inuentarium amplectitur phototypice expressa nuperrime bibliothecae Vniuersitatis Illinoiensis accessit. Inuentarium autem sic inscribitur: COMMENTARIUM NICOLAI NICOLI IN PEREGRINATIONE GERMANIE. Quo commentario codices, qui in bibliothecis monasteriorum Reichenauiensis, Hersfeldensis, Fuldensis, ecclesiae cathedralis Coloniensis, nec non et cuiusdam monasteri Danici nominis ignoti repositi dicebantur, describuntur. 17 Sunt ibidem animaduersiones de quibusdam Ciceronis, Varronis, Corneli Nepotis, Fenestellae, Plini, Taciti, Celsi, Catonis operibus deperditis, quae 'ab inferis excitanda erant.' Ouae autem de monasterio Hersfeldensi dicuntur, quamuis scribarum erroribus satis uitiata, hic describo:18

In Monasterio hispildensi¹⁹ haud procul ab alpibus continentur haec opuscula. videlicet:

Julii Frontini De aquae ductis quae in urbem inducunt liber j. Incipit sic: PERSECVTVS ea quae de modulis dici fuit necessarium. Nunc ponam quemadmodum queque aqua ut principium commentariis comprehensum est usque ad nostram curam habere uisa sit &c. Continet hic liber xiij.

Item eiusdem frontini liber incipit sic: Cum omnis res ab imperatore delegata interiorem exigat & curam, et me seu naturalis solicitudo seu fides sedula, non ad diligentiam modo, uerum ad morem commisse rei



¹⁷ Videndi sunt Sabbadini, Stor. e Crit. pp. 1-7; E. Jacobs, Wochenschrift f. klass. Philol. 1913, 701-2; A. Gudeman ib. 1913, 929-33; W. Aly, Rhein. Mus. LXVIII 636-7.

¹⁸ Omnia non e catalogo, in quo nonnullos typographi errores deprehendi, sed ex ipso codice phototypice depicto transcripsi. Totum commentarium publicaui, *Classical Philology* XVI 251 sq. Scribendi compendia ubique explicaui.

¹⁹ Lege Hersfeldensi.

instigent, sitque mihi nunc ab nerua augusto, nescio diligentiore an amantiore rei .p. imperatore aquarum iniunctum officium & ad usum &c. Continet .xi. folia.

Cornelii taciti de origine & situ germanorum liber incipit sic: Germania omnis a gallis 20 rhetiisque & pannoniis rheno & danubio fluminibus a sarmatis datisque & mutuo metu a montibus separatur etc. Continet autem xij folia. Item in eodem codice:

Cornelii taciti De uita Julii agricole Incipit sic: Clarorum uirorum facta moresque posteris tradere antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus, quamquam uniuersa suorum etas obmisit. Qui liber continet .xiiij. folia. Item in eodem codice:

Dialogus De oratoribus qui incipit sic: Sepe ex me requiris iuste fabi, cur cum priora secula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis, gloria, floruerint: nostra potissimum etas deserta & laude eloquentiae orbata: qui liber continet xviij. folia. Item in eodem codice continetur liber—

Suetonii Tranquilli De grammaticis & rhetoribus, qui incipit sic:
Grammatica romae ne in usu quidem olim nedum in honore ullo &c.
Continet hic liber folia vij.

Ammiani Marcellini rerum gestarum libri xviij. Qui peruenerunt usque ad obitum Valentis imperatoris: qui est finis hystoriae.

Haec igitur indicia de codicibus in monasterio Hersfeldensi repositis ad duo inuentaria, quae monachus Hersfeldensis cum Poggio, unum exeunte mense Octobri anni 1425, alterum mense Maio anni 1427 communicauit, quaeque Poggius propediem Nicolao misit, referenda sunt. 21 tem inuentari a monacho Hersfeldensi curati apographon Bononiam Antoni Panormitae in manus peruenisse supra demonstratum est.22 Panormitae Poggique testimonia cum Nicolai commentario quem modo exhibui ita conspirant, ut nemo dubitare possit quin ex eodem fonte deriuentur. Panormita in epistula ad Guarinum ea ipsa opera uno in loco delitescentia, quae in commentario Nicolai monasterio Hersfeldensi tribuuntur, notat, nisi quod unum Ammianum Marcellinum omittit. Cum autem Poggius non nisi altero monachi inuentario accepto de Ammiano uerba fecerit, prius inuentarium huius auctoris nomine caruisse uidetur. Idem etiam error de Frontini opusculo cum in Panormitae epistula tum in Nicolai commentario deprehenditur, cum liber secundus priore loco proferatur. Quod autem Panormita duo opuscula Tacitea Germaniam et Agricolam primo loco commemorat nihil est admirandum, cum non inuentari transcriptionem sed nuntium felicem de nouis scriptis repertis Guarino suo mit-



²⁰ Galliis, sed altera i expuncta.

²¹ Poggii Epist. ed. Ton. I p. 168; p. 207 sq.; p. 210 sq. Vide supra p. 10 sq.

² Vide supra p. 9 sq.

teret, atque ea opera, quae maximi momenti haberet, prima nuntiaret. Dialogum tamen iusto loco reliquit cum de auctore eius in dubio esset. Cur autem de hac re esset incertus Nicolai commentarius aperte demonstrat, quippe qui huius opusculi auctorem non nominet. Poggius tamen duo opera, primam decadem Titi Livii et unum volumen orationum Tullii, quae in Hersfeldensi monasterio se habere debebant, laudat, de quibus Nicolaus tacet. Sed Nicolaus haec consulto omittere potuit, cum ut Poggi uerba quae sunt apud nos communes docent iam in usu essent. Aliae discrepantiae inter Panormitae epistulam et Nicolai commentarium eiusmodi sunt, ut eo explicari possint, quod Panormita nihil nisi apographon inuentari quod monachus Hersfeldensis Poggio miserat habebat, Nicolai autem commentarius, ut ad nostram aetatem Ciceronis cuidam codici adtextus peruenit, quot per uices euaserit, nemo scit.

Num Nicolai studia nouorum librorum per cardinalis Iuliani officia conquirendorum feliciter euenerint nescimus, quod tamen silentium continuum per uiginti quattuor annos negare uidetur. Quomodocumque haec res se habet, inter hos uiginti quattuor annos codex ille Hersfeldensis Germaniam, Agricolam, Dialogum, Suetonique De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus complectens, nescio qua uia aut cuius opera, Romam migrauerat. Namque anno 1455 ille ipse codex, nisi omnia fallunt, a Petro Candido Decembrio sacrae sedis secretario Romae uisus est, cuius testimonium pretiosissimum in cod. Ambrosiano R 88 sup. sec. XV f. 112 latens Remigius Sabbadinius e tenebris excitauit atque publici iuris fecit: 28

Cornelii taciti liber reperitur Rome visus 1455 de Origine et situ Germanie. Incipit:

Germania omnis a Gallis retiisque et panoniis Rheno et danubio fluminibus a Sarmatis dacisque mutuo metu aut montibus seperatur. cetera occeanus ambit. Opus est foliorum xii in columnellis. Finit: Cetera iam fabulosa helusios et oxionas ora hominum vultusque corpora atque artus ferarum gerere. quod ego ut incompertum in medium relinquam. utitur autem cornelius hoc vocabulo inscientia non Inscitia:

Est alius liber eiusdem de vita Julii agricole soceri sui. in quo continetur descriptio Britanie Insule, nec non populorum mores et ritus. Incipit:

Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa suorum etas ommisit. Opus foliorum decem et quattuor in columnellis. finit: Nam multos veluti inglorios et ignobiles obliuio obruet, Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

⁷⁸ Rivista di Filologia XXVIIII (1901) p. 262 sqq. E cod. Ambrosiano R 88 sup. sec. XV f. 112 phototypice depicta transcribo, nisi quod in schedula mea scriptura ita est diluta ut nonnumquam textum a Sabbadinio accuratissime editum secutus sim.



Cornelii taciti dialogus de oratoribus incipit:

Sepe ex me requiris iuste fabi, cur cum priora secula tot eminentium oratorum ingeniis gloriaque floruerint, nostra potissimum etas deserta et laude eloquentie orbata vix nomen ipsum oratoris retineat.

Opus foliorum xiiii. in columnellis. post hec deficiunt sex folia. nam finit: quam ingentibus verbis prosequuntur. Cum ad veros iudices ventum, deinde sequitur: rem cogitare, nihil abiectum nihil humile. post hec sequuntur folia duo cum dimidio. et finit: Cum adrisissent ²⁴ discessimus.

Suetonii tranquilli de grammaticis et rhetoribus liber. Incipit:
Grammatica rome nec in usu quidem olim, nedum in honore ullo erat,
rudis scilicet ac bellicosa etiam tum ciuitate necdum magnopere liberalibus disciplinis vacante.

Opus foliorum septem in columnellis. finit perprius. Et rursus in cognitione cedis mediolani apud lucium pisonem proconsulem defendens reum, cum cohiberent lictores nimias laudantium voces, ita excanduisset, ut deplorato Italie statu quasi iterum in formam prouincie redigeretur .M. Insuper brutum cuius statua in conspectu erat inuocaret Regum ac libertatis auctorem ac vindicem. Ultimo Imperfecto columnello finit: diu ac more concionantis redditis, abstinuit cibo.

Videtur in illo opere Suetonius innuere omnes fere rhetores et Grammatice professores, desperatis fortunis finiuisse vitam.

Ouin codex quem uidit Decembrius idem fuerit atque Hersfeldensis codex, cuius descriptio Nicolai commentario continetur, non dubitari potest. Eadem opuscula eodem ordine disposita, eaedem fere inscriptiones, eidem foliorum numeri singulis operibus Germaniae, Agricolae, De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus attributi, omnia aperte demonstrant Decembrium ipsum Hersseldensem codicem inspexisse. Decembrius autem multo copiosiorem descriptionem nobis reliquit, quippe qui titulis, foliorum numeris, primis uerbis uniuscuiusque opusculi adnotandis non contentus fuerit, sed libros legisse uideatur, atque uerba quibus singula opera terminarentur protulerit. Ouin etiam observationes de suo addidit, atque indicia de codicis facie atque condicione dedit, inter quae hoc maximi habendum est quod opera in columellis scripta esse testatur. Non est admirandum si Nicolai commentarius prae Decembri notatione testimonia satis uitiosa exhibet, uelut in Agricolae primis uerbis universa pro incuriosa, nam ipsius Decembri uerba autographa habemus, cum tamen Nicolai commentarius certe fata iniquiora perpessus est. Neque tamen commentarius ille spernendus est. cum. licet Decembrius tria opuscula Tacitea et Suetoni fragmentum in eodem codice fuisse innuat, hoc certo diiudicari nequiret nisi Nicolai uerba Item in eodem



M Post adrisissent primitus surrex scriptum erat deinde deletum.

codice post utriusque operis descriptionem posita nobis suppeditarent. Alia etiam Nicolai commentarius ad codicem Hersfeldensem restituendum conferre mihi uidetur, quae ad enarranda transeo.

Duae discrepantiae inter Nicolai et Decembri testimonia animaduertuntur, quae uiris doctissimis ita graues uisae sunt, ut alterius utrius fidei derogare uellent. Primo Nicolaus de Dialogi auctore tacet, Decembrius autem Cornelii taciti dialogus de oratoribus scripsit. Deinde teste Nicolao Dialogus duodeuiginti foliis continebatur, dum Decembrius quattuordecim folia ante lacunam (c. 35) et duo folia cum dimidio post eam notat, ita ut eo auctore Dialogus septendecim modo folia habuisse uideatur. Quae discrepantiae facile inter se conciliari posse mihi uidentur, neque ulla est causa cur alterutri testimonio fidem derogemus. Ad utrumque nodum explicandum codex Vindobonensis 711, qui mihi Suetonium pertractanti saepenumero auxilio subuenit, ueram rationem monstrare uidetur.

Vt ab ea re quam certiorem duco exordiar, in codice Vindobonensi haec inscriptio Dialogo praemissa est: INCIPIT DIALOGVS DE ORATO-RIBVS. Ad finem autem haec subscriptio legitur: Cornelii taciti de oratoribus explicit. Quin codex Vindobonensis, quippe qui in Suetonio archetypi memoriam tam saepe ubi in ceteris codicibus tamquam amissa est conseruasse uideatur, Dialogi inscriptionem et subscriptionem sic ut in Hersfeldensi codice se haberent proferat, uix dubium mihi uidetur. Quod si uerum est, monachus Hersfeldensis, qui nihil nisi singulorum opusculorum inscriptiones atque uerba prima transcripsit, Corneli Taciti nomen cum Dialogo coniunctum non inuenit. Decembrius autem, qui eos libros diligenter perlustrauit, Taciti nomen ad Dialogi finem inueniens, quasi inscriptionis pars esset, adduxit.

Impeditior est quaestio de foliorum numero, quibus Dialogus in Hersfeldensi codice continebatur. Nicolai commentarius simpliciter testatur, qui liber continet xviij folia. Decembrius autem haec scripsit: Opus foliorum xiiii in columnellis. post hec deficiunt sex folia.....deinde sequitur: "rem cogitare, nihil abiectum nihil humile." post hec sequuntur folia duo cum dimidio. et finit... Cum Decembrius de foliis loquitur, cuiuis apparere debet eum folia scriptura repleta significare. Nam quid folia duo cum dimidio sibi uelle possunt nisi tria folia quorum unum paginam uacuam habet? Quare num Decembrium septendecim modo folia in Dialogo Hersfeldensi uidisse credamus necesse est? Minime! cum nihil impediat quin in illa lacuna post folium quartum decimum aliud folium uacuum intercederet, quod Decembrius foliorum uacuorum nullam rationem habens commemorare neglexerit. Quod non uerisimile sed uerum esse codex Vindobonensis 711 mihi persuadet, quippe qui ad lacunam indicandam duas fere paginas uacuas praebeat, hanc tamen notam proferat: hic est defectus



unius folii cum dimidio.²⁶ Sedecim igitur folia scripturae plena cum dimidio, quae Decembrius testatur, et unum folium uacuum cum dimidio, quod Hugo Haemste codicis Vindobonensis librarius in exemplari suo uidere debebat, duodeuiginti faciunt folia, quae monachus Hersfeldensis in archetypo inuenit. In libro Hersfeldensi igitur folium quintum decimum et pagina prior foli sexti decimi uacua erant. In altera autem sexti decimi foli pagina Dialogi textus uerbis rem cogitare nihil abiectum nihil humile iterum susceptus usque ad octaui decimi foli finem pertinebat.

Quod autem Decembrius sex folia post folium quartum decimum deficere testatus est, eum sex folia uacua in ipso Hersfeldensi codice uidisse non puto, sed multo magis hoc indicium de sex foliis deficientibus iam in ipso Hersfeldensi scriptum inuenisse habendus est. Vtrum re uera Decembrius sex folia an sex paginas in Hersfeldensi codice legerit uel legere debuisset, altera est quaestio. Codex Ottobonianus de illa lacuna haec testatur: hic deest multum. in exemplari dicitur deesse sex paginas; codex autem Vaticanus 1862: hic desunt sex pagelle. Vterque codex optimus habendus est, et e duobus Hersfeldensis codicis apographis diuersis ortus ducunt. Quare probabilius mihi uidetur unum Decembrium folia pro paginae perperam scripsisse quam duos librarios paginae (uel pagellae) scribentes in eundem errorem incidisse. Hoc autem modo, nisi fallor, factum est ut codex Ottobonianus et codex Vindobonensis, qui certe ex eodem codicis Hersfeldensis apographo transcripti sunt, testimonia discordia de lacuna proferant. Ottoboniani librarius id quod in exemplari scriptum uidit narrat, sed ita caute ut uerbo dicitur usus sit, dum Vindobonensis scriba non id quod scriptum uidit, sed id quod re uera in exemplari suo extabat, hoc est unum folium uacuum cum dimidio, testatur.26

- * Scheuer (p. 48) et Philipp (1889, p. 290), qui uterque hunc codicem inspexerunt, duas fere paginas esse uacuas testantur. Gudemannus tamen in apparatu (ad Dialog. c. 35 ad fin.) obscure aliquot uersus uacui profert. Quare Gudemanno non possum non diffidere, cum uerba hic est defectus unius folii cum dimidio secundae manui in V (W in Suet.) attribuit.
- ²⁸ Quaestionem uexatam de magnitudine illius *Dialogi* lacunae ad praesens exagitare nolim; sin crederimus in Hersfeldensis codicis archetypo sex paginas uel uetustate consumptas uel nescio quo casu mutilatas fuisse, Hersfeldensis autem librarium in codice suo exarando eam rationem secutum esse ut exemplaris singulae paginae singulis columellis in nouo codice continerentur, omnia ad liquidum perduci uidebuntur. Nam Hersfeldensis codicis librarius sex columellas, hoc est unum folium cum dimidio, uacuas ea ratione relinquere potuit ut ea quae in exemplari sex paginis contenta essent, si olim integrius *Dialogi* exemplar in lucem prodiret, in sui codicis sex columellis uacuis scriberentur. Sed, ut de archetypi condicione accuratiorem notitiam daret, sex paginos in exemplori deficere scripsisse uidetur.

Meae rationi non obstat, quod Georgius Wissowa (p. XIV) Dialogo XVII folia tribuens codicem Hersfeldensem in sex quaterniones, inter tertiam et quartam duobus foliis inter se cohaerentibus interpositis, ita ut totus Dialogus et Suetoni fragmentum tribus ultimis quaternionibus continerentur, tam perite redegit (uide imaginem ab eodem prolatam). Nam si Dialogus non unum, ut putauit Wissowa, sed duo ultimae quaternionis folia complectebatur,



Restat ut de Alberto Enoch Asculano et eius peregrinatione librorum conquirendorum gratia disseram. Viri docti hodie, ut uidetur, inter se fere consentiunt, Enoch codicem Hersfeldensem anno 1455 Romam rettulisse. Saniorem tamen rationem secuti Georgius Voigtius,²⁷ Ricardus Wuensch,²⁸ Sanctus Consolius²⁹ de Enoch codicis Hersfeldensis inuentore optimo iure dubitationes mouerunt. Haec opinio, quae huius codicis inuentum Enoch Asculano attribuit, etiam nunc maximam partem duabus notis Ioannis Iouiani Pontani codici Leidensi adtextis, quas infra transcribam, subnititur. Quae autem hisce triginti annis ex uirorum doctissimorum indagationibus in lucem prodierunt, ut multis sententiam de Enoch Hersfeldensis codicis inuentore confirmare uidentur, sic me quidem iudice, si hanc opinionem non omnino explodunt, perdubiam saltem efficiunt.

In codicis Leidensis primi foli parte auersa ab eadem manu quae ipsum codicem exarauit²⁰ haec scripta leguntur: "Hos libellos Iouianus Pontanus excripsit nuper adinuentos et in lucem relatos ab Enoc Asculano quamquam satis mendosos. M.CCCC.LX martio mense." Itemque in foli quadragesimi septimi margine auersa ad nostri libelli Suetoniani primum caput haec inueniuntur: "C. Suetonius scripsit de viris illustribus, cuius exemplum secutus ²¹ Hieronymus ipse quoque libellum de scriptoribus Christianis edidit. Nuper etiam Bartholomeus Facius familiaris noster de viris illustribus temporis sui libros composuit. Qui ne hos Suetonii illustres uiros uidere posset mors immatura effecit. Paulo enim post eius mortem in lucem redierunt²² cum multos annos desiderati a doctis hominibus essent. Temporibus enim Nicolai²³ quinti pontificis maximi Enoc Asculanus²⁴ in Galliam et inde in Germaniam profectus conquirendorum librorum gratia, hos quamquam mendosos et imperfectos ad nos retulit. Cui



nulla est causa cur aliud folium, uel par foliorum quorum alterum uacuum relictum erat, ad Suetoniani opusculi partem ultimam accipiendam addi non potuerit. Idem uero post tertiam quaternionem factum esse satis constat. Hoc etiam proposuit W. Peterson (A. J. P. XXXX p. 77), licet in ceteris rationem a mea longe alienam secutus sit. Wissowae ratio, quamuis perite eam persecutus sit, magna ex parte coniectura subniti debet; neque contra Nicolai commentari testimonium de Dialogi duodeuiginti foliis ualere potest, si modo Decembri testimonium cum illo in concordiam redigi potest, quod quidem fecisse mihi uideor.

²⁷ Wiederbelebung I p. 255, adn. 3; II p. 202, adn. 1.

²⁸ Hermes XXXII (1897) p. 57 sqq.

²⁶ L'Autore della Germania p. 67 sqq.

^{**} Haec non est ipsius Pontani manus, cum ille non Leidensem codicem sed eius archetypum exarauerit. Vide infra p. 32, adn.19.

a seculis expunctum ante seculus in cod.

^{*} redier cod.

Micol. cod.

²⁴ Littera A expuncta est, et E littera quamquam iam euanida uel erasa supra posita.

sic habenda gratia²⁶ ut male imprecandum est Sicconio Polentano Patauino, qui cum eam partem quae est²⁶ de oratoribus ac poetis adinuenisset,²⁷ ita suppressit ut ne unquam in lucem uenire posset. Quam ego cum Patauii perquirerem, tandem reperi eam ab illo fuisse combustam; ipsumque arrogantia ac temeritate impulsum de uitis illustrium scriptorum loquacissime pariter et ineptissime scripsisse. IOV. PONTANVS. VMBER excripsit."

Primo igitur ea quae de Enoch Asculani peregrinatione et libris quos reportauit uiri docti eruere potuerunt enarrabo, deinde quae ex his indiciis et Pontani testimonio mea opinione concludere liceat, exponam.

Albertus Enoch Asculanus a Nicolao V pontifice maximo in terras septentrionales librorum Graecorum Latinorumque conquirendorum gratia missus anno 1451 profectus est.³⁸ Redisse autem uidetur autumno anni 1455 aliquot mensibus post patroni sui Nicolai V mortem.³⁹ Cuius de reditu Theodorus Gaza ad finem eiusdem anni 1455 Roma Neapolim apud regem Alphonsum demigrans notitiam pertulit, ut ex Antoni Panormitae id temporis Neapoli degentis litteris ad Ioannem Aurispam discimus:⁴⁰

"Theodorum tuum, quem mihi tantopere commendas, scito apud Alphonsum regem magnifice collocatum... Tu vero si me audis regem repete, qui te diligit et tibi meliuscule esse cupit...; cooptaberis mihi crede in amplissimas dignitates, si huc ad nos veneris...

"Veniens vero fac tecum deferas Apicium coquinarium et Caesaris Iter, ut refert Theodorus tuus, nunc iam meus, inventos Romamque perductos ..."

Huic epistulae respondens Aurispa die XIII mensis Decembris (a. 1455) haec quae ad nostram inquisitionem intersunt scripsit: "Apitium pauperem coquinarium quem petis vidi et legi; dictiones habet aliquas quae tibi forte placebunt... Caesaris Iter prosa oratione est, non versu. Porphirionem quendam in Oratium hic idem, qui Apitium ad nos perduxit, at-

- ** Primitus scripta esse uidentur kndę sunt grę, tertia autem manus kndę in knda mutauit, sunt radendo deleuit et est suprascripsit, deinde idem est deleuit; denique gra supra grę scripsit.
 - se eam est supra uersum add.
 - ⁸⁷ est inuenisset primitus scriptum esse uidetur.
- Epistula Nicolai V ad Ludouicum Erlichshusensem, quam Enoch secum portare debuit, die XXX mensis Aprilis a. 1451 data est. Quam uide apud Voigtium, Wiederbelebung II p. 200, adn. 3, siue apud Michaelisium, Praef. p. XXII. Enoch tamen aliquot mensibus post profectus esse uidetur, ut Gregori Corrari epistula ad Ioannem Arretinum die XXVIII mensis Octobris eiusdem anni data docet. Haec epistula apud Sabbadinium, Stor. e Crit. p. 276, edita est.
 - 39 Nicolaus V diem supremum obiit mense Martio a. 1455.
- ⁴⁰ Dies non indicatur, sed haec epistula haud diu ante sequentem scribi debuit. Haec et duae sequentes a Sabbadinio, Stor. e Crit. p. 283-7, publicatae sunt. De duabus primis epistulis anno 1455 et tertia anno 1457 uindicandis uide V. Rossium, Rendiconti Ser. V, II p. 138, adn. 4, et Sabbadinium l. c.



tulit, qui mihi magis aestimandus videtur quam quicquam aliud ab ipso adlatum. Sed eum qui codices hos invenit et Romam perduxit ad vos mittam cum omnibus musis suis. Putat enim si hos libellos regi donaverit aliquid praemii ab isto principe se habiturum, ad quod ego maxime illum exhortatus sum. Vale. Romae idibus decembris."

Anno et dimidio post Enoch libros suos nondum uendidisse altera Aurispae epistula ad eundem Panormitam die XXVIII mensis Augusti a. 1457 data docet: "Hisce diebus fuit hic Enochus. Quum eum rogarem ut eorum codicum quos e longinquis partibus attulit mihi copiam faceret, et praecipue Porphirionem super operibus Oratii petebam, respondit se velle omnia prius Alphonso regi tradere; cui opinioni ego hominem maxime sum exhortatus."

Alios quoque uiros litteris Latinis studentes de libris ab Enoch nuper reportatis habendis negotium dedisse epistulae a Carolo de Medicis, Cosimi filio spurio, pronotario apostolico ad Ioannem fratrem datae demonstrant.41 His in epistulis primo mentionem de Enoch facit Carolus die XII mensis Martii a. 1456. Enoch nonnulla noua reportasse declarauit ille quae tamen pluris propter nouitatem quam propter utilitatem aestimanda essent, neque cuiquam transcribendi copiam dare uelle, cum prius magnum librorum pretium ab aliquo domino potente pro tantis laboribus se accepturum speraret. Inuentarium etiam librorum ab Enoch seruatorum in eadem epistula inclusit Carolus, quorum quattuor eos qui maximi habendi essent notauisset. Praeter illos quattuor codices, dicit Carolus, ceteros omnes secundum opinionem multorum uirorum doctissimorum qui Enoch inuisissent haud flocci aestimandos, quibus etiam linguam Latinam melius carituram fuisse.48 Qui fuerint illi quattuor codices, alia in epistula die X mensis Decembris anni insequentis declarat Carolus haec nominans: Apicium De Re Coquinaria, Porphyrionem in Horatium, Suetonium De Viris Illustribus, Itinerarium Augusti,48 quorum tres ab Aurispa jam laudati erant. Ex eadem epistula Enoch Roma Ascolum concessisse ibique paulo ante mortuum esse, Carolum autem ad Stephanum de Nardinis de eius codicibus uel eorum apographis habendis scripsisse discimus. Num negotium cum Stephano de Nardinis e Caroli sententia successerit nescimus.

His igitur testibus prolatis quo iure uiri docti affirment Enoch nostrum codicem Hersfeldensem rettulisse non extrico. Nam de Taciti operibus minoribus nulla omnino mentio fit, neque ullo modo cum Enoch Asculani

⁴¹ A Victorio Rossio, *Rendiconti* Ser. V, II p. 129 sqq. editae. In temporum ratione Rossium auctorem ubique sequor.

⁴³". . . si che vedete se volete gettare via tanti danari per cose, che la lingua latina può molto bene fare senza esse, che a dirvi l'oppenione di molti dotti uomini, che gli anno visti, da questi quattro infuori che sono segnati . . . , tutto il resto non vale una frulla . . ." Rossius *l. c.*

⁴ Intellegendum est Itinerarium Antonini.

nomine coniuncta esse uidentur. Ioannem autem Aurispam Porphyrionem opusculis Taciteis praetulisse, et uiros doctos qui id temporis Romae degebant Germaniam, Agricolam, Dialogum, quorum desiderio Poggius ante uiginti fere annos uelut tabescere uisus erat, quorumque eodem tempore Panormita tam laetum nuntium sese praestitit, haud flocci aestimandos atque linguam Latinam potius dedecorare quam ornare iudicauisse non credo. Neque argumenta uana, ne dicam futilia, quae ad hunc scrupulum tollendum commenta sunt, stare possunt. V. Rossius⁴⁴ omnia ad liquidum perducere sibi uisus est, cum iudicauit Enoch ex illo codice, quo Suetoni libellus et opera Tacitea continebantur, id solum opusculum quod suam animaduersionem praecipue excitauisset in inuentario adnotauisse, nomen autem De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus in De Viris Illustribus immutauisse. quo propter fabulam de hoc libello iam uulgatam46 emptorem facilius inueniret. Quae ratio libelli Suetoniani titulum mutatum explicare possit, sed uerum nodum de opusculis Taciteis ex inuentario omissis nullo modo soluit. Certe non ita imperitus erat Enoch ut eum falleret Taciti opera minora uirorum doctorum cupidines ut cum maxime suscitatura fuisse. Immo uero haec in primis ad illud magnum pretium quod uellet merendum protulisset. Cur autem Maximiliani Lehnerdti opinionem⁴⁶ commemorem, qui Enoch non totius codicis contenta in inuentario adnotasse sed Suetoni modo libellum, propterea quod id primum locum obtineret, coniecit, siquidem in Hersfeldensi codice Suetoni opusculum non primum sed ultimum locum habebat? Neque maiorem fidem facit Annibaldi coniectura, a Enoch propter quandam malignitatem, qua contra suorum studiorum et diligentiae obtrectatores usus sit, ea ipsa inuenta quae pretiosissima essent celauisse.

Superstitio ista, quae Enoch nostri codicis Hersfeldensis inuentorem uult, praeter Pontani testimonium duobus argumentis subniti uidetur: primum quod illo ipso anno quo rediit Enoch Decembrius hunc codicem Romae uidit, deinde quod in inuentario ab Enoch comparato Suetonius De Viris Illustribus se habebat. Quorum argumentorum prius meo iudicio nihil ualet. Nam Decembri uerba Cornelii taciti liber reperitur Rome uisus 1455 nihil indicant nisi annum quo ipse hunc codicem primum uidit. Sin ab Enoch codex nuperrime adlatus esset, hanc rem uix praetermissurus erat Decembrius.

Grauius quidem est alterum argumentum, cum, si Enoch Hersfeldensem codicem reportasse negauerimus, aut illud De Viris Illustribus cuius mentio



⁴ Op. cit. p. 141.

⁴⁸ Famam de ea parte, quae erat de oratoribus et poetis, a Sicconio Polentano combusta in animo habuit Rossius. Vide Pontani notam supra p. 19 sq.

⁴ Hermes XXXIII (1898) p. 501.

⁴⁷ L'Agricola e la Germania . . . 1907, p. 145.

fit in Caroli de Medicis epistula non sit noster libellus De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus aut duo huius opusculi exemplaria saeculo quinto decimo Romam translata sint. Sed cum omnes codices qui extant praeter dubium ad unum atque idem archetypum referendi sint, duo fuisse exemplaria credere nequeo. Quae cum ita sint, haud dubium mihi uidetur, quin ille De Viris Illustribus non fuerit noster De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus sed alter ille libellus De Viris Illustribus incerti auctoris, qui nunc uulgo Aureli Victoris operibus coniungitur. Huius opusculi codices altiore inquisitione magnopere egent. In longe plurimis codicibus libellus C. Plinio Secundo uel Plinio oratori Veronensi addicitur, sed unum librum manuscriptum saeculi quinti decimi Suetonii Tranquelli nomen exhibentem noui.48 Idem autem opusculum Suetonio attribuitur in Angeli Sabini paradoxis in Iuuenalem Romae a. 1474 editis. 40 Talem etiam codicem Suetoni nomini addictum saeculo quinto decimo in Germania fuisse Francisci Pizolpassi die XVII mensis Decembris a. 1432 Nicolao Cusano scribentis uerba demonstrare uidentur: 60 "Tu quoque memorie habeto ut habeamus codices illos Suetonii Tranquilli ceterosque alios de uiris illustribus ducibusque iuxta firmata dudum."

Nunc ad Pontani testimonium, quod supra p. 19 exhibui redeundum est. Quae de Sicconio Polentono Patauino et de ea parte operis Suetoniani, quae erat de oratoribus ac poetis, ab eo combusta testatur ille, omni ueritate carere iudicanda sunt. Nam Polentonus ut tale scelus admitteret uix adductus esset nisi ea, quae in suo libro De Scriptoribus Illustribus componendo a Suetonio furatus esset, tegere uoluisset; sed eum ne minimam quidem Suetoni notitiam habuisse Ritschelius⁵¹ specimine libri eius prolato demonstrauit. Hoc igitur mendacium nihil ad nostram rem pertinet, nisi quod monere debet, ne Pontano testi nimiam fidem tribuamus.

Quid autem de ceteris a Pontano prolatis iudicandum est? Hoc cuiuis primo obtutu apparere debet, Pontanum nullam accuratiorem notitiam de codice Hersfeldensi habuisse, cum hos libellos, scilicet Taciti Dialogum, Germaniam, Suetoni fragmentum, ab Enoch Asculano nuper adinuentos et in lucem relatos testans, nihil omnino de Agricola dixerit, quae tamen eiusdem codicis Hersfeldensis pars erat. Quo etiam iure credere possimus Pontanum Neapoli degentem plura de libris ab Enoch reportatis cognouisse quam Aurispam, Carolum de Medicis, aliosque qui Romae uersabantur? Quid, quod Pontanus in codice suo exarando titulum De Grammaticis et

⁴⁴ Codex Marlboroughianus Blenheimensis. Vide infra p. 29, adn. 1.

⁴⁹ Ad *Sat.* I, II, III, VI l. 308, VIII. Osannum Rothiumque auctores sequor, cum Sabini librum habere non potuerim.

⁵⁰ Apud Sabbadinium, Scoperie II p. 18. Sabbadinius aliquod Hersfeldensis codicis apographon Pizolpassi uerbis significari, uerba autem ceterosque alios de uiris illustribus ducibusque ad Taciti opera minora repsicere putat. Quod uerisimile non credo.

an Parerg. I p. 632 sqq. Vide et Reifferscheidium, Quaest. Suet. p. 364.

Rhetoribus in De Viris Illustribus ita immutauit, ut ad titulum in inuentario Enochiano se conformaret? Nonne hoc per se suspiciones mouere debebat? Quare haud longe a uero aberrare uidebimur, si iudicauerimus Pontanum nihil de codicibus ab Enoch relatis nouisse nisi ea quae inuentarium Enochianum praestaret; aliquanto autem post illud inuentarium inspectum codicem quendam Taciti Dialogum, Germaniam, Suetoni De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus complectentem repperisse, qui codex non fuit Hersfeldensis apographon, ut uulgo credunt, sed tribus saltem gradibus ab eo remotus.⁵⁸ Hunc igitur codicem inspiciens Pontanus, et Suetoni De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus animaduertens, notitiam quam de opere Suetoniano De Viris Illustribus ex Hieronymo habebat cum ea quam inuentarium Enochianum ei praebebat coniunxisse uidetur, atque temere statuisse illum libellum, qui manibus suis uersabatur, uel eius archetypum ab Enoch reportatum esse. Cum autem Taciti Dialogus et Germania eodem codice continerentur, haec quoque opuscula mera coniectura, nisi fallor, eidem inuentori attribuit.

Testium nostrorum de libro Hersfeldensi agmen claudat codex Aesinus, qui anno 1902 in bibliotheca comitis Aureli Guilelmi Balleani Aesi¹⁴ repertus est. Hic codex, cuius accuratissima descriptio in docta Caesaris Annibaldi commentatione (a. 1907) inuenitur, folia 76 complectens, quorum ultimum uacuum est relictum, haec opera sic ut uides disposita continet: ff. 1-51 Dictyis Bellum Troianum, ff. 52-65 Taciti Agricolam, ff. 66-75 eiusdem Germaniam. Scripturae duarum diuersarum aetatum in hoc codice deprehenduntur, nam quinquaginta duo folia, uidelicet Belli Troiani ff. 5-8, 11-50, Agricolae ff. 56-63, scripturam Carolinam, quae uocatur, saeculi noni uel decimi prae se ferunt; cetera tamen folia uiginti tria, scilicet Belli Troiani ff. 1-4, 9-10, 51, Agricolae ff. 52-55, 64-65, una cum tota Germania, saeculi quinti decimi manum detegunt. In Belli Troiani parte antiqua aliam manum ab ea quae octo Agricolae uetera folia exarauit agnouit Annibaldius, quamquam utraque eidem aetati referenda sit. Folia autem nouicia omnia eidem manui uindicanda iudice Annibaldio a Stephano Guarnerio Auximate sunt confecta. Omnes autem paginae et antiquae et suppletae binas columnas habent, unde partem nouam ad imitationem uetustioris archetypi dispositam, atque, ut Annibaldi est sententia, ex eiusdem archetypi foliis nunc deperditis transcriptam esse constat. Quattuordecim foliorum, quibus Agricola continetur, prima quattuor nouicia sunt, sequuntur autem octo folia uetera in unam quaternionem disposita; duo deinde ultima folia sunt nouicia. Folium 69, in quo Germaniae pars scripta est, et folium 76



^{**} Codex Leidensis, cuius archetypum exarauit Pontanus, solus inter nostros codices titulum De Viris Illustribus habet.

[∞] Vide infra p. 122 sqq.

MId est oppidum Jesi prouinciae Anconitanae.

uacuum relictum, quae nunc totius codicis ultimae quaternionis par extimum faciunt, uetustioris sunt membranae atque olim antiqua scriptura repleta erant. Cuius scripturae antiquae uestigia non plane euanida ita apparent, ut Annibaldius certo iudicare potuerit haec duo folia (69 et 76) olim nullo alio folio interposito Agricolae ultimam partem, quae nunc in duobus foliis nouiciis (ff. 64-65) se habet, continuisse; Agricolae autem folia nouicia (64-65) ex his duobus foliis uetustioribus, postea erasis, transcripta esse. Nec minus certum uidetur prima quattuor Agricolae folia nouicia ex quattuor uetustis eiusdem archetypi foliis nunc deperditis profluxisse. Agricolae enim Hersfeldensis teste Decembrio erat opus foliorum decem et quattuor in columellis. Quae cum ita sint, non dubitari potest quin in Aesino codice octo folia integra (ff. 56-63), haec est tota quaternio, et duo folia erasa (ff. 69, 76) ipsius codicis Hersfeldensis conseruentur.

In foliorum erasorum (ff. 69, 76) scripturae antiquae uestigiis manum diuersam ab ea quae octo Agricolae folia uetera integra exarauit deprehendere sibi uisus est Annibaldius. Vnde quaestio grauissima, ut mihi uidetur, exoritur, utrum una an duae fuerint manus in codice Hersfeldensi. Nam si nostrum fragmentum Suetonianum non ab eadem manu atque Agricolae Aesini folia octo uetera exaratum est, satis constat Aesinum codicem non eiusdem esse auctoritatis in archetypo Suetoniano restituendo. Opinionem ab Annibaldio non summa fiducia prolatam persecutus W. Peterson. 45 quasi res extra omnem dubitationem poneretur, duas non unam fuisse manum in Hersfeldensi codice affirmauit. Neque hoc contentus alteram opinionem proposuit, codicem Hersfeldensem fortasse ita bipertitum fuisse, ut pars una saeculo decimo, pars autem altera posterius uel saeculo tertio decimo confecta esset. Sed Annibaldius nullum argumentum profert ad alteram manum statuendam nisi quod scriptura erasa in duabus ueteribus membranis (ff. 69, 76) subtilior atque eiusmodi esset, ut litterae densiores se praestarent et plura uerba singulis uersibus et columnis continerentur.

Cum haec quaestio ad nostram indagationem de archetypo Suetoniano magnopere intersit, computationem satis laboriosam institui, quae mea quidem opinione demonstrare debet nullum argumentum ad duas manus statuendas e scriptura subtiliore elici posse, nedum Petersoni de codicis diuersis aetatibus adsentiamur. Agricolae Aesini octo folia uetera (56-63) textum a c. 13, 2 munera¹⁶ ad c. 40, 7 ad Agricolam complectuntur. In Halmi editione Teubneriana, 1884, haec Agricolae pars circiter 4150 cm. occupat. 4150 in 32 (hic est columnarum numerus in quas contenta eorum octo foliorum distributa sunt) partes diuidentes numerum 130 fere efficimus. Hoc est, in Agricolae Aesini octo foliis ueteribus (56-63) singulae



^{*} A. J. P. XXXIIII (1913), p. 10-11.

⁵⁰ Halmi editione Teubneriana 1884 ubique utor.

columnae ut peraeque ducamus tot uerba, quot in editione Teubneriana 130 cm. obtinent, complectuntur. Transeamus nunc ad Germaniam, quae in Hersfeldensi codice primum locum obtinebat. In eadem editione Teubneriana totius Germaniae textus per 5800 cm. fere ducitur. Germania autem Hersfeldensis teste Decembrio in 12 folia uel 48 columnas distributa erat. Si subscriptioni .366 fere partem⁵⁷ unius columnae, inscriptioni autem dimidiam columnam⁵⁸ attribuimus, ea quae in editione Teubneriana per 5800 cm. ducta sunt in archetypo Hersfeldensi in 47.134 [48-(.5+.366)] fere columnas distributa erant. Ergo tot uerba, quot in editione 123 cm. (5800+ 47.134 = 123+) obtinent, in Germania Hersfeldensi singulis columnis continebantur. Agricolae Hersfeldensis prima quattuor folia textum ab initio usque ad c. 13, 2 munera complectentia eadem ratione tractantes, uerba, quae in editione Teubneriana per circiter 1900 cm. ducta sunt, in Hersfeldensi codice 15.5 columnas occupauisse reperimus. Singulae columnae igitur circiter 123 cm. (1900 ÷ 15.5 = 122.5) textus Teubneriani habebant. Quare continuo apparet in Hersfeldensi codice totius Germaniae et Agricolae foliorum quattuor priorum scripturam eiusdem densitatis fuisse, sed solutiorem quam Agricolae foliorum octo sequentium, quae nunc in Aesino codice conservantur (ratio autem est 123:130). Nunc ad Agricolae textum reliquum, c. 40, 7 ad Agricolam ad finem, in editione Teubneriana circiter 1170 cm. obtinentem, in archetypo autem per 7.634 fere columnas⁶⁰ distributum, transeo. In hac parte singulae columnae circiter 153 cm. (1170÷ 7.634 = 153.2+) textus Teubneriani amplectebantur. Unde apparet Annibaldium scripturam subtiliorem ac densiorem in hac Agricolae parte recte agnouisse, sed non eodem iure de altera manu statuisse. Quod tamen ex sequentibus certius fiet.

Dialogum, qui in Hersfeldensi codice tertium locum habebat, eadem computatione tractaui. Teste Decembrio huius libelli pars quae est ante lacunam, c. 35 iudices uentum, in Hersfeldensi codice quattuordecim foliis, hae sunt 55.5 columnae, continebatur. Quae pars autem in eadem editione Teubneriana per circiter 7780 cm. ducta est, ita ut in archetypo singulae columnae fere 140 cm. (7780÷55.5=140.1+) textus Teubneriani continerent. Dialogus igitur hac in parte scripturam subtiliorem uel densiorem quam Germania et Agricolae priora duodecim folia habebat, solutiorem tamen quam Agricolae ultima duo folia. Dialogi autem altera pars

⁶⁷ Hersfeldensis Agricolae textus teste Annibaldio in uersu 19 ultimae columnae alterius foli erasi (nunc f. 76 in Aesino codice) desinebat. Singulae columnae autem tricenorum uersuum (sic in Aesini Agricolae ueteribus foliis) erant. Subscriptio igitur spatium 11 fere uersuum (30–19 = 11) uel .366 partem (11 + 30 = .366) unius columnae occupauisse uidetur.

⁵⁶ Sic fere in Agricolae Aesini (suppleti) inscriptione.

Dimidiam columnam ut semper inscriptioni tribuo.

Subscriptioni .366 columnae partem attribuo.

⁴⁴ Dimidiam columnam inscriptioni tribuo.

post lacunam, c. 36 rem cogitant ad finem, duobus foliis cum dimidio, uel 9.634 columnis⁶³ continebatur, et in editione Teubneriana per circiter 1530 cm. ducta est. Singulae igitur columnae in archetypo 159 cm. (1530 + 9.634 = 158.8) secundum rationem Teubnerianam habebant. Scriptura igitur in Dialogi ultima parte densior erat quam in ulla codicis parte praecedente, unde confirmatur opinio, quam supra (p. 17 sq.) protuli, dimidium folium uacuum, quod e Decembri testimonio agnoscendum est, non ad libelli finem fuisse, sed in lacuna, cum nulla sit causa cur librarius uerba ita stipaturus fuerit ut dimidium folium ad finem uacuum relinqueretur.

Peruenimus tandem ad nostrum libellum Suetonianum, qui in Rothi editione Teubneriana, 1907 (1858),49 per circiter 4250 cm. tractus est, in Hersfeldensi autem codice septem foliis continebatur. Sed ultimae paginae altera columna si Decembrio fidem habemus, uerba modo a uindicem c. 30 (p. 127, 4) ad finem habebat (sunt autem in editione 25.5 cm.). Quot igitur uerba in editione Teubneriana per 4224.5 cm. (4250-25.5=4224.5) ducta sunt in codice Hersfeldensi modo per 26.5 columnas⁶⁴ distributa erant, etiam si nullum spatium grammaticorum rhetorumque indicibus, qui toti libello praemissi erant, tribuimus. Singulae igitur columnae aliquanto plus 160 cm. (4224.5+ 26.5=159.4+) textus Teubneriani habebant, cum indicibus spatium aliquod concedere oporteret. Quare in Suetoni libello scriptura etiam densior erat quam in Dialogi ultimis duobus foliis et dimidio. Quo comparatio inter singulas codicis Hersfeldensis partes facilius fiat, quae ex inquisitione mea euenerunt hanc in tabulam contuli, ita ut statim compareat quantum spatium in editione Teubneriana singulae textus partes nunc occupent, quae olim in archetypo singulis columnis, ut peraeque ducamus, continerentur:

Germania	ff.	1—XII123	cm.
Agricola	ff.	I—IIII123	cm.
Agricola	ff.	V—XII130	cm.
Agricola	ff.	XIII—XIIII153	cm.
Dialogus65	ff.	I—XIIII140	cm.
		XVI*—XVIII159	
Suetonius	ff.	I—VII	⊢cm.

Quae ex hac computatione euadant nemo non perspiciet. Si quandam normam ad manuum diuersitatem statuendam in sola scripturae densitate

⁶⁷ Subscriptioni .366 columnae partem tribuo.

⁶³ Haec editio, quod iudicare possim, eisdem typis est descripta atque Halmi editio, qua in operibus minoribus Taciteis usus sum.

⁶⁴ Dimidiam columnam inscriptioni tribuo.

⁴⁴ Inter folium XIIII et foli XVI partem auersam intercedebant folium uacuum et dimidium. Vide supra p. 17 sq.

quaeramus, non pro duabus manibus in Hersfeldensi codice sed pro tribus saltem statuere debeamus. Nonne autem luce clarius apparet codicem Hersfeldensem uno atque eodem fere tempore atque, quod iudicare possimus, ab uno eodemque librario exaratum esse, qui tamquam certum foliorum numerum habens, quae illis quattuor opusculis replendae essent, litteras subtiliores et densiores gradatim efficeret, ne membranae ad totum opus perficiendum deessent? Cui opinioni non obstat quod Agricolae duo ultima folia densiore scriptura repleta erant, quam Dialogi proxime sequentia folia, cum satis constet librarium textum ita producere noluisse ut Agricola in sequentis paginae media parte desierit.

De libelli Suetoniani archetypo, ut quae supra exposui breuiter repetam, haec fere statuere possumus. (1) In uno codice cum Taciti operibus minoribus coniunctum erat. (2) Quantum iudicare possumus, totum codicem una atque eadem manus exarauit. (3) Hic codex saeculo nono uel decimo, non saeculo tertio decimo ut uoluit Rothius, confectus est. (4) In monasterio Hersfeldensi, non Fuldensi uel Corbeiensi ut erat Reifferscheidi opinio repositus erat. (5) Ille ipse antiquus codex, non eius apographon, ut Reifferscheidius putauit, Romam inter annos 1431 et 1455 reportatus est. (6) Codicem ab Enoch Asculano relatum esse numquam probatum est, neque uerisimile uidetur. (7) Codicis Hersfeldensis una quaternio integra Agricolae textum a c. 13, 2 munera ad c. 40, 7 ad Agricolam amplectens in codice Aesino hodie seruatur.



CAPVT II

In quo undeviginti Codices qui Aetatem tulerunt Breviter describuntur

Opusculi Suetoniani De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus libri manuscripti undeuiginti, quod sciam, omnes saeculi quinti decimi parte posteriore confecti hodie sunt superstites. Hos ad unum archetypum referendos id praecipue demonstrat, quod omnes sic ut Hersfeldensis codex secundum Decembri testimonium cum uita Albuci Sili (c. 30 abstinuit cibo) desinunt, ita ut undecim rhetorum uitae, quorum nomina in indice toti libello praemisso reperiuntur, deficiant. Eodem pertinent haud paucae corruptelae, quae in omnibus codicibus deprehenduntur, uelut c. 3 (p. 102, 12)² panosagacema; c. 4 (p. 103, 13) tigida (ticida e coniectura L); c. 7 (p. 106, 6) hoc uel hic; c. 10 (p. 108, 11) hermam uel haere; c. 13 (p. 110, 21) eros nametra uel hero suo Metre; c. 14 (p. 112, 1) uelim cum mihi ille iucundus esse omis.; c. 26 (p. 123, 13) significabat; c. 29 (p. 124, 20) extricte uel extitisse, (p. 125, 6) in quem.

Horum codicum manuscriptorum omnium exemplaria phototypice depicta² Vniuersitatis Illinoiensis numquam satis praedicanda liberalitate in meum usum conquisita ipse contuli. His accedunt quinque editiones impressae uetustissimae, quas et ipsas phototypice expressas tamquam codices contuli. Libros manuscriptos et uetustissimos impressos primo breuiter describam, deinde ad nexum quem inter se habeant exponendum transibo.

O Codex Ottobonianus 1455 in bibliotheca Vaticana repositus, chartaceus, foliorum 346. Insunt: fol. 1-5a, Messala Coruinus De Progenie Sua; fol. 5a-9b, Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus; fol. 9b-19b, Tacitus Dialogus; fol. 19b-36a, Pomponius Mela Cosmographia; fol. 37a-41a, Cornelius Nepos ex libro de Latinis Historicis;

¹ Ne quis me ignorare putet Arthurum Schoenemannum in dissertatione inaugurali, a. 1910 (p. 47 sq.), uiginti huius libelli codices proferre, codex Maslboroughianus Blenkeimensis non est noster De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, sed liber De Viris Illustribus incerti auctoris, qui Aureli Victoris operibus uulgo coniungitur. Quod quidem locus ab ipso Schoenemanno citatus apertissime demonstrat: H. Schenkl, Bibl. patr. lat. Brit. n. 4960, Sitsungsber. d. Wien. Ak. 150, p. 76. "4°, ch. s. XV. 1. De Scipionibus. 2. Suetoni tranquilli de viris illustribus opusculum eruditissimum feliciter incipit. Phoca rex etc. 3. Eutropii Historiae." Codex autem Ambrosianus a Schoenemanno quasi Suetonium solum continens laudatus unus atque idem est ac codex Ambrosianus H 29 sup., qui Dialogum et Suetoni fragmentum complectitur.

² Paginarum numeri ubique ad editionem Reifferscheidianam respiciunt.

⁸ Codice Leidensi phototypice edito, Lugduni Batauorum, ex officina A. W. Sijthoff, 1907, usus sum.

fol. 41b-45b, Io. Bochacius Tabula Genealogiarum; fol. 47a-133a, Ex Genealogiis Deorum; fol. 133b-136b, uacua; fol. 137a-237b, Pius II Pont. Max. Historiarum Blondi Commentaria; fol. 237b-239b (?), Leonardus Aretinus In Vitam Virgilii; fol. 239b-243b, Rinuccius Decreta Atheniensium Traducta ad Poggium; fol. 243b-346a, Blondus Forliuiensis Italia Illustrata.

Cur hunc codicem ante annum 1466 exaratum credam infra (p. 56) docebo. Contulit ante me L. Lerschius, cuius collationem edidit Reifferscheidius.

W Codex Vindobonensis 711, Vindobonae in bibliotheca quae Haus-Hofund Staats-Archiv uocabatur repositus, chartaceus, uoluminum trium, quorum primum 239, alterum 331, tertium 254 folia numerata continent. Scripsit Hugo Haemste Romae anno 1466, ut subscriptio in alterius uoluminis folio 331a docet. In uolumine primo haec insunt: fol. 1-179a (post aliquot folia uacua), Blondus Forliuiensis Italia Illustrata; fol. 180a-194b, Blondus Forliuiensis De Verbis Romanae Locutionis ad Leonardum Arretinum cum responsione Arretini; fol. 195a-196b, Dialogus Charontis et Mercurii; fol. 197a-199b, Blondus Flauius Littera ad Baptistam, Caput de Ferro...; fol. 200a-211b, Tacitus Germania; fol. 212a-230b, Tacitus Dialogus; fol. 230b-239a, Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus.

Hunc codicem in lucem primus protulit Ioannes Huemer, qui anno 1878, Zeitschr. f. d. Oesterr. Gymn. XXVIIII p. 801 sqq., Dialogi, Suetoni fragmenti, Germaniae lectiones ex eo selectas publicauit. In Suetonio contulit Maximilianus Ihmius, indeque selectas lectiones edidit atque tractauit a. 1906, Rhein. Mus. N. F. LXI p. 543 sqq.

Hoc in codice manus secunda ob atramentum pallidioris coloris facile deprehenditur. Quae manus iudice Ed. Philipp⁶ anno 1520 posterior esse non potest.

N Codex Neapolitanus IV. C. 21 olim Farnesianus, Neapoli in bibliotheca nationis adservatus, membranaceus. Insunt: Tacitus Annales XI-XVI; id. Historiae I-V; id. Dialogus; Germania; Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus. Contulit ante me L. Lerschius, cuius collationem edidit Reifferscheidius.

⁴ fol. 339b(!), Reifferscheidius.

^{*} Wiener Studien XI (1889) p. 288.

Oescriptus est in Cataldi Ianelli Catalogo Bibl. Lat. Reg. Neap. Mus. Borb., Neapoli, 1827. Eadem fere descriptio in Ecksteini praefatione ad Waltheri Tacitum (1833) IV p. IX, siue in Orelli praefatione ad Tacitum (1846) I p. XV.

- G Codex Gudianus 93, Guelferbyti repositus, membranaceus, foliorum septem. Nihil nisi Suetoni libellum continet. Contulerunt ante me Theodorus Moebius, cuius collationem edidit Rothius, et Augustus Reifferscheidius.
- I Codex Vaticanus 1518,8 membranaceus, foliorum 198. Insunt: Porphyrio in Horatium; Persii uita et Cornuti in Persium commentum; Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus (ff. 166b-174 dupl.); Tacitus Dialogus; id. Germania. Adhibuit olim Achilles Statius in editione a. 1565 curanda, ut hae lectiones inter alias ab eo prolatae¹⁰ demonstrant: c. 2 (p. 101, 12) eques omis.; c. 3 (p. 102, 12) pansagasansema; c. 4 (p. 104, 10) e grammatici Statii¹² ludo; c.13 (p. 110, 21) Straberius nametra epturus; c. 26 (p. 123, 14) hordeam. Reifferscheidius Lerschi collatione usus est.
- B Codex Bodleianus Canonicianus Lat. class. 151, in bibliotheca Bodleiana Oxonii adseruatus, membranaceus. Suetoni libellus octo foliis et dimidio continetur. Praeter Suetonium insunt miscellanea, praesertim excerpta ex Augustini operibus. Primus contuli.
- D Codex Hauniensis, olim ex libris Ioannis Grammi,¹⁸ chartaceus. Insunt: Plinius (sic) De Viris Illustribus; Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus; Modestus De Re Militari. Suetoni libellus quindecim foliis et dimidio continetur, quae ab 1 ad 16 manu recentiore numerata sunt. Haud scio an olim hunc codicem contulerit Lerschius.¹⁴ Nemo tamen ante me in Suetonio edendo adhibuit.
- V Codex Vaticanus 1862, chartaceus, foliorum 43. Insunt: fol. 1a-13a, Tacitus Germania; fol. 13b-23a, Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus; fol. 23b-43b Tacitus Dialogus. Adhibuit olim Achilles Statius, ut hae lectiones inter alias ab eo in commentario prolatae docent: c. 4 (p. 104, 10) grammatici statim; 15 c. 10 (p. 108, 1) notus; c. 13 (p. 110, 21) hero suo Metre emtus 6 de catasta; c. 15 (p. 112, 14) domino omis.; 17 c. 26 (p. 123, 14) Ordinarium. 18 Contule-

⁷ Cf. Ebert, Bibl. Guelf., Lipsiae 1827, p. 159.

Vide Reiff. p. 99; Scheuer, p. 2.

Sic in codice folium designatur. Item folium praecedens numerum 174 dupl., qui erasus est, olim habebat. Folium sequens simpliciter 174 habet.

¹⁰ Duobus Vaticanis usus est Statius, 1518 et 1862.

¹¹ Perperam dicit Achilles in manuscriptis, quasi haec lectio in Vaticano 1862 quoque sit.

¹⁸ Est autem in I stacii pro statim.

¹⁸ Vide quae Arntzenius in *Praefatione* ad Aurelium Victorem, Amstelodami et Trajecti Batav., 1733, ex Grammi epistula de hoc codice protulit.

¹⁴ Vide Osannum, Praefat, p. 33.

¹⁸ V solus inter Vaticanos hanc lectionem exhibet.

¹⁶ emptus in V.

¹⁷ Errat Statius quod domino in utroque Vaticano omissum dicit.

¹⁸ Est autem hordinarium in V.

- runt L. Lerschius et Adolphus Michaelisius, quorum collationibus usus est Reifferscheidius.
- L Codex Leidensis XVIII Periz. Q. 21, in bibliotheca academiae Lugduno-Batauae adseruatus, membranaceus, foliorum 59. Insunt: fol. 2a-30a, Tacitus Dialogus; fol. 31a-46b, Tacitus Germania; fol. 47a-59b, Suetonius De Viris Illustribus (sic). Hic codex est apographon eius codicis deperditi, quem Ioannes Iouianus Pontanus anno 1460 exarauit. 19 Ludouicus Trossius hunc codicem in lucem anno 1840 protulit. Post Trossium contulerunt in Suetonio Fr. Ritschelius a. 1842, C. L. Rothius a. 1857, A. Reifferscheidius a. 1860, aliique. Rothius Reifferscheidiusque tamen in editionibus suis curandis collatione a Trossio neglegentissime facta, a Ritschelio autem correcta. 21 usi esse uidentur.
- M Codex Marcianus Class. XIIII 1 mss. lat. colloc. 4266,22 Venetiis in bibliotheca Marciana repositus, chartaceus, foliorum 224 numeratorum. Scriptus est Bononiae anno 1464 ad petitionem doctoris Ioannis Marcanouae, ut notae in foliis 184b, 193b, 222a demonstrant. Insunt: fol. 1-166a, Aeneae Silui de Piccolominis (olim cardinalis Senensis, postea pontificis maximi Pii II) De Ortu Gothorum; eiusdem quaedam orationes, breuia apostolica, bullae;23 fol. 166b-172b, Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus; fol. 172b-184b, Tacitus Dialogus; fol. 186a-193b, Tacitus Germania; fol. 196a-, Flauius Iosephus De Bello Iudaico. Duae manus in hoc codice deprehenduntur, quorum una opuscula Tacitea et fragmentum Suetonianum, altera cetera omnia exarauit. Haec etiam manus in Taciti opusculis et Suetoni libello correctiones fecit et notas marginales adiecit. Accuratam huius codicis collationem in Suetonio edidit G. Funaioli a. 1909, Studi Italiani XVII p. 269 sqq. Primus in editione curanda adhibui.
- K Codex Ambrosianus H 29 sup.²⁴ in bibliotheca Ambrosiana Mediolani adseruatus, chartaceus, foliorum 43 numeratorum. Continet:²⁵ fol. 1a-14b Suetoni De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus; fol. 15a-43b, Taciti Dialogum. Accuratissimam collationem edidit R. Sabba-

²⁹ Vide Pontani notas supra p. 19 sq. exhibitas. Hunc ipsum codicem a Pontano non esse exscriptum extra omnem dubitationem demonstrauit Georgius Wissowa (p. XVIII).

[&]quot;Vide Wissowam, p. XXXII adn. 1.

[&]quot; Parerg. Plant. I p. 610 sqq.

²² Videndi sunt A. Thomas, Münchener Gelehrte Anseigen XXXVI (1853) p. 1-4; Philipp 1904; Funaioli 1909.

²⁵ Accuratior notitia apud Thomam invenitur.

M Videndi sunt Sabbadinius 1903; Philipp 1904.

²⁶ Tituli manui posteriori assignandi sunt. Vide infra p. 141, adn. 226.

- dinius a. 1903, Studi Italiani XI p. 229 sqq. Primus in editione curanda adhibui.
- H Codex Harleianus 2639²⁶ Londini in Museo Britannico adseruatus, membranaceus, foliorum 43. Continet: fol. 2a-14b, Suetoni De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus; fol. 15a-43b, Taciti Dialogum. Ante annum 1470 scriptus esse uidetur.²⁷ Contulit satis neglegenter Fr. Osannus.
- P Codex Parisinus 7773 Lutetiae in bibliotheca nationis repositus,28 membranaceus. Insunt: Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus (ff. 1a-26b); Tacitus Dialogus. Hic saepissime omnium adhibitus est. Primus Petrus Pithoeus in Dialogo edendo a. 1580 hoc codice usus29 (exemplar in Italia ante aliquot annos descriptum dicit) parti Suetonianae quoque operam dedisse uidetur, siquidem lectionem incipere (c. 30, p. 126, 2) ex uetere suo exemplari protulit. 30 Secundus erat Iacobus Bongarsius, si Rothi opinionem 31 sequimur, cuius collatione in editione a. 1595 usus est Casaubonus. Deinde ipsum codicem Paulus Petauius, qui eum tunc possidebat, Casaubono alteram editionem a. 1610 exornanti commodauisse uidetur. Isaaci Vossi quandam collationem adhibuerunt Petrus Burmannus a. 1736 et Franciscus Oudendorpius a. 1751 in editionibus curandis, quam ad eiusdem Parisini codicis fidem factam praeter dubitationem demonstrauit Fr. Osannus.38 Frid. Aug. Wolfius etiam Leclusi merito huius codicis collationem ad editionem suam a. 1802 exornandam adeptus est.⁸⁴ Denique Osannus Rothiusque editiones suas praeparantes comparauerunt. Parisinum Harleiani esse apographon infra (p. 162 sq.) docebo.
- U Codex Vrbinas 1194 in bibliotheca Vaticana repositus, membranaceus. Insunt: Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, fol. 156a-172b; Tacitus Dialogus c. 1-27, 3 sed causas, fol. 172b—. De ceteris hoc codice contentis nihil compertum habeo. In Orbili Pupilli uita (c. 9) uerba a destitutus (p. 106, 19) ad Horatius (p. 107, 6), deinde a cecidit (p. 107, 9) ad capitis finem deficiunt; itemque in Atei Philo-

Copiosissime descripsit W. Peterson in praefatione ad *Dialogum* (a. 1893) p. LXXV sqq.
 Vide Petersonem, op. cit. p. LXXVII.

²⁸ Videndus est Egger, Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumswiss. III (1836) p. 337 sqq.

Begger, op. cit.

^{**} M. Fab. Quintiliani Declamationes . . . Dialogus de Oratoribus, Ex Bibliotheca P. . Pithoei I. C., Lutetiae, M. D. LXXX, in excursu post p. 458.

a Praefat. p. LIX et adn. 36,

²⁰ Casaubon. ed. alt. a. 1610, p. 223: Vnum exemplar Senator amplissimus Paulus Petauius exhibuit. Vide Rothium l. c.

³³ Praefat. p. XXXIII.

⁴ Vol. I praefat. p. 11.

- logi uita uerba a nonnullum (c. 10, p. 108, 9) ad finem omissa sunt. Multis aliis lacunis et uitiis hic codex est maculatus.³⁵ Primus contuli.
- C Codex Phillipsianus Cheltenhamensis 7283,36 olim in bibliotheca Thomae Phillips, accessit bibliothecae quondam regiae Berolini a. 1908, Ms. lat. Oct. 197, membranaceus, foliorum 118. Suetoni libellus primum locum (fol. 6a-19a) obtinet. Sequuntur carmina uaria; Columella lib. X; Elegia Maecenatis; Cicero De Legibus; excerpta e Plinio minore, Martiali, Victorino, Donato, Tacito, Seneca rhetore, Liuio; Censorinus De Die Natali; alia. In folio 19a ad nostri libelli finem haec subscriptio legitur: Hic antiquissimum finit exemplar: quod non integrum uidetur: Fabius scripsit Romae: Primus contuli.
- F Codex Florentinus Laurentianus Gaddianus plut. 89. inf. 8, 1,37 membranaceus, foliorum 124. Insunt: fol. 1-121a, Suetonius Caesares; fol. 121a-124b Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus ad c. 18 (p. 114, 4) hic initio. Codicem integrum olim fuisse id, quod tota ultima pagina scriptura sed iam diluta et obscurata repleta est, persuadet. Collationem accuratam edidit G. Funaioli a. 1909, Studi Italiani XVII p. 268 sqq. Primus in editione curanda abhibui. Florentinum codicem Cheltenhamensis esse apographon infra (p. 175) demonstrabo.
- Δ Codex Vaticanus 4498,²⁸ membranaceus, foliorum numeratorum 145. Insunt: fol. 1a-20a, Frontinus De Aquaeductibus;²⁰ fol. 20b-35b, Rufus De Prouinciis; fol. 36a-45a, Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus; fol. 45b-63a, Plinius (sic) De Viris Illustribus; fol. 63b-77b, Tacitus Agricola; fol. 78b-97a, Tacitus Dialogus; fol. 97b-109a, Tacitus Germania; fol. 109b-110b, M. Iunius Nupsus De Mensuris; fol. 111a-114b, Incertus De Ponderibus; fol. 115a-118b, Seneca ἀποκολοκύντωσις; fol. 119a-145, Censorinus De Die Natali. Primus in Suetonio contuli.
- Q Codex Berolinensis 1019 lat. fol. 28, in bibliotheca quondam regia Berolini repositus, membranaceus, foliorum 234. Continet: Suetoni Caesares; eiusdem De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus (fol. 221b-234b). Ad codicis finem in folio 234b haec subscriptio legitur: ANTONIVS SINIBALDVS FLORENTINVS ILLVSTRIS-



³⁶ Vide infra p. 163 sq.

³⁶ Videndi sunt H. Schenkl. Bibl. patr. lat. Brit. no. 1712, Sitsungsber. d. Wien. Ak. vol. 127, 1892, p. 14; R. Ellis, Journal of Philology XIX (1891) p. 174 et p. 181.

⁸⁷ Bandinius, Catalog. Cod. Lat. Bibl. Laurent. III p. 355; Funaioli, op. infra cit. p. 268 sqq.

²⁸ Vide Annibaldium, op. cit. p. 68 adn. 4.

m Titulus deficit in codice.

SIMI DOMINI DÕ IOANNIS DE ARAGONIA FAMI-LIAĪS EXCRIPSIT NEAPOLI MCCCCLXXVII IVÑ XXV. Infra manu posteriore: Bibliothecae Electorali Brandenburgicae d.d. Daniel Weiman. Osannus huius codicis collationem a Ioanne Ehlinger Wetzlariensi factam accepit; Rothius autem Rudolphi Burckhardt Basiliensis collationem edidit.

S Codex Neapolitanus IV. B. 4. bis, Neapoli in bibliotheca nationis adservatus, chartaceus. Insunt: (1) Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus fol. 1a-6a; (2) Tacitus Dialogus fol. 7a-19b; (3) M. Fabius Victorinus Expositio in Ciceronis libros Rhetoricon; (4) Adnotationes in Ciceronis pro Sex. Roscio Amerino orationem (nullus titulus est praefixus); (5) In orationem Ciceronis pro Q. Ligario animaduersiones; (6) Saco Polentonus Argumenta in Orationes Ciceronis; (7) Epitome quaedam Quintiliani Institutionum Oratoriarum; (8) Libellus de Dialectica (nullus titulus est praefixus); (9) Libellus de Definitione et Topicis (sine titulo).

In hoc codice libelli Suetoniani priora undecim capita in epitomen redacta sunt, quae initio breuissima et ita confecta ut sensus obscuretur uel etiam mutetur pedetemptim crescit, donec inde a capite XII textus integrum, quamquam uitiosissimum, se praestat. De hoc codice sic scripsit Cataldus Ianellius: Haec omnia ex Schola Victorini Feltrensis ea aetate celeberrima fuisse profecta arbitrari pronum est. Victorini Feltrensis tamen aetate certe est posterior.

EDITIO INCERTA, quam secundum Rothium nomino, sine urbe anno typographi nomine, foliorum quaternariorum minorum XV, uersiculorum uicenorum quaternorum. Titulus sic legitur: SVETONII TRANQVILLI DE/ GRAMMATICIS ET RETHORI/BVS (sic) CLARISSIMIS LIBELLVS/ FOELICITER INCIPIT. In folio 15b postremus uersiculus hic: cibo. FINIS AMEN. Hain 15132; Panzer IV p. 197. Venetiis ex officina Nicolai Jenson circiter anno 1471 prodisse dicitur. Exemplar Parisinum in bibliotheca nationis (Rés. R. 1388) anno 1919 inspexi. Exemplarium Britannici (in Museo Britannico C. 2. a. 20) et Germanicia imagines phototypice expressae in bibliotheca Vniuersitatis Illinoiensis repositae sunt.

^{*} Catalog. Bibl. Lat. Reg. Neap. Mus. Borb., Neapoli 1827, p. 284.

⁴¹ Nunc demum hoc libello confecto et typographis paene mandato huius codicis schedulae phototypice depictae in manus meas peruenerunt. Quare testimonia eius non protuli, neque tamen piget tam maculatum et uitiosum codicem praetermittere. De necessitudine quae huic codici cum ceteris intercedit uide infra p. 141 adn. 224; p. 152 adn. 256.

Rothius, *Praefat*. p. LIII, exemplaria Goettingense et Stuttgartinum commemorat. Schedulae phototypicae quas habeo Berolino nescio qua ex bibliotheca expeditae sunt.

Hanc editionem emendauisse et edidisse Bononiae per Benedictum Hectoris anno 1504 dicitur Philippus Beroaldus. Cuius tamen editionis exemplar nullum noui, sed repetitionem modo Argentorati a. 1510 apud M. Schurerium in publicum emissam, 4 quae ad exemplar Berolinense phototypice expressa bibliothecae Vniuersitatis Illinoiensis nuperrime accessit.

EDITIO VENETA 1474 cum Modesto De Re Militari coniuncta. Parti Suetonianae praefatus est Ioannes Aloisius Tuscanus. Noster libellus folia XV octonaria (fol. 29a-43b) complectitur. In folio 44a subscriptio haec: Modesti de re militari magistratibus urbis & sacerdotiis necnon & Suetoni de grammaticis liber impressus opera & impendio Bartholomei cremonensis ac Bartholomei de carlo uercellensis eius consocii. Venetiis die .xxvii. Madii. M. cccc. lxxiiii Nicolao Marcello inclyto Venetorum duce. / DEO GRATIAS. Exemplar Parisinum (Rés. R. 1457) anno 1919 contuli. Britannici etiam exemplaris (in Museo Britannico C. 5. a. 24) imago phototypice depicta Vniuersitatis Illinoiensis liberalitate in meum usum conquisita est.

Est autem altera eiusdem editionis impressio, quam ROMANAM nomino, cum Aloisi praefatione sed Modesto carens, sine anno loco typographi nomine, quam bibliophili Romae uel ex Ioannis Gensbergi officina uel per Ioannem Schurener de Bopardia prodisse docent. Chartas ad exemplar Bodleianum phototypice expressas habeo.

EDITIO FLORENTINA 1478 foliorum quaternariorum minorum XIIII. Initium est: C. SVETONII. TRANQVILLI/

⁴³ Panzer IX p. 411, no. 28. b: "Suetonii Tranquilli De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus Clarissimis Libellus Foeliciter Incipit. Haec in fronte fol. 1a. In fine: Impressum Bononiae per Benedictum Hectoris Bibliopolam et Impressorem Elegantissimum Anno Salutis M. CCCCCIV Die XXVII Janua. Ex Castigatione Beroaldi. Insigne typogr. 4. Biblioth. Scheurl."

⁴⁴ Panzer IX p. 358, no. 196. b: "C. Plinii Secundi Junioris Liber Illustrium Virorum. C. Plinii Secundi Junioris Vita per Angelum Tiphernatem. C. Suetonii Tranquilli De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus Claris Libellus. Ex Castigatione Philippi Beroaldi. In fine: Argentorati apud. M. Schurerium. Mens. Martio. M. D. X. REGNANTE MAXMILIANO AVG. 4."

⁴⁶ Hain 15131; Panzer II 528, 670; Proctor 3515. Haud scio an haec impressio uetustior habenda sit quam Veneta 1474, cum c. 25 (p. 122, 5) uerba et catasceuas itemque (1.6) haec in Veneta desint, in Romana autem editione integra (catascenas pro catasceuas) exhibeantur. His quoque locis Veneta editio falsas lectiones profert, Romana autem cum scriptis libris facit: c. 3 (p. 103, 4) ed uisu pro sed uisu (et omis. in utraque); c. 4 (p. 103, 25) posteriorem pro posteriores; c. 10 (p. 108, 21) cum defuncto pro eo defuncto; c. 11 (p. 110, 1) nimio (= C D) pro minio; c. 25 (p. 120, 15) eam a pro eam et, (p. 121, 7) mutinasi pro Mutinensi, (p. 122, 8) controuersio pro controuersiae. C. 24 (p. 118, 10) tamen Veneta repetere cum omnibus libris scriptis (recepere O reperire U) praeter Vaticanum Δ testatur, dum Romana editio repeteret, quod in solo Vaticano Δ inuenitur, exhibet. Itemque c. 2 (p. 101, 14) Veneta l Aelius, Romana Aelius spatio uacuo ante relicto; c. 3 (p. 101, 17) Veneta numidicum, Romana mimidicum; c. 14 p. 112, 1) Veneta illi, Romana ille.



DE GRAMMATICIS. ET RHE/TORIBVS. CLARIS. LIBER. IN/CIPIT. In folio 14b subscriptio est haec: NIL. AMPLIVS. REPERITVR./ IMPRESSVM FLORENTIAE A/PVD SANCTVM IACOBVM DE/ RIPOLI. MC CCCLXXVIII. Copinger 5672; Proctor 6104; Panzer I 406,17. Exemplar Parisinum (Rés. J. 1259) anno 1919 inspexi. Exemplaris Britannici (in Museo Britannico G. 7491) phototypice depicti copiam habeo.

In commentatione haec quoque sigla saepius usurpaui:

- X consensus codicum O W.
- Y consensus ceterorum omnium.
- a consensus codicum N G I.
- β consensus codicum B D V L.
- γ consensus codicum M K H P U S C F Δ O.
- ω consensus omnium codicum praeter nominatim prolatos.

De ceteris siglis ad codices deperditos designandos uide stemma infra (p. 186) exhibitum.

⁴⁶ Apud nostrates haec editio in bibliotheca Collegii Sanctissimae Trinitatis Hartfordiae in se publica Connecticutensi adseruatur. Suetonius ab Apicio seiunctus nonnumquam inuenitur, ut in bibliothecis Vniuersitatum Lipsiensis et Vratislauiensis (uide Rothium, proefat. p. LIV adn. 33, 1), et in Mus. Nat. Hung. 862 (uide Copinger 5671). Apicius autem sine Suetonio in Museo Britannico (1037 h. 3) repositus est.

⁴⁷ Haec Florentinae uitia inter alia in editione cum Apicio coniuncta correcta sunt: c. 15 (p. 112, 12) inerudissimum; c. 20 (p. 115, 10) cum, (p. 115, 11) decessisset; c. 22 (p. 116, 19) gallius; c. 23 (p. 117, 13) militem pro iudicem, (p. 117, 15) sumptus; c. 30 (p. 126, 15) personalem, (p. 127, 3) ispeum, (p. 127, 5) ob uitium om. Haec fere Venetae editionis propria introducta sunt: c. 7 (p. 106, 4) tradat; c. 23 (p. 117, 8) uero ex uariis; c. 25 (p. 120,4) ita edixerunt, (p. 122, 17) porta auri.

CAPVT III

DE FAMILIIS X ET Y

In quo duo Hersfeldensis Codicis fuisse Apographa X et Y, atque ex Apographo X Codices O W, ex Apographo avtem Y ceteri Codices omnes profluxisse demonstrantur

I. Lectiones peculiares utrivsque Familiae, nec non et singulorum Codicum O W Tabulis exhibentur

Nunc ad nexum quem codices nostri inter se exhibent enarrandum Libros undeuiginti qui aetatem tulerunt, qui uel cursim eos perlustrauerit, in quattuor classes uel ordines disponendos facile iudica-Quarum classium una libros Ottobonianum 1455 (O) et Vindobonensem 711 (W), altera Neapolitanum uel Farnesianum (N) Gudianum (G) Vaticanum 1518 (I), tertia autem Bodleianum (B) Hauniensem (D) Vaticanum 1862 (V) Leidensem Perizonianum (L), quarta etiam eos codices quos uiris doctissimis libros deteriores nominare placuit, dico Venetum Marcianum (M) Mediolanensem Ambrosianum (K) Harleianum (H) Parisinum (P) Vrbinatem (U) Phillipsianum Cheltenhamensem (C) Florentinum Laurentianum (F) Vaticanum 4498 (Δ) Berolinensem (Q) alterum Neapolitanum (S), complectitur. Impeditissima tamen est quaestio quaenam sit necessitudo inter has quattuor classes, utrum una quaeque recta uia a ceteris non pendens e libro Hersfeldensi ortus ducat, an aliqua artior necessitudo inter duas uel tres classes indagari possit, unde efficiatur ut nostri codices non e quattuor codicis Hersfeldensis apographis sed e duobus uel tribus originem trahant. Mihi codices nostros iterum atque iterum diligenter perlustranti, lectionesque peculiares unius cuiusque alias aliis conferenti, illa classis quae libros O W complectitur ita tota indole a ceteris differre, tamque multis locis memoriam libri Hersfeldensis, ubi in ceteris tamquam amissa sit, reuocare uidetur, ut dubitare non possim, quin duo illi codices O W totam familiam faciant, quae recta nullis aliis libris contaminata e codice Hersfeldensi originem trahat. Ceteri autem codices omnes, quamquam mirum in modum inter se discrepant, propter id ipsum quod eis locis ubi O W ab eis abhorrent, fere consentiunt, alteri unicae familiae meo quidem iudicio assignandi sunt. Quae si uera sunt, duo fuerunt libri Hersfeldensis apographa, quorum unum duos modo filios procreauit, ad alterius memoriam reuocandam nepotes et pronepotes satis

numerosi etiam nunc extant. Vnam familiam cuius codices O et W soli sunt superstites X, alteram ceteros libros omnes complectentem Y nomino.

Primum lectiones utriusque familiae columellis iuxta positis exhibebo, deinde lectiones notabiliores singulatim excutiam hoc consilio, ut demonstrem codices O et W ceteris omnibus oppositos saepissime eam memoriae diuersitatem exhibere, quae numquam in communi eorum archetypo per emendandi uel interpolandi studium neque per librari neglegentiam et inscitiam exoriri potuerit, sed ad ipsum Hersfeldensem codicem referenda sit. Postremo trium familiae Y stirpium singularum lectiones proprias ostendam, et demonstrare conabor memoriae diuersitatem inter has stirpes, quam permagnam esse non infitior, eius modi esse ut non ad tria Hersfeldensis libri apographa referenda sit, sed ad tria apographa unici codicis Y, qui ipse Hersfeldensis codicis fuerit apographon.

Cum inter familiae Y singulos codices multae discrepantiae exortae sint, eas in columella a dextra posita accurate indicaui, sed ita ut ei lectioni quam in ipso Y fuisse iudico primum locum semper attribuerim. Non tamen eas discrepantias quae ad orthographiam pertinent neque uicem inter litteras maiusculas et minusculas indicare semper uisum est. Vsitata scribendi compendia ubique resolui. Nonnumquam fit ut unus et alter familiae Y codex, fortuito ut censeo, cum familia X conspiret. His locis familiae Y codicem (uel codices) cum X facientem in sinistra columella uncis inclusum indicaui.

His igitur in locis familia X genuinas lectiones proferre mihi uidetur:1

```
X (O W)
                                                     Y (ceteri omnes)
c. 2, p. 100, 18 ualetudinis (in uali-
                                          ualitudinis
                   tudinis mut. m.2
                   \mathbf{W}) (=\mathbf{V})
     p. 101, 12 generque aelii W
                                         gener .Q. Aelii (uel Elii)
                   generque elii 0 (=
                   Lm.3
c. 4, p. 103, 20 titulo sed
                                          titulos sed \omega titulis sed \Delta
                  (=D) titulo sed G)
     p. 104, 2 adlocutiones<sup>2</sup>
                                          allocutiones \omega alloquutiones \mathbf{H} Q
                                          alloqutiones I K aloquutiones B
                                          elocutiones U
                                          assumpsisse
c. 10, p. 108, 14 adsumpsisse
c. 11, p. 109, 5 P. Valerius (= Pu-
                                          Valerius (Vulerius H)
                   blius uallerius B)
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¹ Paginarum et uersuum numeri ad editionem Reifferscheidianam respiciunt. Lectiones peculiares quas X cum N et secunda manu in G communes habet infra p. 87 sq. reperies.

² Alia fortasse est quaestio num tales formae praepositione sincere scripta in editiones semper adhibendae sint, quas tamen inter bonas lectiones exhibeo, cum persuasum habeam eas ex ipso Hersfeldensi in codices O et W manauisse. Vide infra p. 66 sq.

X ((O W)	Y (ceteri omnes)
c. 17, p. 113, 16	nequem	neque
c. 18, p. 114, 5	mimographus	mimographos ω mimographis C Δ minographis Q
c. 21, p. 115, 18	adserente	asserente
c. 22, p. 116, 12	petit	petiit ω petisse I
c. 23, p. 116, 22	Remmius (Q. om.) O M Emmius, in	Q. (uel Quintus) Rhemmius ω Q. (uel Quintus) Rheminius β Q Rhem-
	marg. eadem manu	mius (Q. omis.) K QVintus ramnius
	ał Q Remmius W	U q Vintus Rhemnius Δ Quintus (Remmius omis. spat. uac. relict.)Η
p. 117, 1	erilem	herilem (heredem Δ)
14		parcisse ω parsisse D H Δ parcisse
	U) percisse W	V partisse K
c. 24, p. 118, 6	petit	petiit (petiti C)
c. 25, p. 119, 10	sero (= serv in marg. B)	fere (ferrē B)
p. 120, 2	uti	ut si
c. 25, p. 122, 19	educeret ²	educerent
c. 26, p. 123, 5	Titinium $O(-K)$	Titinnium & titinnum B ticinnium
	U) ticinium W	D titomnium A titumium Q
c. 27, p. 124, 2	ostiarius (= Q)	hostiarius
c. 28, p. 124, 14	nucerino (=B)	nuncino ω nuntino I Δ Mancino L M K —minemo Q
c. 29, p. 125, 2	temptare W (= K U temptare in tentare mut. G) temperare O	tentare
4	obicit (= B K)	obiicit
c. 30, p. 127, 1	excanduisset ut	excanduisse et ut (et del. m.3 ut uid.
c. 50, p. 121, 1	(=BD)	in L) ω excanduisse ut a

His in locis familiam X falsas lectiones exhibere censeo, quarum tamen, ut infra demonstrare conabor, nonnullae ueriorem imaginem Hersfeldensis codicis praebent quam emendatiores lectiones in Y:

Inscriptio

Ante grammaticorum et C. SVETONII (Suttonii I SVErhetorum indices: Incipit C. Suetoni tranquilli de grammaticis & rethoribus; post indices: INCI
X (O W)

Y (ceteri omnes)

C. SVETONII (Suttonii I SVETONI V) TRANQVILLI DE
GRAMMATICIS (gramaticis I)
ET RHETORIBVS (rethoribus I)
INCIPIT N G I V

³ Vide infra p. 90 sq.

⁴ Vide infra p. 59 sq.

 \mathbf{X} (O \mathbf{W}) Y (ceteri omnes) Litterae minusculae in G I usurpan-PIT. C. SVETONI (mutur. In G I inscriptio indicibus praetauit in SVETONII m.2) TRANQVILLI. DE/ missa est; in V inscriptio indices GRAMATICIS. ET/ sequitur; N indicibus caret. RHETORIBVS. FELI-CITER. W C. SVE-TONII. TRANOVILLI. DE. GRAMMATICIS. ET. /RHETORIBVS. INCIPIT. FELICI-TER ante indices O Index p. 98, 5 grifo Gnipho w Grapho a gnifo B 6 Pomilius O pomi-**Pompilius** lius W 17 afrodisius aphrodisius c. 2, p. 100, 14 Haristarci O Aristarci ω Aristarchi DVLHUΔ haristarci W Aristarchie B aliquid w aliud H U C A c. 3, p. 102, 8 aliqua 13 capulo O capulo, Catulo & Catullo B V H K Q Catulin marg. eadem lo in Catulo corr. et m.1 et m.3 L man. catulo W c. 5, p. 104, 18 libertis in libertus libertus corr. m.2 W libertis om. in text. add. in marg. eadem man. O c. 6, p. 105, 1 phylosophiam 0 philosophiam ω phiam I V L M K H phylosophyam W 5 aliquo duo lumina aliquot uolumina aliquot duo uolumina sed duo inducto 0 c. 8, p. 106, 7 epycureae W epyерісигеве curee O c. 9, p. 107, 2 qui est 0 qui est in cui est corr. m. 2 W

• Indices grammaticorum et rhetorum in O W G I B V L M C \(\Delta\) inveniuntur, in N D K H P U Q F deficiunt.

⁵ Hi soli codices eam inscriptionem quam in codice Y et ipso Hersfeldensi libro fuisse censeo conseruant. In ceterorum librorum inscriptiones interpolationes inrepserunt. Vide infra p. 116; p. 141 sq.

	X (O W)	Y (ceteri omnes)
4	parentium	parentum
c. 10, p. 107, 19	pallenti	palliati uel palleati ⁷
p. 108, 5	praetextatis (pre- O) nobis	praetextatus nobilis
9	nullum	non nullum
18	significant	significat ω signant H significatur
		Δ sigt M B V L
18	ylen spatio uacuo	hylen D V M Cm.1 hyle; I hylê B
	litterae miniatae re-	hilen A Q hylem N G H Cm.2 hy-
	licto; in ylem im- mut. m.2 W Ylen	lam K hilem L omis. U
c. 11, p. 109, 12	latinas irem O	latina siren a latina syren (syren in
c. 11, p. 109, 12	latinas item W	siren corr. m.3 L) ω
15	lydia & icida	Lydiae Ticida
19	saeculo (seculo 0)	Saecula (uel Secula) ω Secunda B
p. 110, 6	•	racemi duo
c. 13, p. 110, 21	L. Staberius O	Staberius & M Straberius a Lucius
	staberius spatio uacuo quadrato	(Lutius C) Taberius C \triangle F V Taberius H VABERIVS P L. TABE-
- 14 111 10	praemisso W	RIVS Q om. U
c. 14, p. 111, 18	nostre Nicie nri O nrae Niciae nri W	nosti Niciae (uel Nitiae) nostri ω nosti inter nitie nri H nosti inter Nicie nri U nosti inter nitii nostri C Δ
p. 112, 3	libro sed iam	libros etiam ω li°et B
c. 15, p. 112, 13	surreptis ($= L m.3$)	subreptus ω subrectus α surreptus D surreptus <i>in</i> surreptis <i>mutauit m</i> . 3 L
c. 16, p. 112, 16	epyrota $(= M K)$	Epirota
p. 113, 4	nisi cuius O nisi sicus W	nisi si cuius (nisi $om. C \Delta$)
9	epyrota $(= M K)$	Epirota
c. 17, p. 113, 18	omis.	in
c. 18, p. 114, 14	atque Sexti	ad.Q. Sexti B V L ad.Q. septimi D
		ad.Q. atque Sexti a ad sexti (sextii K) M K in Sexti H U sexti (ad Q. om.) C Δ Q
14	phylosophi O phylosophis W	philosophi (uel phi)
7 Vide infra p. 9	6.	•

c. 21, p. 115, 17 p. 116, 4		Y (ceteri omnes) uideret (uideretur in uideret corr. K) qui nunc iocorum (locorum B D V)
c. 22, p. 116, 13		putat is
13	omis.	cum aduersario de iure
19	epygrammate O epygramate W	epigrammate uel epigramate
c. 24, p. 119, 4	an	aut
c. 25, p. 120, 2	eiëre p fide que, in marg. eadem man. eicëre W eicere pre fide que O	ei e re p. fideque ω ei rei p. fideque H Q e re p. fideque U ei R . p. fideque C Δ
3	hisdem	iisdem ω eisdem a D L Δ hiisdem Q
p. 121, 16	dicta praeclara W (=U Δ) dicta pre- clara O	dicta praeclare
p. 122, 18	in emptores W emptores (in omis.) 0	tum emptores
c. 26, p. 123, 14	ordiarium O hordiarium W	hordearium N H hordea ^{4m} M hordear ^m K C hordeam G I hordear Q ordeanum U ordeare Δ horditarium B hordinarium V ordinarium D L
c. 29, p. 125, 5	magistram	magistrum
c. 30, p. 125, 17	eius partis mores ita O eius patris mores ita W	eas partes (partis B Δ) atque ita (actaque ita K itaque ita C
404		itaque Η U Δ)
p. 126, 8	in "· litem quedam in marg. eadem man. · militem W militem quendam O	in lite quadam

Eis in locis qui sequuntur uix extrices utra familia Suetoni uerba proferat:

X (O W) Y (ceteri omnes) c. 1, p. 100, 11 augurali (= U Δ) augurandi

X (O W)		Y (ceteri omnes)	
c. 11, p. 109, 21	modice 0 modice	modico ω medico M K H F medit	to
	in modico corr. m. 2 W	C medio Δ omis. U	
c. 25, p. 119, 12	censorum	censorium	
c. 26, p. 123, 8	et	quod	

His denique in locis neutra familia genuinas lectiones exhibere uidetur,

sed ex omnium librorum testimoniis Suetoni uerba elicienda sunt:			
X	(O W)	Y (ceteri omnes)	
Index, p. 99, 3	plutus	Pilutus ω pillutus I pilatus L	
c. 3, p. 102, 15	mutoscedo ⁸ doceret	multos (multos in miltos corr. ut uid . K) edoceret ω multos doceret B multos edocent D multos edocuisse Q	
c. 4, p. 103, 25	tam discretis (=H)	iam tam discretis B M C Δ iam tam descriptis K iam tum discretis U in tam discretis α iam discretis D V L Q	
c. 15, p. 112, 4	L. aeneus = (C l V- cius aeneus Δ) O L Aeneus (L in spa- tio uacuo quadrato) W	Laeneus a D V M K Q Aeneus H Leneus B L U F	
c. 22, p. 116, 15	tiberius (Tyberius O) uerbum	Tiberium (uel Tyberium)	
c. 24, p. 119, 6	perraro unius pauca	perraro nimis. Pauca N G D V L raro nimis Pauca I perraro nimis (minus C Δ) pauca ω nimis pauca omis. U	
c. 25, p. 120, 4	tredixërunt in marg. eadem man. ëdixerunt W edixerunt O	item dixerunt ω ita dixerunt L ita edixerunt e Gellio suppl. Q	
c. 29, p. 125, 4	tibet ioci post la- cunam unius fere uersus W ioci spa- tio uacuo quinque fere litterarum praemisso O	Tibi et (ut H) ioci (paruo spatio ua- cuo praemisso in V M H C) ω Tibi et sotii N Tibi et soci I et loci B tibi & coti Δ Cm.1 Tibi spatio uacuo septem fere litt. sequente K Tu uero adhibes e Cicerone suppl. U	
c. 30, p. 125, 17	exorare	excitare	

Vide infra p. 79 sq.

Quamquam illa mira necessitudo quam supra ostendi inter codices 0 et W intercedit, O nonnullas, W permultas lectiones proprias habet. Lectiones codicis O peculiares, rebus orthographis fere neglectis, infra ostendam. Grauiores modo discrepantias inter singulos familiae Y libros adnotaui, sed eam lectionem quam in ipso Y fuisse censeo primo post codicis W testimonium loco semper adfero. His in locis O ueras scripturas, quas omnes coniecturae et casui attribuo, exhibere mihi uidetur:

	0	WY
c. 2, p. 101, 7	uettius	Vectius ω rectius B Vertius Q
c. 14, p. 111, 16	illum mecum $(?)^{\circ}$ $(=K)$	mecum illum
c. 15, p. 112, 10	lurconem (=H U L)	lurchonem W lurchonem wel curchonem ω
c. 21, p. 116, 1	quo delegante	quod elegantem
c. 25, p. 120, 4	Renuntiatum est spatio uacuo trium fere litt. praemisso	ne (uel nae) renuntiatum est
c. 29, p. 125, 10	immunia	immuni
c. 30, p. 127, 4	ac (?)10	et

Has fere lectiones falsas huius codicis proprias inuenies:

	0	W Y
Index p. 98, 8	philalogus	philologus
	P. Valerius Cato. et. L. Staberius	
18	phyginus	phriginus W phryginus (uel phriginus) ω friginus L
21	yeminius	Remmius W Rhemmius (rheminius L) ω Reminus I
c. 1, p. 100, 2	&	ac
6	Emnium	Ennium
10	Emnio	Ennio
р. 100, 16	emnii	Ennii ω Enni V
	in doctrina $(=U)$	et in doctrina
c. 3, p. 102, 6	magis & magis	magis ac magis
14	quadringentis (=H)	quadringenis (quadragenis Δ)
c. 6, p. 105, 7	se scripsisse	scripsisse se
c. 7, p. 106, 2	etatis annum	annum aetatis
6	omis. $(=D)$	ut hoc W ut hoc uel ut hic ω^{u}
 Vide infra p. 55 Vide infra p. 6 		

¹¹ Vide infra p. 101 sq.

	0	w y
c. 8, p. 106, 10	gnifonis	gimphoni W Gniphoni ω gnifoni B L Q F
13	emnji elenchorium	Enni elenchorum (enni in ennii mut. m.2. in W) W V Ennii elenchorum ω enniclencorum B enim elenchorum H C Δ .i. elinchorum U
c. 9, p. 106, 19	dein	deinde in
p. 107, 6	et	etiam
20	orbilium filium	filium Orbilium ω exemplum Orbilium M K R _x ^m Orbilium H C Δ omis. U
c. 11, p. 100, 6	uno(=I)	una
7	nuntriant	nutriant
15	Zenodotien	Zenodoti en
c. 14, p. 111, 14	omis. plus dimidio uersu uacuo relicto	tot W τοῦ ω omis H U
c. 15, p. 112, 8	probi oris	oris probi (probi in probri mut. m.2 in W) W B V L oris probum D oris improbi ω
15	& doctrinam (= K)	atque doctrinam (et in atque corr. eadem man. L)
c. 16, p. 113, 3	omis.	et
c. 17, p. 113, 13	quod & uictor	quod uictor (quidem uictor U C)
c. 18, p. 114, 4	cognominauit(=F)	transnominauit
c. 20, p. 115, 3	phyginus	phryginus W M Q phriginus H U A hyginus B Hyginius N Gm.2 hi-
		ginius Gm.1 I Hyginus V higinus (fri induxit m.3) L igiginus K priginus C
c. 23, p. 117, 16	quadringenta(= U)	quadringena ω quadragena Δ
p. 118, 6	bertius	bertecius W berytius G B V M H Q Berities N beritius I L K C Δ berritius D betytius U
c. 24, p. 118, 10	omis. $(=\Delta)$	cum (eum D)
10	recepere	repetere ω repeteret e coniectura Δ reperire U
c. 25, p. 119, 12	omis. spatio uacuo quattuor fere litt. relicto	item
p. 121, 6	repetiisse	repetisse (repetiuisse G petiisse Δ)
p. 122, 21	pullam	bullam (bultam B)



0		W Y
c. 28, p. 124, 11	canutius. caius:	C. Cannutius (C. Canutius B C. Carnutius G I)
14	.A. cepidio	a.C. epidioω a.C. epidico B ab epidio H C Δ ab Epulio U
c. 29, p. 125, 8 c. 30, p. 125, 12		est data nouariensis (nouanensis U)

Vindobonensis (W) codex multas peculiares lectiones habet, quas fere omnes exhibere mihi uisum est, ut quisque pro se de hoc codice iudicare possit. Ego quidem interpolationes et emendationes uel nullas uel perpaucas detexi. Nonnullae bonae lectiones in hoc codice inueniuntur, quarum pars maxima ad orthographiam pertinet:

		W	O Y
c. 1, p. 10	00, 11	enni <i>in</i> ennii <i>mut</i> . m.2 (= V)	Ennii
c. 2, p. 10	1,7	uectiusque	uettius .Q. O Vectius .Q. ω
c. 3, p. 10	1, 17	metellum	M. Metellum
c. 4, p. 10	3, 12	epistula.	epła OBVLKHC Δ epistola (ępistola N) ω
p. 10	14 , 6	adulescentulo (= C Δ)	adolescentulo
c. 7, p. 10	05, 20	iuli	Iulii
	21	cotidie	quotidie uel quottidie
c. 8, p. 10	06, 12		composuit ω 9posuit I copsuit L
	13	enni in ennii mut. m.2 (= V)	Ennii ω enim Η C Δ ·i· U
c. 9, p. 10	06, 17	L orbilius (orbilius in Sorbilius mut. m.2)	Orbylius Ο Orbilius ω
p. 10	07, 19	adpositis	appositis
c. 10, p. 10	08, 22	adgressos (= H)	aggressos (aggraesos N) ω agressos K C
c. 12, p. 11	10, 16	corneli (= V)	Cor. O Cornelii w Corn. L
c. 14, p. 11		inbecillitatem ¹²	imbecillitatem (îbecillitatem I L)
, p. 11	12, 3	conprobat	comprobat ω côprobat I Η 9probat V
c. 16, p. 11	13, 6	uergilium (= G)	Virgilium
c. 17, p. 1	13, 10	M. (= Marcus B)	omis.
c. 21, p. 1	16, 5	conponere	componere (côponere V)
c. 22, p. 1	16, 15	adfirmante	affirmante
12 Vide	supra p.	39 adn. 2.	

W		O Y
c. 23, p. 116, 22	uicetinus	Vicentinus ω uiccentinus G uincentinus B H
c. 26, p. 123, 5	epistula	epła OBVLMKHCΔ epistola (epistola N) ω
c. 28, p. 124, 11	obicientibus(= obi- tientibus K)	obiicientibus
17	conparuisse	comparuisse
c. 29, p. 124, 18	s Ex. (=B)	Sextus
c. 30, p. 125, 12	albucius	Albutius
p. 127, 5	redit	rediit

Has fere lectiones falsas, quae tamen, ut mihi uidetur, saepius ad ueram imaginem Hersfeldensis libri reuocandam aliquid conferunt, in codice W inueni:

	W	O Y
Index p. 98, 4	Aurel.	Aurelius (Aureł. V)
12	Curcius $(=M)$	Curtius
p. 99, 2	Plocius $(=M)$	Plotius ω Politius I
p. 99, 12	stacius (= B)	Statius
c. 1, p. 100, 3	Inicium	Initium
8	praelegabant	praelegebant ω prealegabant V praeallegabant (corr. et praelegebant supra uersum scripsit eadem man. L) D L perlegebant B Δ Q
9	licteris(sic fere sem- per)	lris O G H litteris ω literis N I Q
9	sillabisque	syll a bisque (sil ^l abis q; I)
10	edito	editos
c. 2, p. 100, 15	attolo	Attalo
16	palacii	palatii (pallatii I) ω omis. C Δ Q
17	fregisse (t add. m. 2 ut uid.)	fregisset
19	admirandum	ad imitandum ω ad imitationem I $Gm.1$ ad inuitandum (?) B omis. D
p. 101, 3	& iam	etiam w et DVL ut B
5	posteaque	postea quintus O postea .Q. ω
6	enim (=I)	Ennii ω Enni V
9	laenius	Leneus ω Leneus N G leneus M lenatus Δ Ianeus Q
12	E. Q. R.	eques romanus O eq. ro. (uel Ro.) uel eques .ro. ω

		w	ΟY
	12	Laelius $(= Q F)$	L. Aelius (uel Elius) ω Lucilius Δ
c. 3,	p. 102, 2	secessisse	secessisset
	4	enetuit	enecuit
	5	uiuere	uiueret
	11		Melissus ω mellisus B mellisus in melissus corr. I mellissus in melissus corr. eadem man. L mellisius Q
		numinum	nummum ω nummis H U C Q
	13	4	.q. O .Q. ω Quinto H
	14	equite a r.	equite romano \mathbf{O} \mathbf{G} \mathbf{U} eq. ro. (uel Ro.) uel equite .ro. ω
c. 4,	p. 103, 6	licterati (sic fere semper) (=I)	litterati (literati N L)
	10	inter praeces quia	interpretes qui a
	p. 104, 7	alterius (= B Cm. 1)	alternis
c. 5,	p. 104, 15	praeuenit	peruenit
	16	staturam	saturam N I B V H U C Q satyram ω
	19	omis.	ac O ac uel at ω
c. 6,	p. 105, 5	eritionis	eruditionis
	8	unius	huius
	10	parastichi de li- belli	parastichide libelli ω perastichi de libellis $C \Delta$ parascichide libellis Q
c. 7,	p. 105, 12		gnifo O gnipho ω gnifo B L U F Grapho α
	13	institutus quae (quae corr. in que m.2)	institutusque
	14	dyonisi ex dyonsii corr. eadem man. ut. uid.	Dionysi O N G V Dionysii ω Dionisii B I K U dionis L
	14		scythobrachionis 0ω scytobrachionis \mathbf{U} Scytobarchionis \mathbf{N} Scytobarchionis \mathbf{N}
		corr. m.2)	chionis B scitabachionis D Scytha- bachionis V L Scithobrochionis K Scithobrachionis Q
	17	latinae (=I)	latine
	p. 106, 1		praetura
		relinquisse	reliquisse
	6	momen	nomen

	w	o y
c. 8, p. 106, 7	m Pompeius andronicus in marg. eadem man. M. pompilius andronicus	
10	gimphoni	gnifonis O Gniphoni ω gnifoni L Q \mathbf{F}
c. 9, p. 106, 18	omis.	atque eadem
20	mox mox ex quo in marg. eadem man. equo (quo in text. corr. in equo m.2)	mox equo
20		functusque (functus quae C)
	in q3 corr. m.2)	<u>-</u>
21	fessus	professus
23	docuit	docuitque
p. 107, 1	nam	namque uel nanque
6	hortatius corr. in horatius m.2	horatius Ο Horatius ωε Oratius ω
10	insectationem	insectatione (insectatione ne B)
19	habitus sedentis corr. in habitu sedentis m.2	habitu sedentis
c. 10, p. 108, 3	_	pollio
4	meam mi rem	in eam rem
7	se in &	se met O Q semet ω
9	haberet & corr. in habere & m.2	habere et
10	ginphone in	gnifonem O I B F gniphonem ω
11	praecipisse	praecepisse (uel precepisse)
14	erat esthines mut. m.2	Eratosthenes ω Erato sthenes B erachostenes I erathostenes H
20	ottingentos (= B)	octingentos O D V L Q dccc ^{tos} N G I M K H DCC C C .dccc. Δ omis. U
21	polionem $(=I)$	pollionem
23	romanorum (=I Q)	romanarum ω .ro. M .RO. K .R. H
23	eligere $(=\Delta)$	eligeret

	W	O Y
c. 11, p. 109, 5	uburseni (corr. m.1 ut uid.)	Burseni ω Bursini α
c. 11, p. 109, 20	auxit	uixit
p. 110, 5	fabris in fabis mut. m.2	farris ω furis B fucris (?) K
11	magis trium	magistrum
15	eratetis	Cratetis ω Crateris V M K Q Crateri L cratis C
c. 13, p. 111, 2		tanta eum
c. 14, p. 111, 10		curare nisi
	tot	om. Ο Η U τοῦ ω
	omis. (= Q)	si
16		uellem
c. 15, p. 112, 5	omis.	filiisque scola Ο schola (<i>uel</i> scola) ω
10	popinomenque	popinonemque ω popinionemque N
	popmomonque	G popimonemque I B popiqs K pompinonem quae C pompinonem Δ
11	scribitis que corr. in scriptis q; m.2	scriptisque
c. 16, p. 112, 17		ad quem sunt
19	u -	uixitque
p. 113, 4	ne mini	nemini
7	quod etiam quod etiam	quod etiam
7	marci	Marsi
c. 17, p. 113, 10	Varrius	Verius O I B Verrius ω
10		docendi
17	F (•)	posthac
p. 114, 1	seordinatos (prior s in ras.)	a se ordinatos
c. 18, p. 114, 6	adom claruit	adeo inclaruit
c. 18, p. 114, 8	grassitio	Crassitio
9	desinit e	desinite
10	crassio	crassitio
12	se	sed
c. 20, p. 115, 9	socius	secius ω setius BH socios D sectius K secus C Δ

	w	o y
c. 21, p. 115, 16	mecaenati	mecenati ω Maecenati N B L Δ Moecenati G I micenati H
16	omis.	muneri
c. 22, p. 116, 11	cassiû	Cassius
21		potius (putius Δ)
c. 23, p. 117, 1		ferunt
9		metris
16	cuperet	caperet ω caperet $M \times H$
p. 118, 2	necitatum fuere	notatum ferunt
6	bertecius	bertius 0 beritius uel berytius ω Berities N
9	sit ut $(=B \text{ sit ut } Q)$	sic ut uel sicut
11	opropbrio	obprobrio ω obproprio I opprobrio L C obbrobrio K obrobrio U
12	gloria &	gloriae et
c. 24, p. 119, 1	grammatica es	grammatice O N grammatices ω
3	omis. dimidio fere	unum et (uel O D V L) alterum uel
	uersu uacuo relicto	cum
, <u>F</u> ,	omis.	edictum
p. 120, 2		ne essent
	nota in marg.	
_	dicinius	Licinius
9	(,	intrare O N Gm.2 D itare ω
c. 25, p. 120, 12		faciundum ω faciendum D H U
c. 2, p. 121, 1		Latine
2	consolibus	consulibus ω cons. L M cos. K C CON U coss. Δ con bus B
4	ciui libellum	ciuile bellum ω ciuille bellum I ci bellum (?) B
8	missis selero	omisisse Nero
8	primo primo	primo
8	imperi (in imperii	imperii
	corr. m.2)	
16	exercuere	exercuerunt
18	cum latius	tum latius
p. 122, 3		dum utilia ω tum utilia B
4		superuacanea
11	si certe	sic certe ω sicut certe B & sic certe $K H U C \Delta$

W		O Y
11	editae quae	editaeque (aeditae que C)
15	pepiger	pepigerunt ω pepigere D
15	bo ⁱ lum	bolum
16	expectauer	expectauerunt
18	boilum	bolum
p. 123, 4	non ·	quam
c. 26, p. 123, 5	D. M. ticinium	ad M. Titinnium (Titinium O K U)
7	q uemdam	quendam
8	concussus	concursus
9	exercerent	exerceretur ω exerceret B
9	Continebat $(=\mathbf{U})$	Continebar ω Continebatur D
11	possit	posse
12		nam
c. 28, p. 124, 17	in numero quoque	in numeroque
c. 29, p. 125, 3	uigens congiarum	ingens congiarium
8	audite $(=D H U)$	audite audite
8		cognoscite
10	1	et quidem
c. 30, p. 125, 13	pronunciabat (= K H)	pronuntiabat
p. 126, 2	prouentus	prouectus
7	proorandi	perorandi ω operandi H U C Δ
10	incessabat	incessebat ω incesserat B
15	ditiores	lictores

Aliis in locis codex nullus genuinas lectiones praebet, W autem ab O ceterisque discedens nonnumquam ueram emendandi uiam ostendit:

		W	ОЧ
c. 3,	p. 102, 12	panosagecema	panosagacema ¹⁸ ĻL
c. 6,	p. 105, 1	oppillius (=K)	Opilius (opileus B opimius corr. eadem man. ut uid. L)14
c. 9,	p. 107, 3	perialego sedidit in perialegos edi- dit corr. m.2	perialogos edidit
c. 10,	p. 108, 11	haëre in text.; in marg. eadem man.	hermam ω hermam N V hermâ in text.; in marg. m. 2 aëre G herniâ H omis. U mea Δ
	p. 109, 4	salusti(=V)	Salustii (Sallustii e coniect. L)

¹⁸ Varia testimonia singulorum librorum infra p. 95 sq. exhibentur.

¹⁴ Opillus sine dubio restituendum est. Vide Schulze, p. 462 adn. 3; p. 18 adn. 2. Buecheler, Jenaer Litteraturs. 1874, p. 610 b; Rh. Mus. XXX (1875) p. 446.

W		O Y
c. 14, p. 111, 9		epła O I B V L M K H epistola ω
c. 14, p. 112, 3	santya santya	satyra O G D L M K A Satura N I V H U C satira B Q
c. 16, p. 112, 16	sattrequi/tis	Satti (Sacti N siti B satis U) equitis
		ω sarti equitis D Satti equitis L Attici (actici C) Sati eq. C Δ Q
c. 18, p. 114, 12	cum & edoceret	cum doceret 0 cum et doceret $\mathbf{a} \boldsymbol{\beta}$ cum edoceret γ
c. 25, p. 122, 19	brundis in	brundusii O B D L A P brundusi N G V C Q brondusiü I brondusii in brondusii corr. M brondusii K
c. 29, p. 125, 4	tibet	brundisii Η brundisiam U omis. O Tibi et ω ¹⁶

Lectionibus peculiaribus utriusque codicis O et W perlustratis cuiuis apparet neutrum ex altero transcribi potuisse; quod quidem unus atque idem locus optime demonstrat. Nam c. 24 (p. 119, 3) W uerba unum et (uel O D V L) alterum uel cum omittit, unde apparet O ex W non esse transcriptum; neque W ex O transcribi potuisse, cum librarius W his uerbis omissis lacunam dimidi fere uersus reliquerit, ita ut satis constet haec uerba in W non ob neglegentiam omissa sed propterea quod exemplar quo usus est librarius W hoc loco aliquod damnum perpessum sit. In O autem haec uerba ita composite ac clare scripta sunt, ut uel imperitissimo librario nullam difficultatem praebere possent. Multa etiam alia uerba nunc in uno nunc in altero codice omissa demonstrant neutrum alterius esse apographon, sed utrumque communi archetypo referendum esse.

II. Codices O W QVODAM OPPROBRIO LIBERANTUR. NOTABILIORES CODICIS O LECTIONES BREVITER TRACTANTUR.

Antequam lectiones notabiliores utriusque familiae X et Y singulatim pertracto, quoddam praeiudicium uel opprobrium libris O et W etiam hodie haerens deicere, si fieri potest, uelim. In Suetonio recensendo codice Ottoboniano primus usus est Reifferscheidius. Qui omnes laudes Vaticano 1862 (V) attribuens ueram indolem codicis O omnino agnoscere noluit, atque falsissimum iudicium de eo prompsit, quod ipsius uerbis profero (p. 415 ad fin.): "de quibus (libris O N G I) O proxime a Vaticano abesse uisus est, sed ita ut pluribus locis ab diuersa memoria pendeat; idem solus scripturas praebet quae postea a Beroaldo Statio aliis inuentae sunt, ut malim eum cum Lerschio s. XVI adscribere quam cum Rothio s. XV uin-



¹⁶ Vide supra p. 44.

dicare. sic p. 103, 20 titulo habet, p. 111, 12 Niciae addit, p. 111, 16 illum mecum Cicerone item adhibito transponit, p. 116, 1 quo delegante emendat, p. 119, 10 sero, p. 123, 1 appellatione Graeca, p. 124, 14 Nucerino, p. 125, 10 immunia." Quod iudicium peruersum partim falsa collatione nititur, cum p. 111, 12 Niciae in O sicut in ceteris omnibus praeter D deficiat; 16 p. 123, 1 non appellatione Graeca sed appellationes greci cum N G I K H U C consentiens testetur 0.17 P. 111, 16 O allum mecum proferens, solus inter nostros libros, non est infitiandum, eundem uerborum ordinem ac Ciceronis codices exhibet, sed perridiculum est existimare librarium huius codicis Cicerone adhibito tam paruam corruptelam correxisse, graue autem uitium quod est in eadem epistula, p. 112, 1, uerbis uelim, cum mihi ille iucundus esse in omnibus nostris codicibus omissis, omnino neglecturum fuisse. Quaecumque erant ipsius Ciceronis uerba haud dubium mihi uidetur quin mecum illum in Hersfeldensi libro exstaret, librarius O autem uerborum ordinem uel consulto uel inconsulto mutauerit, praesertim cum idem erroris genus non semel tantum in hoc codice animaduertatur.18 Optimas lectiones p. 116, 1 quo delegante et p. 125, 10 immunia quas Ottobonianus solus exhibet meo quidem iudicio ingenio eius uiri docti, qui hunc codicem tanta diligentia exarauit, debentur. Quod eo certius mihi uidetur, quo aliis locis idem librarius uel inter scribendum uel in relegendo correctiones ingeniosissime fecit. C. 6(p. 105, 5) codex W non solum libri X sed etiam Hersfeldensis codicis, ut mihi uidetur, ueram imaginem conservans, 19 aliquo duo lumina profert. Ottoboniani autem librarius primo aliquot duo scripsit, deinde errore statim cognito duo perleuit, atque uolumina scripsit. Quare tamen aliquot non aliquo primitus (nam illa t certe non est postea addita) scripserit, nescio, nisi forte ueram scripturam iam antea excogitauerat, tum uerbo aliquot recte scripto, per breuem lapsum uocem duo, quam in exemplari ante oculos habuit, transcripsit. Altero loco c. 25 (p. 120, 7) idem librarius primitus lectionem exemplaris sui rhetora sibi 20 transcripsit, deinde littera s in sibi inducta eandem litteram uerbo rhetora adfixit, ueram lectionem rhetoras ibi inde efficiens. Quae quidem ex Reifferscheidi apparatu critico non apparent. Ceterae lectiones titulo, sero, Nucerino, non in solo Ottoboniano inueniuntur, sed in fratre quoque eius Vindobonensi (W), ita ut nullus dubito quin ex ipso Hersfeldensi libro in eorum archetypum profluxerint. Quid, quod titulo in D quoque et primitus in G, Nucerino etiam

¹⁶ Vide infra p. 124.

¹⁷ W cum ceteris appellationes gracce exhibet. Vide infra p. 100.

¹⁸ P. 105, 7; p. 106, 2; p. 124, 11; p. 125, 8. Vide tabulam supra p. 45 sq.

¹⁹ Vide infra p. 70.

²⁰ Sic non solum in W, sed etiam in B N Gm.2. Quocirca hanc lectionem libro Hersfeldensi uindicare uix dubito. Vide infra p. 70.

in **B**, sero uel aliquid ex sero corruptum²¹ in eodem **B** margini adscriptum inueniuntur! Quas lectiones infra fusius excutiam.

Cum autem 0 in eis lectionibus quas modo citaui cum fratre suo W faciat, inde elucet quam longe a uero aberrauerit Reifferscheidius cum codicem O saeculo sexto decimo attribuere uellet. Namque W, ut eius subscriptio docet, anno 1466 exaratus est. Quin etiam habeo cur credam Ottobonianum uel aliquot annis ante Vindobonensem confectum esse. Nam c. 24 (p. 119, 3) O uerba unum uel alterum uel cum exhibens integer est, W autem spatio dimidi fere uersus uacuo rite relicto haec uerba omittit, quasi exemplar post codicem O transcriptum hoc loco aliquid damni perpessum sit. Quis in ceteris existimet librarium 0 emendando tantopere studuisse ut editiones impressas Ciceronisque epistulas adhiberet, ut uoluit Reifferscheidius, neque tamen tales ineptias quales sunt c. 11 (p. 109, 15) lydia & icida, c. 14 (p. 112, 3) libro sed iam, ut multa alia taceam, numquam correcturum fuisse? Multis aliis in locis Reifferscheidius uitiosa Lerschi collatione fretus Ottoboniani lectiones perperam profert; sed de uno praecipue loco monere uelim, ne ex apparatu Reifferscheidiano falsa opinio de totius huius codicis indole nascatur. C. 24 (p. 119, 4) ad postmeridianis ille sic testatur: "meridianis O (in mg. post m. rec. add.)." Habet quidem hic codex meridianis in contextu et post in margine punctis binis ad errorem indicandum utrique loco adfixis, sed post in margine non est a manu recentiore additum sed ab ea ipsa manu quae totum codicem exarauit. Neque in toto codice minimum quidem uestigium manus recentioris animaduerti. Codex Ottobonianus igitur, ut ego censeo, est opus ante annum 1466 ab Italo aliquo docto satis accurate atque eleganter confectum, cui uiro praeter unicum exemplar X et ipsius ingenium alia subsidia omnino deerant. Hic licet pluris haberet librum emendatiorem copiosissimis indiculis marginalibus instructum singulis capitibus etiam numeris adpositis instar editionis, ut ita dicam, efficere, quam ueram imaginem archetypi repraesentare, nihilo minus pro eius aetatis consuetudine exemplar suum satis religiose exscripsisse mihi uidetur.28

In *Dialogo* quoque recensendo uiri docti eadem peruersitate in codicem Ottobonianum olim iudicabant. Michaelisius, qui primus hunc codicem *Dialogo* in auxilium uocauit, licet bonas lectiones ultra uerum teste Andreseno²⁴ ei attribuerit, pristinae tamen Hersfeldensis libri lectionis testem eum accipere noluit, sed eius bonitatem²⁵ uel coniecturae uel contaminationi



²¹ serv (ser per compendium) ut uidetur eadem manus quae codicem exarauit margini in B adscripsit.

²² Nisi quod et alterum scribendum erat. Vide supra p. 52.

²⁴ Vide infra p. 58 sq.

Mochenschr. f. klass. Philol. XVII 641 aqq., 697 aq.

²⁵ Codex W Michaelisio ignotus erat.

attribuit.26 Iniquius etiam iudicium de hoc codice protulit Baehrensius,27 cui etiam codicem Vindobonensem (W) paulo ante ab Huemero in lucem prolatum, ut animaduersione sua indignum, inter codices "recentissimos foedissimeque interpolatos"28 habere placuit. Sed non est cur Michaelisi, Bachrensi, aliorumque opiniones commemorem, cum omnes quam essent falsae luculentissime demonstrauit Fr. Scheuer a. 1891. Causa fertilis horum errorum, ut probauit Scheuer, fuit id quod in Ottoboniano iudicando Vindobonensem ei cognatissimum uiri doctissimi omnino neglexerunt. Magnum processum in Dialogi et fragmenti Suetoniani critica habuit Scheuer, quod codicem O hac contaminationis suspicione liberauit, neque tamen ueram indolem codicum O et W perspexit, cum ab illa priorum opinione, quae O W cum codicibus N I ita conjungere uolebat, ut omnes ex uno Hersfeldensis libri apographo originem traherent, numquam discesserit. Qua de re infra (p.187 sq.) fusius disseram. Verum tandem perspexit Alfredus Gudemannus, cum in altera Dialogi editione a. 1914 in publicum emissa codices O W unam facere familiam a ceteris non pendentem iudicauerit, cui nuperrime assensus est Fridericus Carolus Wick. Sed ne Gudemannus quidem ueram auctoritatem horum codicum perspexisse uidetur, quod tamen iudicium persequi nolo, cum fortasse hi libri non eiusdem sint preti in Dialogo recensendo quam in Suetoni fragmenti 29 castigatione.

In Suetonio recensendo nemo adhuc Vindobonensem codicem adhibuit. Hunc codicem in lucem protulit Ioh. Huemer, qui a. 1878 selectas lectiones e Dialogo, Suetoni libello, Germania publicauit, neque eum fefellit miram necessitudinem inter hunc codicem et Ottobonianum intercedere. Quod tamen ad Suetonium pertinet, hanc aestimationem prorsus a mea alienam pronuntiauit (p. 812): "Für Suetons Fragment, das in so vielen und mannigfachen Ueberlieferungen vorliegt, wie der sorgfältige kritische Apparat Reifferscheids uns lehrt, scheint unsere Hs. nur von secundärer Bedeutung zu sein." Veram tandem codicis W indolem agnouit Maximilianus Ihmius, qui a. 1906 complures locos Suetonianos tractauit, praestantiam uel solius W uel utriusque O et W demonstrans. Cum autem codicem O ipse nondum inspexisset atque collationi uitiosae Lerschianae a Reifferscheidio editae fidere cogeretur, de nonnullis locis in dubio relictus erat. Neque omnes



²⁶ Praefat. p. XIII: "Hic (Ottobonianus), quem in dialogo primus adhibui, tot recentiorum grammaticorum emendationes occupauit ut praeter Pontanum et Puteolanum nemo saeculo quinto decimo in emendando dialogo plus praestiterit."

²⁷ Comment. crit. p. 46: "Addam hic pauca de E siue Ottoboniano omnium liberrime inmutato. cuius ea est condicio ut et ipse saepe inspecto familiae N (=codices V et L in Suetonio) codice quodam (A [=V], ut credere licet) a sua familia desciuerit, propriis praeterea coniecturis indulgens (cf. Michael. not. 11) nouasque inferens corruptelas."

²⁸ Comment. crit. p. 45.

^{*}De ceterorum librorum dispositione a Gudemanno facta, cui, quod ad Suetonium pertinet, assentiri nequeo, uide infra p. 191.

locos perscrutatione dignos tractauit Ihmius. Opus autem praeclare inceptum mors praematura ne ad finem perduceret prohibuit.

Hoc insigne in familia X animaduerti, Ottobonianum codicem, quamquam multo paucioribus uitiis quam Vindobonensis est maculatus, eis locis ubi ab huius memoria discedens lectiones peculiares ostendit perraro codicis X memoriam reuocare, Vindobonensem autem in peculiaribus lectionibus memoriam archetypi X et libri Hersfeldensis, ut mihi quidem uidetur, saepe conservasse. Librarium 0 c. 6 (p. 105, 5) aliquot volumina, c. 21 (p. 116, 1) quo delegante, c. 25 (p. 120, 7) rhetoras ibi, c. 29 (p. 125, 10) immunia, ueras scripturas reuocasse supra (p. 55) ostendi. C. 15 (p. 112, 10) quoque lurconem (= HUL) pro lurchonem in exemplari bene restituit. Hic librarius eam potissimum emendandi rationem secutus est, ut in locis corruptis singulas uoculas quae sententiae obstare sibi uiderentur omitteret, spatio uacuo plerumque relicto. Sic c. 25 (p. 120, 3) ubi ne renuntiatum est in Hersfeldensi libro exstabat, ne spatio uacuo trium fere litterarum praemisso omisit, atque ueram lectionem sine dubio reuocauit. ** C. 7 (p. 106, 6) in illo corruptissimo loco uerba ut hoc ita omisit ut totus fere uersus quo id caput desinit uacuus relinqueretur; c. 14 (p. 111, 14) ante grauiorem illam lacunam uoculam 700, quae in X ut uidetur in tot abierat, parua lacuna indicata omisit; c. 25 (p. 119, 12) item, quod propter uerba senatus consultum (uel s.c.) delapsa sensu carere uidebatur, spatio uacuo relicto et cruce desperationis margini adfixa omisit; eandem rationem c. 29 (p. 125, 4) ubi tibet in X legere debebat secutus est. C. 25 (p. 122, 18) ubi tum iam in X in in corruptum esse uidetur librarius O hoc uerbum omnino omisit neque lacunam indicauit. Item c. 24(p. 118, 10), ubi Hersfeldensis liber hos cum diligenter repetere (pro repeteret ut uidetur) testabatur, repetere in recepere satis inepte mutauit et cum consulto, ni fallor, omisit. Vtrum c, 2 (p. 101, 7) librarius O ueram scripturam uettius de industria restituerit uix diiudices. C. 30 (p. 127, 4) O solus illam scripturam ac (pro et) quae teste Decembrio in Hersfeldensi libro erat praebet; sed magnopere dubito an magna fides Decembrio tam paruis rebus habenda sit. Librarium O ac, et, atque, aliis locis inter se confudisse e tabula supra (p. 45 sq.) exhibita animaduersum est. Alia de industria immutata esse uidentur, ut (p. 98, 9) Staberi Erotis nomen in indicem insertum; c. 3(p. 102, 14) quadringentis pro quadringenis, et c. 23 (p. 117, 16) quadringenta pro quadringena; c. 18 (p. 114, 4) cognominauit pro transnominauit. Verborum ordo saepius mutatus, 31 pauca uerba omissa, ut c. 16 (p. 113, 3) et, sorti deberi uidentur. Omnino codex O eis uitiis quae per librari neglegentiam



^{**} In ora exemplaris Reifferscheidiani Vahleni manu scriptum neruntiat inueni, quod hunc errorem optime explicare mihi uidetur. In aliquo antiquissimo codice librarius neglegenter neruntiatum pro renuntiatum scripsit. Corrector aliquis -runtiatum in renuntiatum bene correxit, sed originem illius ne- non perspiciens id non sustulit, unde exortum est ne renuntiatum.

⁸¹ Vide supra p. 45 sq.

exoriantur fere caret, neque ea libidinosa interpolatione, qua multi nostrorum insignes sunt, est maculatus; atque, nisi omnia fallunt, magna auctoritate est habenda in Hersfeldensi archetypo restituendo.

Codex W certe ab homine indoctiore atque neglegentiore quam qui O confecit exaratus est, qui nihil de industria, haud pauca autem inconsulte omisit. Si peculiares huius codicis lectiones perlustraueris, perpauca, quae consulto immutata esse uidentur, multa autem quae currente calamo a librario parum docto ac diligente corrupta sint inuenies. Sed haud raro etiam in uitiis hic codex Hersfeldensis libri memoriam reuocare mihi uidetur. Quocirca huius codicis uitiis ineptis praetermissis, quippe quae fere omnia in tabulis supra (p. 48 sq.) exhibitis uideri possint, notabiliores eius lectiones in archetypis X et Y et ipso Hersfeldensi codice restituendis saepissime proferam. 35

III. NOTABILIORES FAMILIAE X ATQVE CODICIS W LECTIONES AD HERS-PELDENSEM LIBRUM RESTITUENDUM TRACTANTUR. QVIDAM LOCI CORRUPTI SANANTUR.

Ad peculiares lectiones utriusque familiae recte aestimandas et ad codicem Hersfeldensem restituendum haec subsidia nobis suppeditant: primo testimonia Decembri, qui ipsum Hersfeldensem anno 1455 inspexit, et Nicolai Nicoli commentarius;³⁴ deinde Agricolae Aesini octo illa folia uetera, quae olim, nisi omnia fallunt, eiusdem Hersfeldensis libri partem fecerunt; tum aliorum auctorum testimonia, ut Ciceronis epistulae in uita Curti Niciae (c.14), Gellius XV, 11, ad senatus consultum et censorum edictum (c.25) sananda, Ciceronis altera Philippica (17), ex qua Suetonius in c. 29 uerba profert; postremo ea subsidia, quae in omnibus scriptoribus antiquis recensendis suppeditant, nostri auctoris et totius linguae Latinae usus dicendi.

²⁸ Librarius W propriam argumenti capitum distinguendorum rationem secutus esse uidetur; qua in re ea peritia saepius usus est, quae ab eius socordia alibi manifesta abhorreret. Eiusdem fere distinguendi rationem ac librarius V secutus est. Sic c. 2 (p. 101, 11), c. 25 (p. 121, 14), (p. 122, 8) soli W V capita a ceteris distincta praebent. Item c. 2 (p. 100, 13) W V U, c. 4 (p. 104, 12) W B V soli eam distinctionem, quae nunc in exemplaribus impressis uidetur, exhibent. Similem capitum distinctionem sententiae conuenientem in ea parte huius codicis, qua Dialogus continetur, animaduertit Ed. Philipp. Minus bene tamen c. 4 (p. 103, 11) Eosdem, c. 10 (p. 108, 18) ylen (sic), solus librarius W capita a ceteris distincta statuit. P. 125, 11-12 tamen is solus distinctionem inter Sexti Clodi et Albuci Sili uitas indicare neglexit.

³⁸ Secunda manus in W, quae, ut e tabulis supra expositis perspicitur, nonnumquam in bonam partem correctiones fecit, nihil ad Suetoni criticam confert; cum satis constet correctorem alius codicis copiam non habuisse. Eufm non omnino indoctum fuisse non solum correctiones, quas suo Marte fecit, sed etiam glossae marginales, uelut ad ylen (in ylem mut. eiusdem correctoris manus) c. 10 (p. 108, 18), id est materia primaria, ad gurgustio c. 11 (p. 109, 21) id est cellula individuali, demonstrant.



³⁴ Vide supra p. 13 sq.

Hoc primum admonendum mihi uidetur, ne nimiam bonitatem libro Hersfeldensi attribuamus, neue bonas lectiones, etiam si in compluribus codicibus inueniuntur, huic archetypo semper uindicandas existimemus. Nam quomodocumque de opusculis Taciteis iudicaueris, 35 quod ad nostrum libellum Suetonianum pertinet, iam tum cum Romam relatus est non solum imperfectus erat, quippe cui undecim rhetorum uitae deficerent, sed etiam mendosus, ut uerba in Ciceronis epistulis (c. 14) omissa, corruptelae in senatus consulto et censorum edicto (c. 25), in eis quae (c. 29) Suetonius e Ciceronis altera Philippica profert, desperati illi loci c. 3 (p. 102, 14-15), c. 5 (p. 104, 19), c. 7 (p. 106, 6), c. 13 (p. 110, 21), et alia complura testantur. Quid, quod in exiguo illo Decembri testimonio, tres manifestae corruptelae deprehenduntur, quae in nostris libris uel nusquam uel fortuito in uno et altero codice uidentur. C. 1 (p. 100, 1) Decembrius nec in usu quidem pro ne in usu quidem legit, sed in nostris libris nec in solis Bodleiano (B) et Harleiano (H) inuenitur. Nicolai Nicoli commentarius tamen ne in usu quidem testatur, ita ut dubitari liceat an Decembrius uerum Hersfeldensis testimonium hoc loco repetierit. Eodem loco (1.2) Decembrius rudis scilicet profert, sed illud nullo in libro superstite inuenitur.36 Ultimo autem in capite (p. 127, 3) Regum non legum legit Decembrius, quam lectionem unus solus codex, et ille longe omnium pessimus, Vrbinatem (U) dico, exhibet.²⁷ Item c. 30 (p. 127, 4) Decembrius ac uindicem non et uindicem testatur, cum illud in solo 0, hoc in ceteris omnibus inueniatur. Cum autem librarius O saepius et, ac, atque, inter se confuderit, probabilius mihi uidetur hic quoque et Decembrium et librarium 0 ob uoculam ac (libertatis) praecedentem errauisse. Dolendum igitur est maiorem fidem Decembrio testi haberi non posse, sed hoc persuasum habeo Hersfeldensis libri corruptelas non semel tantum in eius apographis, praecipue in apographo Y, cuius librarius doctior quam librarius X fuisse uidetur, sanatas esse.

De opusculorum Taciteorum et Suetoni fragmenti dispositione Decembri testimonium et Nicolai Nicoli commentarius inter se consentiunt, hunc ordinem testantes: Germaniam, Agricolam, Dialogum, Suetoni de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus. Agricola, ut satis constat, paulo postquam Decembrius Hersfeldensem codicem uidit a ceteris opusculis recisus est, neque in alterutro apographo X Y locum obtinuit. Inter omnes libros qui aetatem tulerunt W solus tria opuscula Germaniam, Dialogum, Suetoni reliquias eodem ordine conseruat quem in Hersfeldensi codice obtinebant. In O autem



⁸⁵ Gudemannus (p. 115) *Dialogi* textum, quamquam imperfectum, haud ita mendosum iudicauit.

Me In codice γ rudis (scilicet omis.) stetisse uidetur (sic in M K C F). In ceteris huius stirpis libris rudis in rudi correctum est.

²⁷ Lectio duplex in Hersfeldensi codice fuisse mihi uidetur. Vide infra p. 166.

Germania deest, cum Dialogus Suetoni fragmentum sequitur. Ouaenam fuerit causa ordinis mutandi in Ottoboniano non apparet, sed uix dubitari potest quin X Hersfeldensis libri ordinem seruauerit, quem W per successionem acceperit. Librarius Y librorum dispositionem mutauisse uidetur. cum Hersfeldensis codicis ordo ne in uno quidem codice huius familiae deprehendatur; sed tanta est confusio familiae Y testimoniorum, ut librorum dispositionem in ipso Y praestare uix audeas. Familiae Y hi codices duo opuscula Tacitea Germaniam et Dialogum, et Suetoni fragmentum continent: Neapolitanus (N) Vaticanus 1518 (I) Vaticanus 1862 (V) Leidensis (L) Venetus Marcianus (M) Vaticanus 4498 (Δ). Vaticanus Δ tamen, qui Agricolam quoque complectitur, nihil ad hanc quaestionem pertinet, cum, ut infra (p. 189) demonstrabo, eius librarius Suetoni opusculum ex eodem exemplari ac Taciti libellos transcribere nullo modo potuerit. Codex V qui inter singulos familiae Y codices maxima fide est digna Germaniam, Suetoni libellum, Dialogum eo ordine quem uides exhibet. Codices I et M Suetonium primo Dialogum secundo Germaniam tertio loco exhibent. Si eam dispositionem quae est in I M archetypo Y attribuas, ordo qui est in N L, Dialogus, Germania, Suetoni libellus, facile explicari potest, cum in N Taciti Annalium pars posterior et Historiae his tribus opusculis praecedant, unde librarius Suetonium ad nouissimum locum relegasse uideatur, ut omnia opera Tacitea ordine sequerentur. Eandem rationem secutus esse uidetur Pontanus, qui codicis L archetypum exarauit, Suetonio ultimum locum attribuens, ne inter duos libellos Taciteos alienum opusculum intercederet, quod in communi archetypo codicum V L fuisse uidetur. Sed nihil est, cur rem tam incertam fusius pertractem.

De inscriptione nostri libelli Decembrius haec profert: Suetonii tranquilli de grammaticis et rhetoribus liber. Incipit. Haec autem in Nicolai commentario inueniuntur: Suetonii Tranquilli De grammaticis et rhetoribus, qui incipit sic. Aesinus Agricola, quamquam hac ex parte ab humanista saeculi quinti decimi suppletus est, pristinam inscriptionem conseruasse uidetur: CORNELII. TACITI. DE. VITA. IVLII. AGRICOLAE. INCIPIT. Quae cum ita sint, haud dubium uidetur quin apographon Y Hersfeldensis libri inscriptionem repetierit, quae nunc in codicibus N G I V sic ut scriptam uides extet: C. Suetonii tranquilli de grammaticis et rhetoribus. Incipit.38 Codex W duas inscriptiones habet quarum una grammaticorum rhetorumque indicibus praemissa pristinam formam retinet, nisi quod uerbum Incipit primum pro ultimo loco obtinet. Altera inscriptio in W et Ottoboniani inscriptio (indicibus praemissa) utraque uerbum additicium FELICITER ostendunt. 28 De indicibus neque Decembrius neque Nicolai commentarius testatur. Eorum familiae Y codicum qui pristinam inscriptionem conservant, G I eam indicibus praemissam, V indices se-

⁸⁸ Vide supra p. 40 sq.



quentem habet; N autem indice caret. Qua in re G I, quoniam cum O W fere consentiunt, pristinam formam seruare uidentur. De totius libelli subscriptione nulla est inter nostros codices consensio. Ea subscriptio quae est in O, DEFICIT. FINIS. DEVS. CONCEDAT. VT. REPERIATVR, manifesto est additicia. In W G I nulla omnino est subscriptio, N haec margini adfixa profert: uacat in exemplari; V Non repperi ultra in exemplari. 100

Nunc inuestigandum est quod lumen nostrorum librorum archetypo Agricola Aesinus diffundere possit. Cum de Agricola Aesino loquor sola ea octo folia uetera e saeculo nono uel decimo prouenientia, quae olim ipsius Hersfeldensis libri pars fuerunt, in animo habeo. Suetoni fragmenti archetypum certe eiusdem erat aetatis atque illa Agricolae octo folia, et uerisimillimum mihi uidetur id eadem manu exaratum esse, ita ut Agricolae Aesini propria, orthographia, litterarum formis, scribendi compendiis, ceterisque rebus, omnia optimo iure nostrorum codicum archetypo uindicari possint. In Agricola Aesino maxima est scribendi compendiorum parsimonia, quod idem in archetypo Suetoniano obtinuisse persuasum habeo. Quod si uerum est, pars maxima eorum errorum, qui in nostris codicibus ex compendiis male resolutis exorti se habent, non ad compendia in ipso Herfeldensi codice, sed ad compendia in eius apographis referendi sunt, quod Gudemannus in Dialogo recensendo (p. 115) recte agnouit, Wickius nuperrime sine iusta causa negauit. Ouam opinionem, si lectiones peculiares utriusque familiae X et Y supra (p. 39 sq.) prolatas cum lectionibus singularum familiae Y stirpium infra exhibitis contuleris confirmari uidebis. Nam inter illas perpauca uitia, quae librari imperitiae in compendiis explicandis certo iudicio attribui possint, inuenies, inter has autem talia complura uidentur. Hoc quoque animaduertendum est, quamuis ipse Hersfeldensis liber perpauca compendia haberet, archetypa ex quibus ipse ortus traxerit, compendiis ita abundare potuisse, ut iam in Hersfeldensi libro talia uitia exstarent.41

Non tamen omnino compendiis carebat Hersfeldensis liber, ut Agricola Aesinus aperte demonstrat, et illis ipsis compendiis quae in Aesino codice se habent adhibitis, omnes fere discrepantias inter X et Y quae hac compendiorum ratione explicandae sunt enucleatas habes. C. 28 (p. 124, 14) O W, quibus nescio quo casu B consentit, ueram scripturam nucerino praebent, familiae Y libri praeter B Nuncino fere habent. Ansam ad hanc dis-



^{*} De subscriptionibus in B D L uide infra p. 116; in stirpe γ uide infra p. 142.

[➡] Vide infra p. 192.

⁴¹ Sic fortasse enucleanda sunt c. 1 (p. 100, 7) adnotum pro adnotatum (uide infra p. 104); c. 26 (p. 123, 13) significabat pro significat in omnibus codicibus; c. 25 (p. 120, 7) lectio duplex latinos rhetoras: latino scilicet rhetoras, si re uera haec uarietas ipsi Hersfeldensi referenda est (uide infra p. 89).

crepantiam interpretandam hae scripturae in Agricola Aesino inuentae nobis porrigunt: £ f. 63°, 16 catuae (pro cateruae), f. 60°, 13¹ muliebrit (pro muliebriter), f. 62°, 21 introgate (pro interrogate). Vnde constat in archetypo Suetoniano nucino uel tale quid extitisse. Quod autem codex B ueram lectionem cum O W ostendit, coniecturae eius uiri docti, qui codicis B archetypum exarauit, 4² id deberi mihi uidetur.

In Agricola Aesino litterae us uerba terminantes nexu quodam nonnumquam coniunctae sunt, ut f. 57°, 23 indecoru, f. 62°, 25 anxiu. Quinque exempla notat Annibaldius (p. 75). Similis nexus in Hersfeldensi libro corruptelas c.5 (p. 104, 18) libertis, c. 15 (p. 112, 13) surreptis, fortasse etiam c.10 (p. 108, 5) praetextatis⁴⁴ in apographo X peperisse mihi uidetur.

C. 2 (p. 101, 12) familia X recte 45 generque Aelii, 46 familia Y falso gener .O. Aelii testatur. 47 Huius erroris causam codex Aesinus aperte docet, quippe qui uoculam -que fere semper compendiose -q. proferat. C. 2 (p. 101, 7) W solus ueram scripturam uectiusque48 exhibet; familia autem Y Vectius .O. testatur, quem errorem O quoque admisit. C. 18 (p. 114, 14) familia X e contrario atque falso profert, in familia autem Y stirps β ueram lectionem ad .O., stirps a utrumque ad .O. atque exhibet, stirps γ denique .Q. omittit. In Aesino libro adq. pro atque saepius erat, quod genus erroris secunda manus maximam partem sustulit, nonnumquam tamen hoc officio fungi neglexit, ut f. 56b, 111; f. 60a, 22; f. 60b, 241; ubi adq. pro atque sine ulla correctione inuenitur. Hoc igitur loco in Hersfeldensi codice consentaneum est correctorem nimio emendandi studio atque siue supra uersum siue in margine scripsisse eo pacto, ut uel pristinam lectionem ad q. (pro ad Q.) corrigeret ut ipsi uidebatur, uel ut alteram lectionem proponeret. Librarius autem X falsam scripturam atque suscepit, dum librarius Y utramque perinde atque in exemplari scriptam uidit transcripsit; unde factum est ut librarius a duplicem lectionem in contextum acceperit, librarius β falsam atque omnino respuerit, librarius γ denique propter eandem confusionem siue consulto siue inconsulte Q. omiserit. Similiter c. 2 (p. 101, 5) posteaque in W ad postea q. (pro postea Q.) in Hersfeldensi codice referendum est.

- Foliorum numeri ad Annibaldi textum diplomaticum respiciunt.
- 44 Vide infra p. 122.
- 44 Vide supra. p. 42.
- 46 Perperam Reifferscheidius in apparatu.
- 46 Paruas discrepantias uelut Elii, Elli, non adnoto.
- ⁴⁷ Corrector in L ueram lectionem coniectura restituit.
- 48 Vettius pro uectius scribendum erat. Sic in O.
- *De lectionibus duplicibus in Hersfeldensi codice uide infra p. 71 sq. Quo pacto O uettius .Q. et postea quintus (.Q. in Y) cum Y exhibeat non liquet. Aut his quoque locis lectiones duplices in Hersfeldensi ponendae sunt, aut, quod uerisimilius uidetur, librarius X saepe eadem fere compendia atque Hersfeldensis librarius usurpauit. Sic c. 31 (p. 126, 7) proorandi in W pro perorandi ad similitudinem compendiorum pro per et pro, quorum exempla in Agricola Aesino uidentur, referri potest. Idem uerbum in stirpe γ in operandi corruptum est.



C. 17 (p. 113, 16) O W ne quem recte ostendunt, familiae Y codices omnes neque falso testantur. In codice Aesino nullum compendium pro quem praeter que animaduerti. Probabilius mihi uidetur neque in Y non ad peculiarem formam in Hersfeldensi codice referendum, sed neglegentiae librari Y, quippe qui ductum supra litteram e in que neglexerit, deberi.

Hoc loco admonendum est de errore quodam quem admisit Ihmius haec scribens:50 "Auch hinsichtlich der Abkürzungen erinnert W an beste Handschriften (ich habe, da es sich um Sueton handelt, vornehmlich den cod. Memmianus im Auge); p. 101, 12 bietet er E. Q. R.; p. 101, 13 RE. p.; p. 125, $8 \bar{p}$. \bar{c} .; öfter C. N. für das praenomen Cn. Dies und anderes weist auf eine in Capitale oder Unciale geschriebene Vorlage. Das Compendium Q. hat den Schreibern oft zu Irrthümern Anlass gegeben. Für unsere Schrift kommen u. a. folgende Fälle in Betracht. P. 101, 7 druckt Reifferscheid mit J. F. Gronov Vectiusque: so steht schon in W (uectiusq3), während die übrigen Hss. das Compendium in der missverständlichen Form Q. bewahrt haben." In hoc manifesto errauit Ihmius, quod compendium Q. pro -que in archetypo fuisse existimabat, nam ut supra demonstraui numquam de compendio Q. sed de compendio q. agitur. Neque propius uero accessit Ihmius, cum quaedam antiquitatis uestigia ad archetypum litteris maiusculis uel uncialibus exaratum respicientia in talibus lectionibus quales E. Q. R., RE. p., C. N. detegere sibi uisus est. In Agricolae Aesini illis foliis ueteribus prima littera cuiusque capitis maiuscula est forma. Littera N maiuscula quater deciens, cum in uerborum initiis tum in mediis uerbis inuenitur; litterae NT inter se ligatae totidem fere se habent; littera uncialis E bis inuenitur. Sed praeter has, quas modo enarraui, litteras uel maiusculas uel unciales in Agricola Aesino frustra requiras. Quae cum ita sint, in litteris maiusculis nostris codicibus exhibitis non antiquitatis uestigia uidere debebat Ihmius sed saeculi quinti decimi librariorum libidinem. Quod ad praenomina pertinet, in Agricola Aesino numquam compendiose exprimuntur, sed semper exscripta sunt.⁵¹ Idem in libello Suetoniano semper obtinuisse, quippe qui tam multis praenominibus abundet, affirmare non audeam. Tali quidem opinioni c. 18 (p. 114, 14) lectio atque in O W obstare uidetur, sed hoc persuasum habeo, c. 3 (p. 102, 13) O .q. et W quintus (= U; Quintus H) testantes Hersfeldensis memoriam accuratius reuocare quam ceteros libros, qui .Q. proferunt. Tales scripturae in W quales c. 14 (p. 111, 5) . C. memmio, c. 26 (p. 123, 5) . D.M. Ticinium pro ad M. Titinium, c. 27 (p. 124, 4) .G. N. pompeium suspiciones



[™] Op. cit. p. 547.

⁵¹ F. 56^a, 15 gaium, 27 aulus; f. 57^a, 21' iulius; f. 63^a, 13' aulus.

⁴⁶ C. 31 (p. 126, 14) Hersfeldensis liber testante Decembrio lucium pisonem habebat, sed paulo infra (p. 127, 2) M, insuper brutum. Vehementer tamen dubito an Decembrio in tam minutis rebus magna fides habenda sit. Eodem loco B solus inter nostros libros lucium ostendit, ceteri omnes L.

de litteris maiusculis in hoc codice per se mouere debebant. Numquam igitur antiquitatis uestigia in talibus formis quales sunt in W c. 2 (p. 101, 12) E. Q. R. et c. 16 (p. 112, 17) $.\overline{R}$. (pro *Romano*) quaeram, sed multo magis Hersfeldensis memoriam seruatam uideo in compendio r. quod idem W c. 2 (p. 102, 14) exhibet; siquidem in *Agricola* Aesino f.56°, 8¹ populi .r. inueni.

C. 25 (p. 120, 2) quoque W ueram archetypi memoriam reuocat eiere (pro ei e re) \bar{p} testans, 53 ut haec in Agricola Aesino aperte demonstrant: f.56°, 11 $re\bar{m}p$, f.62°, 13¹ $rei\bar{p}$. Verius tamen, ut mihi uidetur, antiquitatis uestigia c. 29 (p. 125,8) in compendio $.\bar{p}.\bar{c}.,$ 54 quod praebet W, detexit Ihmius.

C. 2 (p. 102, 12) X cum B V L consentiens septingentis ostendit, ceteri libri (cLcc U ducentis Q).dcc. uel.DCC.; item c. 21 (p. 116,5) X B V Q centum et quinquaginta, ceteri C & L. Hic quoque tales formae quales DCC et C & L testante Agricola Aesino ab Hersfeldensis consuetudine abhorrere uidentur. Talem scripturam in Agricola Aesino non animaduerti, sed contra f. 62°, 12¹ quinquaginta (quod in Agricolae codice B L¹a transcriptum est), f.63°, 11¹ decemilia (!), 12¹ trecenti sexaginta (in Agricolae codice B CCCL X) inueni. Non tamen est infitiandum c. 23 (p. 117, 19) B V Q soli trecenta sexaginta quinque uasa exhibere, O W cum ceteris ccclxv uasa habere, ita ut in dubio uideatur, utra forma archetypo uindicanda sit. 55

Ihmius in multis rebus orthographis insignem bonitatem uel antiquitatis uestigia in codice W perspicere sibi uisus est, quam opinionem certe Agricola Aesinus magna ex parte confirmat. In nostris codicibus nulla est unanimitas de genetiuo singulari eorum nominum propriorum quorum nominatiuus singularis in —ius desinit, neque Agricola Aesinus auxilio subuenit, cum talia nomina in genetiuo singulari in eo non animaduerterim. O ueram scripturam⁵⁶ in simplici i numquam solus, quater cum compluribus aliis codicibus profert: c. 7 (p. 105, 14) dionysi (= W N G V), ⁵⁷ c. 16 (p. 113, 7) domiti (= W B V K H C), c. 19 (p. 114, 16) orbili (= W N G I B V). W e contrario c. 7 (p. 105, 20) ueram scripturam iuli solus exhibet; ter cum solo V simplicem i praebet: c. 2 (p. 100, 11) enni (in ennii mutauit altera manus in W),



⁵³ Vide tabulam supra p. 43. Ottoboniani librarius compendium \bar{p} haud recte intellegens in *pre* explicauit, pro *eiere* autem *eicere*, quod in W quoque margini adscriptum se habet, substituit. Vide infra p. 77.

⁴⁴ p.c. O G U paires conscripti N I P pres co¹¹ B P. C. D .p. c¹¹ V .p. con. L pres cons M .P. con. K pres conscripti H p. co: C P. c. \(\Delta \) .p. conscripti Q.

Non ignoro lectionem trecenta sexaginta quinque in Hersfeldensi libro Vrsini (in Cic. pro Cluent. inscript.) emendationi obstare uideri. Rothius Reifferscheidiusque Vrsinum sequentes CCCLX uuas edidisse ediderunt; Osannus trecenta (!) sexaginta uuas edidisse; quod tale quid in archetypo ponit: CCCLX VVASAEDIDISSE (uide Ihmium, p. 545 adn. 1). Sed talis error in aliquo libro multo antiquiore quam Hersfeldensi exoriri debebat.

⁵⁶ Vna i littera in titulis semper usurpatur teste Mommseno, *Hermes* I p. 462.

⁸⁷ dyonisii in dyonisi corr. eadem man. ut uid. in W.

c. 10 (p. 109, 4) salusti, c. 12 (p. 110, 16) corneli; semel W cum B et V facit: c. 8 (p. 106, 13) enni; semel cum N G I B M H C Δ sed contra codicis V memoriam: c. 15 (p. 112, 4) pompei. V solus ueram scripturam bis ostendit: c. 2 (p. 100, 16) Enni, (p. 101, 6) Enni; p. 101, 8 V et D soli Lucili testantur. His autem locis ne unus quidem codex ueras formas ostendit: c. 2 (p. 101, 12) Aelii uel Elii, (p. 100, 16) Palatii (palacii W), (p. 101, 4) Naeuii uel Neuii, c. 10 (p. 108, 3) Salustii (Sallustii L), c. 29 (p. 124, 20) Antonii (ant. Δ).

Certius iudicium de eis uerbis compositis quae praepositiones sincere scriptas habent pronuntiari potest, cum tales formas fere solas exhibeat Agricola Aesinus, qua in re libri O W uel solus W mirum in modum Hersfeldensis memoriam reuocare uidentur. 60 Exigua uestigia praepositionum sincere scriptarum in omnibus fere codicibus inueniuntur: c. 24 (p. 118, 11) obprobrio (opprobrio L C opropbrio W), c. 30 (p. 126, 10) obtulisset (optulisset GL). Eodem pertinet c. 1 (p. 100, 7) adnotum (adnotatum B annotatum a aduotum D notum U Δ at notum L). His locis familia X contra familiae Y memoriam Hersfeldensis libri lectiones, nisi fallor, conseruat: c. 4 (p. 104, 2) adlocutiones, c. 10 (p. 108, 14) adsumpsisse, c. 21 (p. 115, 18) adserente. W solus praepositionem sincere scriptam ostendit: c. 8 (p. 106, 12) conposuit, c. 9 (p. 107, 19) adpositis, c. 14 (p. 111, 18) inbecillitatem, c. 14 (p. 112, 3) conprobat, c. 21 (p. 116, 5) conponere, c. 22 (p. 116, 15) adfirmante, c. 28 (p. 124, 17) conparuisse. C. 24 (p. 118, 14) O. W cum V H C Q adnotare proferunt; c. 10 (p. 108, 22) W cum H adgressos. E contrario c. 15 (p. 112, 13) 0 W surreptis exhibent, cum ceteri fere (surreptus in surreptis mut. m.3 L) subreptus (subrectus a) testentur; quae diversitas haud scio an duplici lectioni in Hersfeldensi codice attribuenda sit.61

Eadem ratione tractandae sunt formae in tertia persona singulari temporis perfecti actiui simplici i littera scriptae. Vno quidem loco forma in simplici i manus emendatrices in fere omnibus codicibus subterfugit: c.9 (p. 106, 21) repetit w repetiit L K om. U. C.5 (p. 104, 21) complures codices ueram scripturam praebent: obisse W G B D V L Q. C. 22 (p. 116, 12) et c. 24 (p. 118, 6) petit in solis O W inuenitur; 2 c. 30 (p. 127, 5) etiam W solus



⁵⁰ enniclencorum pro Enni elenchorum B.

m enim ex ennii corrupt. W I.

^{*}Vide in Agricola Aesino: f. 56°, 22 adsumpto; f. 56°, 14' inperiis; f. 57°, 14' adgressus; f. 57°, 9' inmisit; f. 58°, 25 adsedere; f. 58°, 19' inritamenta in irritamenta corr.; f. 58°, 1' Adnotabant; f. 59°, 20' adsumpta; f. 59°, 26 adgressi, 3' adsultare; f. 60°, 1 adrogantia, 7 inritatis, 15 inmixti' (in marg. immixtis), 7' inlustrauit; f. 60°, 2 adfluebant; f. 61°, 20' affectu; f. 62°, 24 adgressos, 12' inponite, 13' adprobatae, 14' inputari, 17' adloquente, 25' adfunderentur; f. 62°, 3 peradcliue; f. 63°, 23 adpropinquauerunt; f. 63°, 5' adtolli. Vide contra f. 60°, 2 aspiciebantur, 2' aspicientes; f. 63°, 25' aspectu.

et Vide infra p. 71 sq.

a petit in petit mut. U petisse I.

redit profert. Formam duplici i scriptam in Agricola Aesino nullam animaduerti, has autem simplici i: f. 59^b, 8¹ redit; f. 56^b, 18 transisse; f. 62^a, 2 transisse. C. 18 (p. 114, 14) omnes codices nostri transiit exhibent, itemque c. 8 (p. 106, 11) I solus transit ostendit.

Simillimae sunt eae formae uerbi iacere cum praepositionibus compositae. Simplicem i litteram semper exhibet W, sed numquam a ceteris omnibus diuersus stat: c. 16 (p. 113, 2) obicitur W B K C Q obicitur ω; c. 25 (p. 119, 13) subiciam W B K Q subitiam I subiciam ω; c. 28 (p. 124, 11) obicientibus W obitientibus I obicientibus ω; c. 29 (p. 125, 4) obicit O W B K obiicit ω. Simplicem i in Aesino codice semel, f.59b, 5¹ adici, duplicem nusquam animaduerti.

C. 2 (p. 100, 18) O W V antiquiorem formam ualetudinis (in ualitudinis mut. m.2 W) praeferunt, quae in Agricola Aesino, licet in parte suppleta, f. 64b, 141 ualétudinem, f.65b, 11 ualetudini, legitur. C. 7 (p. 105, 21) W solus inter nostros codices cotidie exhibet, quae scriptura certe est praeferenda atque Agricolae Aesini testimonio f.61°, 11/12 confirmatur. C. 4 (p. 103, 12), item c. 26 (p. 123, 5) W solus epistula ostendit, quod cum uel sine libro adhibendum erat, tum codice Aesino, f. 63b, 23 epistulis, confirmari uidetur. Ne tamen codicibus saeculi quinti decimi in rebus orthographis nimiam fidem habeamus, animaduertendum est codicem W c. 14 (p. 111, 9) epistulam pro epistula ostendere, quod genus erroris non nisi e compendio epl'a in archetypo X oriri potuit. 43 Ihmius 44 bonam lectionem condicionem c. 21 (p. 115, 19) ex W profert, ubi ego in eodem codice conditionem legere mihi uideor. 65 C. 30 (p. 126, 12) W et V soli condicionem 66 testantur. C. 30 (p. 127, 7) O W cum G V H C \(\Delta \) meliorem scripturam contionantis ostendunt. Sed omnino librarius W c pro t et t pro c satis ad libitum posuisse uidetur,67 neque semper facile dignoscere possis, utrum c an t scripserit. In Agricola Aesino prouintia pro prouincia fere semper scriptum est, quod etiam in nostris libris nonnumquam inuenitur: c. 3 (p. 102, 15) prouintias I B, c. 14 (p. 111, 17) prouintia W I K H, c. 24 (p. 118, 7) provintia WI, c. 30 (p. 127, 2) provintiae I.

Inutile est certa argumenta in uice litterarum e et ae quaerere. Codex O e pro ae fere semper habet, W autem satis raro. 68 In hoc W cum libro



⁴⁸ C. 16 (p. 112, 17) W epl'ae habet, cum O, qui ceteris locis hoc uerbum compendiose scriptum ostendit, epistole proferat.

⁴ Op. cit. p. 546.

⁴⁴ condicionem V L K condictionem B conditionem ω.

⁶⁶ In W prima manus e conditionem correxisse uidetur.

⁶⁷ Cf. c. 2 (p. 100, 16) palacii; c. 3 (p. 102, 4) enetuit, et cetera in tabula supra p. 48 sq. ostenta.

ee e pro as in W: p. 107, 12 diverse, 108, 8 lelium, 110, 13 questiones, 110, 16 sylls, 113, 18 que pro quas, 19 exacte, 115, 9 poets, 19 were pro veras, 116, 2 octavis, 120, 5 disciplins, 10 preter. 122, 6 kec, 123, 12 celius, 124, 18 gracceque, 127, 1 Italis.

Aesino facit, qui uel perpauca uel nulla exempla litterae e pro ae scriptae ostendit. In Agricola Aesino litterae ae pro e saepius inueniuntur, in codice W haud raro. Idem scripturae genus in codicibus N et C saepissime inuenies, sed, cum fieri possit ut tales scripturae in W Hersfeldensis libri memoriam conseruent, in N et C nihil nisi quandam antiquitatis affectationem agnosco.

Litteram y pro i positam saepissime ostendit W, ubi cum uno et altero codice nonnumquam facit.⁷¹ Qua in re W ab Hersfeldensis libri usu, quod iudicare possim, abhorret.⁷²

Vt hanc quaestionem orthographam absoluam, nonnulla sunt alia exempla, ubi uterque O W uel alteruter aut soli aut cum paucis aliis libris ueram scripturam proferunt. Quae scripturae utrum libro Hersfeldensi uindicandae an abiudicandae sint, nihil Agricola Aesinus nos docet. C. 16 (p. 113, 6) W cum G Vergilium profert; c. 23 (p. 117, 12) W G V Vergilio. In indice (p. 98, 12) O W V G M ueram scripturam Nicia, B L C falsam Nitia exhibent; in I A autem nomen huius grammatici indici deest. In contextu c. 14 (p. 111, 5) O N V M soli Nicia ostendunt, ubi W etiam Curcius falso testatur; p. 111, 11 O N D V M K U Niciam recte ostendunt; p. 111, 15 O W N D V M U \(\Delta \) Nicia, p. 111, 18 O W N D V M K U Q Niciae (uel Nicie) recte exhibent. Quibus omnibus locis D ueram formam e Cicerone⁷³ reuocare potuit. In nomine C. Albuci Sili in indice (p. 99, 6) O W cum V M de uera scriptura Albucius conspirant; in contextu autem c. 30 (p. 125, 12) W solus ueram formam Albucius praebet, ceteri omnes⁷⁴ falso Albutius. Earum uocum, quae ex adulescens deriuantur, W meliorem formam in littera u semper adhibet, O numquam. Qua in re W cum nonnullis familiae Y libris eisque plerumque deterioribus facit: c. 4 (p. 104, 6) W C Δ adulescentulo; c. 16 (p. 113, 4) W B G I C adulescentibus; c. 25 (p. 120, 7) W M H C Δ adulescentulos; ⁷⁶ c. 25 (p. 122, 13) W M H C adulescentes. C. 2 (p.

Vide in Agricola Aesino inter alia f. 56, 30 aegregius, 28' inter prae tando; f. 56*, 1' paenes, 30' aegregius; 58*, 9 praecibus, 27 praetio; 58*, 7' craebrae; f. 62*, 21' aequorum pro equorum; f. 63*, 12' caecidere.

⁷⁰ Cf. p. 101, 6 fraequentia, 102, 9 praetia, 104, 1 aeloquentiam, 105, 17 latinae, 112, 14 praetium, 115, 16 mecaenati, 121, 1 Latinae.

ⁿ Haec exempla collegi: c. 2 (p. 101, 9) phylocomum; c. 6 (p. 105, 1) phylosophyam (phylosophiam 0); c. 7 (p. 105, 14) dyonisi scycho brachyonis (scycho in scytho immutauit m.2); c. 7 (p. 106, 3) phylologus (=N K); c. 9 (p. 106, 23) Cycerone; c. 11 (p. 109, 9) perydoneus (=K); c. 11 (p. 109, 15/18) dyana, dyanae, (p. 110, 2) pryapi; c. 14, (p. 111, 8) Cyceronis; c. 16 (p. 112, 17) Cyceronis, (p. 113, 9) epyrota (=O M); c. 19 (p. 115, 1) orthographya; c. 20 (p. 115, 3) hyspanus (=IK); c. 25 (p. 120, 15) Cycero, (p. 121, 2) hyrtio (=IBQ); c. 27 (p. 124, 7) hystoriam (=IBK) c. 30 (p. 126, 14) medyolani.

⁷³ Haec sola in Agricola Aesino animaduerti: f. 59^b, 8/20' calydoniam, f. 61^a, 5' calydonia.

78 Vide infra p. 124.

74 Prorsus in dubio sum utrum -c- an -t- in O legenda sit.
75 Haud scio an hic adolescentulos ut antiquissima forma censorio edicto conueniens edenda sit.



101, 8) W cum nonnullis aliis libris partim deterioribus genuinam script uram saturas⁷⁶ exhibet; c. 5 (p. 104, 16) autem Wuitiose staturam profert, quod tamen propter ipsum mendum saturam potius quam satyram in exemplari indicat.⁷⁷ C. 23 (p. 117, 1) soli O W genuinam scripturam erilem proferunt, itemque c. 27 (p. 124, 2) ostiarius, nisi quod hoc loco codex Q, liber interpolationibus magnopere pullulans, cum eis fortuito facit.⁷⁸ Quaenam fuerit Hersfeldensis libri facies c. 25 (p. 122, 19), ubi W brundis in testatur, non extrico, sed non sine causa uidetur W litteram i recte ostendere ubi ceteri codices litteram u falso exhibent.⁷⁹ C. 29 (p. 125, 2) W cum K U meliorem scripturam temptare (temptare in tentare mutatum G) ostendit; O autem temerare habet, quod sine dubio ad temptare in X referendum est. Neque dubito quin temptare in Hersfeldensi libro locum obtineret.³⁰

Ne quis me oleum perdere tam minutas quaestiunculas exagitantem existimet, talem inuestigationem non sine fructu persecutus esse mihi uideor. Neque Ihmius tam paruas res neglegendas duxit.⁸¹ Quid quod haec ipsa quaestio orthographa una e duabus fuit causis, quibus Rothius, quippe qui libris O et W nullam curam dederit, ut falsum iudicium de aetate libri Hersfeldensis (Henochiani ut ipse dixit) prompserit, inductus est? Cuius ipsius uerba repetere malo.⁸² "Nostram de uita Caesarum editionem si quis cum libello de grammaticis conferre uoluerit, in hoc admodum diuersum genus scribendi uocabula animaduertet. Rarissime enim ueteris scripturae uestigia, et quidem ea fere quae librariorum odium quasi subterfugerunt, deprehendet, praepositionum in uerbis compositis sincere scriptarum exemplum nullum, ⁸³ (48) accusatiui pluralis tertiae declinationis in is terminati



⁷⁶ saturas W N I V H C satyras O G B D L M Δ F satiras K U Q.

⁷⁷ saturam NIBVHUCQ satyram OGDLMKA. C. 14 (p. 112, 3) W santya exhibens non solum genuinam lectionem Santra (uide infra p. 76) confirmat, sed etiam in ipso uitio fidelior est quam ei libri qui satura exhibent, cum santra non in satura sed in satyra propter litteras r et y inter se confusas corrumpi debebat. Ceteri libri sic testantur: satyra OGDLMKAF satura NIVHUC satira B.

⁷⁸ Falsam litteram h etiam in Agricola Aesino nonnumquam animaduerti: f. 58^a, 4 cohercuit, 12' cohercere; f. 61^b, 3' cohercitum.

⁷⁹ Vide tabulam supra p. 54. Vide et infra p. 71 adn. 88.

^{*} Cf. in Agricola Aesino f. 58*, 14' praetemptare.

²⁰ Op. cit. pp. 547, 553.

a Praefat. p. LXV ad fin.

⁸³ Ipsius adnotationes adfero:

[&]quot;48) Excipiendum p. 257, 7 adnotatum, olim in ad notum et at notum corruptum; nam p. 267, 14 boni libri omnes annotare habent."

[&]quot;49) p. 268, 26 grandis; nam p. 263, 8 omnis non habent nisi Parisinus codex et incerta editio, qui libri antiquitatis affectatione etiam quom pro cum scribere solent. Accedant tamen Graeca acroasis, paraphrasis, thesis, synthesis."

[&]quot;50) cfr. supra p. LXV. Adde Sexti, Spoleti, Mediolani, Brundusi."

[&]quot;51) Semel adulescentibus et neglegentia invenitur. Adde antiquos p. 263, 29."

unum, (49) simplicis i litterae pro duplici positae (50) pauca inueniet; contra saepissime Antonii, Sallustii etc. et uel obiicere et subiiciam scriptum et de singulis vocabulis, adolescentes, (51) epistola, pene, tentare, concionari, quatuor, uendicauit, Brundusi, quanquam, unquam, nunquam, sic ut uides scripta offendet. Omnia haec reputans codici Henochiano maiorem quam saeculi XIII aetatem tribuere non audebit." Rothius, cum quinque⁵⁴ solum codices ex undeuiginti adhibuit, neque unum quidem optimae notae, non potuit non in errorem delabi. Sed illa ipsa antiquitatis uestigia, de quorum absentia in codicibus suis queritur ille, in libris O W uel in solo W potissimum inueniuntur. Quae cum ita sint, aliud argumentum haud leuis momenti accedere mihi uidetur, cur codices O W uni familiae a ceteris distinctae assignandi sint.

Agricolam Aesinum si quis uel cursim perlustrauerit permultis uestigiis scripturae continuae permouebitur. Haec inter sescenta alia exempli gratia refero: f.56b, 13 nuncabignauis (nunc ab ignauis); f. 57a, 21 milesotiolasciuir& (miles otio lasciuiret); f.57*, 61 sedubicumcetero (sed ubi cum cetero); 59°, 22¹ speciecumsimulterra (specie cum simul terra); f.61°, 22 longin quitasac (longinquitas ac); f. 63°, 13¹ inqui s, aulus atticus (in quis aulus atticus). In nostris libris praeter O et W talis scripturae uestigia uix reperias. Vnum quidem exemplum c. 21 (p. 116, 1) inuenitur, ubi praua uerborum distinctio alterum quoque uitium in Hersfeldensem iam induxerat. Hoc loco libri praeter O quod eleganiem (quod elleganiem B K quod eleganier D U) testantur. Librarius O suo ipsius ingenio, ut censeo, genuinam lectionem quo delegante reuocauit. Alterum exemplum in libris O W N Gm.2 B inuenitur: c. 25 (p. 120, 7) rhetora sibi pro rhetoras ibi; quod uitium idem librarius O post librum scriptum sustulit. Hanc scripturam continuam fertilem fuisse causam lectionum uariantium quae in ipso Hersfeldensi libro extarent, tales uarietates quales c. 13 (p. 110, 21) eros nametra: hero suo metre; c. 9 (p. 110, 5) calculi selibra; calculis et libra; c. 29 (p. 124, 20) extricte se: extitisse aperte demonstrant. In familia autem X, si tabulas (supra p. 40 sq.) perlustraueris, huius scripturae continuae, quae in familiae Y libris uix agnoscitur, certissima indicia te non fallent, ut c. 6 (p. 105, 5) aliquo duo lumina (aliquot duo uolumina sed duo deleto O) pro aliquot uolumina; c. 11 (p. 109, 12) latinas irem (item W) pro latina siren, 86 (l. 15) lydia & icida pro Lydiae Ticida, (p.



MGLHPO.

as De uendicauit uide infra p. 129. Dubito an tales formae quales grandis Suctoni aetati uindicandae sint. Quod ad grandis ipsum pertinet Suctonius hoc loco Ciceronis uerba profert, cuius aetati talis forma optime conuenit. In alio exemplo a Rothio quoque adlato, antiquos (p. 111, 13), ipsius Ciceronis testimonium de suae aetatis usu scribendi ante oculos habere mihi uideor. Quod autem uocabulum Rothius recte edidit, Reifferscheidius pessime in antiquus mutauit. antiquos in omnibus codicibus praeter D (antiquus) se habet.

⁸⁶ Vide hic familiae X praestantiam, cum familiae Y omnes libri praeter a (N G I) et L m 3 syren pro siren scriptum habeant.

110, 6) racemidio pro racemi duo; c. 14 (p. 112, 3) libro sed iam pro libros etiam; c. 21 (p. 116, 4) qui nun cio corum (qni nuntio eorum W) pro qui nunc iocorum; c. 25 p. 130, 2) eiere (eicere O) pro ei e re. Si uero codicis W lectiones peculiares supra (p. 48 sq.) exhibitas perlustraueris satis plura eiusdem generis inuenies, ut c. 4 (p. 103, 10) inter praeces quia pro interpretes qui a; c. 9 (p. 107, 3) perialego sedidit pro †perialegos edidit; c. 10 (p. 108, 4) meam rem pro in eam rem, (l. 10) ginphone in pro Gniphonem; c. 13 (p. 111, 2) tantarum pro tanta eum; c. 18 (p. 114, 6) adom claruit pro adeo inclaruit, (p. 114, 9) desinit e pro desinite; c. 23 (p. 117, 9) in etheris pro metris. Qui tales locos in O et W cum Agricola Aesino contulerit, negare non poterit ea, quae fortasse primo obtutu nihil nisi inconsulta deprauatio uisa sint, re uera ueriorem Hersfeldensis codicis imaginem repraesentare quam familiae Y cmendatiores lectiones. Non sine causa quaerit Ihmius num c. 25 (p. 120, 2) nee fent (perperam nee sent Ihmius legisse mihi uidetur) in W antiquissimam formam ne esent senatus consulto conuenientem conservet.

Nunc ad quaestionem difficilem de lectionibus duplicibus transeo. In nonnullis nostrorum codicum lectiones duplices saepius inueniuntur, quarum una in contextu altera uel supra uersum uel in margine scripta est. Hae lectiones duplices saepissime in N V inueniuntur, rarius in W G L, perraro in M K, in deterioribus stirpis γ codicibus non apparent, nisi quod c. 13 (p. 110, 21) utraque lectio in contextu locum obtinet.88 In B I lectiones uariantes praeter eas quas librarii oscitantes in contextum susceperunt non inueniuntur;80 in O D autem omnino deficiunt. Eadem lectionum uariantium ratione, quae in libro Hersfeldensi se habebant, enucleandae sunt multae discrepantiae inter diuersos libros, etiamsi duplex lectio nullo in codice inuenitur. Ne Rothium⁹⁰ quidem fefellit eius modi uarietates in ipso Hersfeldensi codice fuisse. Reifferscheidius91 quoque has uarietates in communi omnium librorum archetypo fuisse recte iudicauit, sed in opinione, quam de earum origine prompsit, longe a uero aberrauit. Nam non illum ipsum antiquum librum Hersfeldensem (Fuldensem uel Corbeiensem ut ipse malebat) Romam reportatum, sed apographon eius, quem Enoch Asculanus transcripsisset uel transcribere iussisset, iudicauit; lectiones duplices autem ex eo ortas esse, quod in antiquissimo exemplari, quod Enoch uel eius scriba exscripsisset, scriptura iam ita euanida esset, ut ambi-

⁸⁷ Cf. Agricolam Assinum f. 56°, 28' & inter prae tando pro et interpretando.

⁸⁸ Quaerere licet si c. 25 (p. 122, 19) brundisii in H ad ipsum Hersfeldensem codicem referendum sit, quod haud temere crediderim. Vide tamen supra p. 69.

^{*} Excipiendum uidetur c. 25 (p. 119, 10) serv (pro sero?) in margine codicis **B** per compendium scriptum. Vide infra p.75.

^{*} Praefat. p. LXVI ad fin.

⁹¹ Quaest. Suet. p. 412,

²² Addenda ad p. 411.

guum uideretur utrum hoc an illud scriptum extaret. Quae opinio, numquam magna consideratione digna, cum cuiuis appareat omnes uarietates hac ratione non explicari posse, nunc Decembri testimonio in medium prolato atque Agricola Aesino reperto ne specie quidem ueri adornari potest.

Eiusdem modi scripturae uarietates in codicibus Agricolae, Germaniae, Dialogi inueniuntur, de quorum origine uiri docti opinones diuersas olim habuisse uidentur.93 Nunc Agricola Aesino in medium prolato ne minima quidem dubitatio moueri potest, quin tales lectiones in Agricola communi archetypo (h. e. ipsi Aesino in foliis 56a-63b) referendae sint. Neque, ut mihi uidetur, eadem ratio de talibus lectionibus in Germaniae, Dialogi, Suetoni fragmenti codicibus iure negari potest. In Agricolae Aesini igitur octo illis uetustissimis foliis (56a-63b) haud minus quinquaginta lectiones marginales inueniuntur. Textus uerbis ad quae lectiones marginales referendae sunt signum aliquod adfixum est. Idem signum aut compendium l' uerbis marginalibus quoque adfixum est. Nonnumquam fit ut totum uerbum in margine non scriptum sit, sed unica littera quae ad quoddam textus uerbum referatur. Non solum lectiones margini adscriptae sunt, sed etiam uoces uel syllabae uel singulae litterae in textu supra ea uerba ad quae referendae sunt, compendio etiam l' nonnumquam margini adscripto ad hanc rem notandam inueniuntur. Hae lectiones uariantes teste Annibaldio (p. 75 et passim) non ab eadem manu quae ipsum codicem exarauit scriptae sunt, sed ex altera quadam eiusdem aetatis manu fluxerunt. Vestigia tertiae quoque manus inueniuntur, quae tamen lectionibus uariis et grauioribus emendationibus fere abstinuit,94 sed uerbis distinguendis orthographia huius codicis peculiari (uelut adq. in atq.; aput in apud corr.) passim corrigenda paruis correctionibus radendo faciendis contenta fuit.

Wexius Proleg. pp. 8-10 eas lectiones uariantes, quae in Agricolae codice Vaticano A (Γ in apparatu Wexiano) uel supra uersum uel in margine se habent, in alio quodam codice a Pomponio Laeto codicis A scriptore inuentas esse, et non in eodem exemplari quod exscripsit Pomponius fuisse contendit. Cuius opinionem negauerunt Haase, Comment. p. LIX, Ritter, Vol. IV p. XV, Kritizus Praefat. p. X. K. Schenkl autem, Zeitschr. f. d. Oester. Gym. 1861, pp. 421-437, codice Vaticano B (= Δ apud Wexium) cum A diligenter collato, multas earum lectionum uariarum fuisse in communi codicum A et B archetypo aperte demonstrauit. Post codicem Toletanum in medium prolatum O. Leuze, Philol. Suppl. VIII (1901) p. 521 sq., omnes fere lectiones duplices in A ad commune archetypum referendas demonstrauit. Cui rei, si minima quidem dubitatio etiam tum haerebat, Agricola Aesinus repertus omnem scrupulum sustulit.

⁸⁴ Agr. 26, 8 (f. 59^b, 7') ubi prima manus recte noNanis scripserat, haec tertia manus teste Annibaldio litteras noN ut delendas notauit, rom autem suprascripsit. Itemque Agr. 31, 4 (f. 61^a, 2) supra fortunaeq. eadem tertia manus que (h. e. fortunaeque in fortunae quae correxit) scripsit; ibidem post ageratq. annus (ager atque annus) eadem manus a dextra in margine quae dnis addidit.



Ouaerendum nunc est unde hae lectionum uarietates in Agricolam Aesinum profluxerint, et quanam auctoritate in textu recensendo habendae sint. Si uoces syllabas litterasue quae supra uersum scriptae sunt perlustraueris, partem maximam earum non tam alteras esse lectiones quae propositae sint quam errorum correctiones, quos in codice exarando fecerit prima manus, iudicabis, ut Agr. 16, 13 (f. 57°, 6) nouus, q. pro nouus eoque; 17, 8 (f. 57°, 20°) sustinuitq. pro subist sustinuitque; 22, 17 (f. 58b, 241) nihil erat pro nihil supererat; ubi secunda manus nullo officio nisi eo uerborum a priore librario omissorum supplendorum functa esse uidetur. Eadem quoque ratione capiendae sunt nonnullae lectiones marginales, ut Agr. 22, 6 (f. 58b, 31) in textu nullūcgricola, in margine autem 'ab, ubi corrector nihil addidit nisi uerbum ab a priore librario omissum. 95 Si eas lectiones quae re uera uariantes nominari possunt examinaueris, alias propter litteras in exemplari haud satis composite ac clare formatas originem habere iudicabis, ut Agr. 16, 11 (f. 57a, 2) in textu recte dūrius, in marg. falso -dubius; 24, 6 (f. 59a, 21) in textu recte ualentissimam, in marg. falso o; 25, 5 (f. 59a, 211) in textu recte uirium, in marg. falso uinum; 30, 11 (f. 60b, 21) in textu recte contactu in marg. falso conpactu; 33, 3 (f. 61b, 11) in textu recte instruebatur, in marg. falso instituebal; aliae quin librariorum in compendiis explicandis imperitiae debeantur uix dubitabis, ut Agr. 33,4 (f. 61b, 31) in textu falso monitis, in marg. recte munimentis; 34, 9 (f. 62a, 41) in textu falso demtium, in marg. recte et metuentiū. In aliis lectionibus duplicibus sine dubio uanas coniecturas ad textum iam ualde corruptum sanandum propositas agnoueris; certe in Suetoni codicibus uel maximam partem scripturae uarietates hac ratione interpretandae sunt. De aliarum uarietatum origine, uelut Agr. 37, 18 (f. 63a, 30) in textu recte -dimissis equissimul, in marg. inferiore perperam -dimissis qui simulati; 32, 22 (f. 61b, 18) in textu recte aegramunicipia, in marg. falso taetra mancipia; nemo uerum praestare possit. Ut iam animaduersum est, genuina lectio nunc in textu nunc in margine scripta est;96 nonnumquam etiam idoneam sententiam ex alterutra exprimere frustra coneris, ut Agr. 36, 10 (f. 62b, 61) in textu foedare & tratis, in margine superiore -foede recti trates' uel traces.

Restat ut quaeratur unde alter librarius has alteras lectiones sumpserit. Quae res prorsus in dubio relinquenda est, sed nullam causam uideo cur alterum codicem ad eius exemplaris, quo usus est prior librarius, me-



^{**} Agr. 25, 17 (f. 59^b, 15) ubi *èxcedendum* in contextu, & in margine inuenitur, dubium uidetur utrum *et cedendum* an *et excedendum* scribendum sit.

^{•6} Alii loci, ubi genuina lectio in margine, falsa autem in textu inuenitur, sunt: Agr. 13, 9 (f. 56^a, 14) in marg. \bar{p}_{ceptu} , in text. praecipue; 19, 13 (f. 58^a, 20) in marg. exactionē, in text. auctionē; 21, 3 (f. 58^b, 2) in marg. et otio, in text. inotio.

moriam corrigendam adhibitum iudicemus. Mihi probabilius uidetur, postquam liber Aesinus ab uno librario exaratus sit, alterum librarium illius
operi corrigendo negotium continuo dedisse, nullo subsidio adhibito nisi
illo uno exemplari cuius prior librarius copiam haberet. Alter autem
librarius errores a priore factos correxit, lectiones uariantes quas in exemplari inuenit transcripsit, nonnumquam, ut suspicari licet, ubi ambiguum
ei uidebatur, utrum prior librarius exemplar recte exscripsisset necne, eam
lectionem quae sibi uisa est margini addidit. Quomodocumque haec se
habent, hoc certum mihi uidetur: in Agricola Aesino lectiones marginales
uel supra ordinem scriptas summae esse antiquitatis, atque eiusdem fere
auctoritatis habendas esse ac textus lectiones. Quae autem de Aesini
libri lectionum uariantium indole exposui, ea optimo iure nostro libro
Hersfeldensi, quippe cuius Aesinus liber olim pars fuerit, uindicanda sunt.

Quod ad nostros codices Suetonianos pertinet, libro Hersfeldensi iam diu deperdito, nulla est certa ratio quae diiudicet utra lectio in contextu, utra in margine illius libri se haberet. Neque magnopere nostra interest, cum iam demostrauerim nihil ad lectionis bonitatem spectare utrum in textu an in margine locum obtineret.

C. 10 (p. 108, 11) Vindobonensis codex haere in textu, herma⁹⁷ in margine exhibet. Codicis W lectio marginalis hermam in O et familiae Y libris locum in textu obtinet, cum in N V altera lectio haere supra uersum scripta sit, in G autem altera manus aere margini addiderit.⁹⁸ Reifferscheidius post editionem suam typographis mandatam Hermam librari leuem esse coniecturam uel errorem agnouit, atque haere cruce praefixa scribendum fuisse professus est.⁹⁹ Nam Hermam neque sententiae satisfacit et per se propter praecedens Hermam (l. 8) suspiciones mouere debet. Ihmius¹⁰⁰ quoque omnem emendationem ex haere non ex Hermam progredi debere iudicauit. Mihi quidem uidetur non solum illius haere sed etiam litterae m qua hermam terminatur rationem haberi posse. Mercklini praeclara coniectura¹⁰¹ haere < s > in, quae unius solum litterae iacturam ponit, omnibus postulatis satisfacit.¹⁰²



⁹⁷ Quo iure Ihmius (l. c. p. 551) codicis W lectionem marginalem hermam alteri manui attribuerit, non prorsus extrico. Cuiuis luce clarius apparere debet eandem manum, quae totum codicem exarauit, hanc lectionem marginalem scripsisse.

⁹⁸ Vide supra p. 53.

^{*} In editione Reifferscheidiana Laelium ante Hermam infelici casu inrepsit. Vide Reif. p. 413 adn.

¹⁰⁰ Op. cit. p. 551.

¹⁰¹ Philologus XVIIII, p. 158.

¹⁰⁰ Distinctionis signum post haeresin ponendum est ut locus sic legatur: audisse Antonium Gniphonem eiusque haere < s > in; postea docuisse. Haeresis autem eadem fere quod dogma intellegenda est. Ateium ioculariter capere debemus, ut Ciceronem, Epist. ad. Att. XIV 14, de haeresi Vestoriana scribentem; nam rhetoricus grammaticusque professor re uera haeresin habere uix poterat.

C. 18 (p. 114, 12) familiae Y stirpes a et β cum et doceret, stirps γ cum edoceret testantur; familiae X codex W cum & edoceret, codex O cum doceret exhibet. Reifferscheidius cum * et doceret lacuna indicata recte edidit, cum Suetonius uerbo edocere numquam alibi utatur. 103 Hanc lectionis uarietatem non in stirpe γ exortam sed ad ipsum Hersfeldensem codicem referendam esse codex W, quippe cuius librarius utramque lectionem in textum acceperit, aperte demonstrat. Duplex lectio & doceret uel tale quid Hersfeldensi libro facile uindicatur. 104

C. 16 (p. 112, 16) uerba libertus Attici equitis iam in Hersfeldensi libro in libertus satti equitis pessum abierant, ut omnes libri nostri docent, nisi quod quattuor interpolatiores codices $\mathbf{C} \Delta \mathbf{Q} \mathbf{F}$ attici (actici \mathbf{C}) sati ostendunt. Lectio duplex Satti in \mathbf{L} inuenitur, quam Wissowa (p. XXVI) coniecturam esse (h. e. Satri pro Satti) illius librari qui Pontani exemplar exscripsit iudicauit. Quae opinio, quam longe sit a uero, libri Vindobonensis et Hauniensis ostendunt, cum hic (\mathbf{D}) satti equitis ille (\mathbf{W}) sattrequitis exhibeant. Unde colligitur illam litteram r uel supra uersum uel in margine scriptam iam in Hersfeldensi locum obtinuisse.

C. 1 (p. 100, 8) familiae Y codices D V L (prealegabant V) praeallegabant pro praelegabant testantur. Quae discrepantia uide ne ad ipsum Hersfeldensem librum referenda sit, cum eodem loco W non praelegabant sed praelegabant proferat.

C. 25 (p. 119, 10) sero quod olim Beroaldi coniectura subnitebatur, nunc familia X et codicis B lectione marginali serv (ex sero corruptum) confirmatur. In Hersfeldensi codice sine dubio erat sero: fere. Trossius, Osannus, Rothius fere restituerunt, sed quaenam sententia inde exprimi possit non video

Nunc ad eas lectiones variantes transeo quarum vestigia non nisi in familia X vel in W solo inveniuntur. Primo ut maiorem fidem de testimonio codicis W evocem unum locum, ubi teste Agricola Aesino codex W memoriam summae antiquitatis revocat, proferam. C. 11 (p. 109, 5) W uburseni ceteri Burseni (vel Bursini) 105 testantur. Idem librarius qui codicem exarauit, ut videtur, errore perspecto litteram u vut delendam notavit, sed nihilominus pretiosissimum testimonium nobis reliquit. Nam in Agricola Aesino confusio inter litteras u et b ubique manifesta est. Vide mihi f. 56 b , 12 1 in textu $u\bar{o}$ adicca, in margine $\bar{bouid}/icta$; f. 59 a , 14 1 in textu transuodotriam, in margine $b\bar{o}dot'a_3$; f. 60 a , 21 in textu $p\bar{r}aeuehebantur$, in margine $p\bar{b}ebantur$; f. 62 b , 4 1 vatabi pro batavi; f. 62 b , 24 in textu vataevorum, in margine batavora. Quomodo igitur dubitari possit quin illa u in W olim in

¹⁰³ Vide infra p. 79 sq.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Agricolam Aesinum f. 56b, 4 & quib.

¹⁰⁵ Vide supra p. 51.

ipso Hersfeldensi locum obtinuisse, praesertim cum iam satis constet librarium W hominem certe parum doctum lectiones uariantes non semel tantum in textum accepisse? Non tamen puto aliud nomen in *uburseni* latere, ut uoluit Ihmius (p. 548, adn. 2). Quod nomen *Bursenus* alibi non inuenitur, haud satis idonea causa mihi uidetur cur reiciendum sit.¹⁰⁶

C. 3 (p. 102, 14) in Vindobonensi equite a r. legitur, ubi ceteri libri equite Romano¹⁰⁷ habent. Caue autem ne illam a sine ulla causa in W se habere existimes; siquidem in uersu secundo loco praecedente W panosagecema pro panosagecema in ceteris libris habet. Ergo illam a post equite in W ad panosagecema referendam puto.¹⁰⁸

C. 14 (p. 112, 3) W solus ueram scripturam tantum non ostendit:

santya. Ceteri libri omnes nihil nisi satyra uel satura uel satura habent. 100

Statius iam dudum Santra coniecit, quam praeclaram emendationem a sequentibus neglectam Preller 110 resuscitauit, Osannus, Rothius, Reifferscheidiusque recte ediderunt. Nunc Stati coniectura praeter omnem dubitationem codicis W testimonio confirmatur; nam quo modo dubitari possit quin duplex lectio santya: satyra in Hersfeldensi libro extaret non uideo.

Aliae sunt scripturae uarietates in familia X quae eadem certa ratione libro Hersfeldensi attribui non possunt, sed, cum haec familia tam multis modis memoriam antiqui archetypi reuocet, has quoque lectiones ex eodem Hersfeldensi manauisse tutius credas. C. 3 (p. 102, 13) O W in textu falsam lectionem capulo pro Catulo ostendunt; sed hanc esse meram deprauationem existimare prohibemur, cum in W eadem manus ueram lectionem catulo in margine scripserit. Duplex igitur lectio capulo: catulo archetypo Hersfeldensi meo iudicio uindicanda est, praesertim cum eadem confusio inter litteras p et i in Agricola Aesino uideatur. 111

106 Viri docti in nomine Aeficio, c. 3 (p. 102, 14) olim haerebant, atque sescentas uanas emendationes proponebant. Reifferscheidius etiam Eficio cruce praefixa edidit, posteaque hoc nomine e titulis a Keilio (Rh. Mus. XVI [1861] p. 290 sq.) prolato errorem agnouit (1877). Quis autem scit num tituli nomen Bursenum olim non confirmaturi sint?

107 Romano plerumque compendiose; uide supra p. 49.

108 Hersfeldensis lectio hoc loco uix restitui potest. Est etiam quaedam lectionis uarietas in sola familia Y exhibita, quam infra p. 95 sq. ostendo. Nihil melius quam Toupi (Emendat. in Suid. Curae Nouissimae [1780] p. 266-7) coniecturam Πανός άγάπημα, quam Reifferscheidius cum nonnullis antiquioribus edidit, noui. Rothius Baumgarten-Crusi coniecturam Panas agasma (ΑΓΑCMA) maluit. C. 9 (p. 107, 3) W a ceteris codicibus discedens perialegos (perialego sedidit in perialegos edidit corr. m.2) non perialogos ostendit. Toupi coniectura περιαλγής a Reifferscheidio suscepta mihi non placet. Nonne codicis W lectio περί άλγεος indicare uidetur?

100 Vide supra p. 54.

¹¹⁰ Zeitschr. f. Alterthumswiss. Neue Folge IIII (1846) p. 42. In eiusdem Ausgewählte Aufsätze (1864) p. 377.

111 Agr. 30, 11 (f. 60b, 2') in contextu contactu, in margine conpactu.



C. 25 (p. 120, 2) W eiere ostendit. Cum liber Hersfeldensis tam multa uestigia scripturae continuae haberet, non dubito quin idem in eo extiterit, quod librarius Y in transcribendo recte in ei e re explicauerit. O autem eodem loco eicere profert. Satis est admirandum uirum doctum, qui O exarauit, uerum in eiere latere non uidisse, sed illud eicere non est coniectura huius librari, cum idem in Vindobonensis margine prima manu scriptum inueniatur. Aut duplex lectio eiere: eicere in Hersfeldensi erat, aut eicere a librario X concinnatum est, sed talis uarietas omnino cum indole Hersfeldensis libri congruere mihi uidetur.

Minus certum est c. 8 (p. 106, 7) ubi O M. Pomilius Andronicus ostendit, W in textu M Pompeius andronicus sed in margine eandem lectionem, quae ubique in familia Y inuenitur, M. pompilius andronicus, profert. In utriusque libri indice eadem corruptela quam O in capite 8 ostendit, M. Pomilius (pomilius W) andronicus, uidetur. In re sane dubia hoc propono: in indice Pomilius librari X merus est error, cuius natura facile perspicitur. In capite 8 codex Hersfeldensis duplicem lectionem M. Pompeius et M. Pompilius exhibuit, quam librarius X transcripsit. Librarius O utrum Pompeius an Pompilius scribendum esset nesciens, auxilium ab indice petiit, falsamque lectionem Pomilius ibi inuentam in contextum capitis 8 suscepit. Quod eo facilius credere possum, quo uno saltem loco librarius O interpolationem in indicem e contextu introduxit.¹¹²

Difficillima uidetur quaestio de grammatici Remmi Palaemonis nomine. In indice (p. 98, 21) W Q. remmius recte profert, O.Q. yemmius exhibet. In c. 23 (p. 116, 22) O Remmius praenomine omisso habet, W autem M Emmius¹¹⁸ in contextu sed in margine ab eadem manu scriptum al'.Q. Remmius. In familia Y Memmius nugquam inuenitur, neque praenomen Q. nisi in K omissum est.¹¹⁴ E contrario uera scriptura Remmius in sola X inuenies, cum in familia Y falsa littera h post R inrepserit, nisi quod I in indice reminus ostendit. Mihi duplex lectio Memmius: Q. Remmius Hersfeldensi libro uindicanda uidetur, sed certa argumenta desunt. Neque tales lectiones quales c. 9 (p. 106, 20) mox ex quo, ¹¹⁵ c. 30 (p. 126, 9) inlitem quedam

¹¹² C. 13 (p. 110, 21) Vide supra p. 58 ad fin.

¹¹³ Littera M in spatio uacuo quadrato ad maiorem litteram, quae minio conficienda erat, indicandam scripta est. Ihmius (l. c. p. 549) hanc M et nonnullas alias litteras eius modi in capitum initiis indicatas posteriori cuidam manui attribuere uoluit. Mihi quidem uidetur omnes eidem manui quae codicem exarauit uindicari posse. Hoc pro certo habeo, ne unam quidem earum litterarum ab eo correctore quem m.2 nomino factam esse; cuius manus propter atramentum pallidius nos raro fallit. C. 9 (p. 106, 17) ante Orbilius illa m.2 litteram quandam, S, ut uidetur, posuit. Haec S autem toto caelo differt a littera L quam prima manus, ut censeo, eodem loco in spatio quadrato indicauit.

¹¹⁴ Vide supra p. 40.

¹¹⁵ Vide supra p. 50.

et militem quendam, 116 meo quidem iudicio potius ad codicem X quam ad ipsum Hersfeldensem referendae sunt.

Nunc inuestigemus quod lumen aliorum auctorum testimonia nostris codicibus diffundat. C. 14 (p. 111, 15 sq.) Suetonius nonnulla e Ciceronis epistula ad Atticum (XII 26) profert. Clausulam Quod quia facile ferebat Sicca, eo magis illum desidero, quae in Ciceronis codicibus inter prouincia est et Praeterea intercedit, consulto sine dubio omisit Suetonius; sed uerba uelim, cum mihi ille iucundus esse, 117 quae in omnibus nostris libris deficiunt, nullo pacto omittere potuit, ut ipsa sententia docet. Haec lacuna quin in Hersfeldensi libro fuerit nemo dubitabit, neque eius origo quemquam fallet, siquidem uerba molestus esse (p. 112, 1) et in uersu proxime sequente iucundus esse librario fraudes fecerunt. His autem uerbis delapsis cum non possit sensu careret, magna lectionum diuersitas exorta est, quam nfra uides:

X X

non possit M possum N non possit non possit (possit corr. in possim possum I possum G possum B D L C m.2 W)

Δ Q possem V possem, in mg. non possem K possim H possum U

Ex hac tabula facile perspicies solos codices **O W** una cum tertio codice, quem uiri docti inter libros deteriores iniuria habuerunt (*Venetum* **M** dico), ueram lectionem sincere scriptam exhibere. Inter has uarietates non facile diiudicari potest quae hoc loco fuerit archetypi facies. Duplex lectio non possit: possem Hersfeldensi libro uindicanda, cetera singulis librariis attribuenda mihi uidentur.

C. 25 (p. 119, 13 sq.) Suetonius senatus consultum itemque censorium edictum profert, quae quidem apud Gellium, XV 11, inueniuntur. In senatus consulto (p. 120, 2) familia X uti, 118 familia Y ut si ostendit. Cum Gelli codices cum familia X faciant, non est dubium quin locus sic scribendum sit: uti ei e re publica fideque sua uideretur. Vtrum ut si coniectura uel error fuerit librari Y an lectio duplex uti: ut si in Hersfeldensi codice exstaret nihil est quod doceat. In censorio edicto (p. 120, 4) familiae Y libri item dixerunt, 119 O edixerunt, W autem in textu tredixerunt in margine etiam ab eadem manu edixerunt profert. Genuina scriptura ita edixerunt 120 apud

¹¹⁶ Vide supra p. 43. Non dubito quin *quendam* in O ab illius librario interpolatum sit, ut cum uerbo *militem* concinnaret.

¹¹⁷ Haud recte uerbum non proxime sequens incluserunt Rothius Reifferscheidiusque.

¹¹⁸ uti eicere non ut eicere, ut Reifferscheidius testatur, in O legitur.

¹¹⁹ In Q et editione Veneta 1474, quae codici Q cognatissima est, uera lectio ita edixerunt e Gellio reuocata est. L e Pontani coniectura, ut uidetur, ita dixerunt ostendit.

¹³⁰ ita dixerunt in Gelli codd. Q II.

Gellium inuenitur. Quid in Hersfeldensi libro extaret non liquet, sed illud tredixerunt archetypo abdicare uix possum. Non uideo cur omnes tres uarietates tredixerunt: item dixerunt: edixerunt in Hersfeldensi libro fuisse non potuerint.¹²¹

C. 29 (p. 125, 4) aliquid adfert Suetonius e Ciceronis Philippica II 42. Apud Ciceronem locus sic incipit: At uero adhibes ioci causa. In Suetoni fragmento tota familia Y Tibi et ioci causa¹²² parua lacuna saepius praemissa testatur; W autem tibet ioci causa toto fere uersu praecedente uacuo relicto exhibet. Librarius O tibet quod in exemplari X inuenit omnino omisit spatio uacuo quinque fere litterarum relicto. Verba At uero Suetonius consulto omittere potuit, et uiri docti recte Adhibes¹²³ potius quam At uero adhibes restituisse uidentur. Codicis W lectio tibet genuinae scripturae propius accedit quam Tibi et, neque quisquam tibet Hersfeldensi libro abiudicare audebit.¹²⁴

Alii sunt loci ubi nulla subsidia nobis adsunt, nisi ea quae et ipsa sententia et Suetoni et uniuersae linguae Latinae usus dicendi suppeditant. Primus tractandus est ille locus corruptissimus, c. 3 (p. 102, 13 sq.), adhuc non sanatus, quem Reifferscheidius sic edidit: L. Apuleium ab † Eficio Caluino equite Romano praediuite quadringenis annuis conductum † multos edoceret, ita ut haec uerba a constet (l. 10) pendere uideantur. Nihil erat haerendum in nomine Eficio, nisi quod Aeficio scribendum erat, ut postea agnouit ipse Reifferscheidius.¹²⁵ Transeamus igitur ad ueras difficultates. Verbum conductum nullo modo e libro Hersfeldensi profluere potuit, nam in duobus solis codicibus G Q inuenitur; in utroque autem interpolatio manifesta est, nam G uoculam ut ante multos inseruit. O etiam edoceret in edocuisse mutauit. Familia X (O W) et familiae Y libri N I D V L conductos 126 ostendunt; codex B, qui eiusdem stirpis est ac D V L, et omnes libri stirpis γ praeter Q conductus¹²⁷ exhibent. Duplicem igitur lectionem conductos: conductus libro Hersfeldensi uindico. Quod ad uerba sequentia pertinet, una salus est in codicum O W testimonio. Hi mutoscedo doceret testantur, ceteri multos edoceret. 128 Vnde alteram lectionem duplicem in archetypo mutoscedo

¹²¹ De lectione latinos rhetoras in eodem censorum edicto uide infra p. 89.

¹²⁵ Discrepantias inter familiae Y deteriores libros non adnotaui; cum satis constet quid in ipso Y fuerit. Codex U longe omnium pessimus hunc locum e Cicerone sic suppletum ostendit: $Tu \, \overline{uo} \, adhibes ioci \, causa$. $Tu \, pro \, At$ in nonnullis codicibus Ciceronianis inuenitur.

¹²³ Aldus et ceteri fere omnes saeculi sexti decimi Tibi et ioci causa ediderunt. Adhibes ioci causa primum apud Casaubonum animaduerti. Beroaldus At uero adhibes edidit.

¹³⁴ De immunia eodem loco (p. 125, 10) in O inuentum uide supra p. 55.

¹²⁵ Vide supra p. 76 adn. 106.

¹²⁶ conductos e conductus in D.

¹⁷ In dubio sum de H; conductus in conductis a manu posteriore mutatum, ut uidetur.

¹²² multos doceret B multos edocent D ut multos edoceret G multos edocuisse Q (u. supra) multos in miltos mutatum ut uid. K.

doceret: multos edoceret efficio. Rothius conductos edidit et lacunam ante hoc uerbum cum Th. Mommseno statuit. Reifferscheidius recte perspexit corruptelam in multos latere. Cuiuis hunc locum perlustranti continuo apparebit aliquot uerba delapsa esse, nam Suetonius ita pergit: Nam in prouincias quoque grammatica penetrauerat; quamquam nulla mentio artis grammaticae in prouinciis exercitae facta est. Neque Reifferscheidi interpolatio iam pro nam adjuuat, sed obscurum locum etiam obscuriorem effecit, ut Ihmius quoque iudicauit (p. 550, adn. 1). Cur autem testimonium familiae Y multos edoceret damnandum est? Propter hoc potissimum, quod Suetonius, quamquam uerbo docere sescenties utitur, uerbum edocere numquam adhibet, 129 neque uideo quomodo idonea sententia inde effici possit. Quid igitur ex mutoscedo doceret excutiendum est? Primo suspicari licet uoculam ut hic latere. Ad illam litteram m proxime praecedentem mox reuertar. Verbo autem ut ex ista farragine deprompto restat oscedo. Syllaba -do propter sequens doceret dittographiae, quae uocatur, deberi potest, et, si ueram ratiocinationem sequor, delenda est. Restat igitur osce, quod uero linguam Oscam significare potest, et sic etiam Funaioli (1907) Buecheleri coniecturam¹³⁰ secutus edidit: ut osce doceret. Sed pauci, ut credo, grammaticum quadringenis annuis conductum ut linguam Oscam doceret existimabunt. Ego quidem ut Oscae doceret lego, unde apparet Apuleium in Hispaniae Tarraconensis¹³¹ urbe illa magna, ubi Sertorius domicilium habebat atque diem supremum obiit,182 docuisse. Quod ipsa res confirmare mihi uidetur, nam a Plutarcho¹³³ edocemur Sertorium magistros et Graecae et Latinae disciplinae Oscae instituisse, qui filiis Hispanorum nobilium liberales disciplinas praeciperent. Nunc quoque prouinciae allusionem habemus, quae certe desiderabatur. Sed locus nondum sanatus est, cum Apuleium (l. 13) cum uocabulo conductos uel conductus non congruat. Neque Suetonium A puleium scripsisse credere possum. Pretiosissimum nobis hoc loco testimonium praebet codex W, quippe qui in textu ut ceteri apuleium ostendat, sed in margine A pulei. Hoc A pulei certe mendosum est, et propter ipsum mendum interpolationis suspicione carere debet. Hanc formam

¹³⁹ Vide supra p. 75.

¹²⁰ Rh. Mus. LXII (1907) p. 477.

¹²¹ Strabo III 161. Ptol. Geog. II 6, 67.

¹²² Strabo l. c.

¹²² Plut. Sert. XIV: τους γάρ ευγενεστάτους άπο των έθνων συναγαγών εις "Όσκαν, πόλιν μεγάλην, διδασκάλους έπιστήσας Έλληνικών τε και 'Ρωμαϊκών μαθημάτων έργω μὲν έξωμηρεύσατο, λόγω δὲ ἐπαιδευεν, ὡς ἀνδράσι γενομένοις πολιτείας τε μεταδώσων και ἀρχής. Οι δὲ πατέρες ήδωτο θαυμαστώς τους παίδας ἐν περιπορφύροις ὀρώντες μάλα κοσμίως φοιτώντας εις τὰ διδασκαλεία και τὸν Σερτώριον ὑπὲρ αὐτών μισθούς τελοῦντα και πολλάκις ἀποδείξεις λαμβάνοντα και γέρα τοῦς ἀξίοις νέμοντα και τὰ χρυσᾶ περιδέραια δωρούμενον, ὰ 'Ρωμαῖοι βούλλας καλοῦσιν. De argento Oscensi uide Liu. XXXIII 10, 4/7. 46, 2; XL, 43, 2. Vide et Huebner C. I. L. II p. 407, et titulos ibi exhibitos; et Suppl. p. 938.

ex Apulei' (h. e. Apuleius) corruptam puto. 184 Si autem Suetonium Apuleius scripsisse credimus, continuo apparet utra earum duarum lectionum conductus: conductos adhibenda sit. Lacuna post conductus certe statuenda est, et totum locum sic lego: L. Apuleius ab Aeficio Caluino equite Romano praediuite quadringenis annuis conductus <esse-dicitur atque in Hispaniam deductus > ut Oscae doceret. Causa corruptelarum facile uidetur, nam illis uerbis quae suppleui uel eis simillimis delapsis Apuleius in Apuleium mutatum est ut a uerbo constet (l. 10) penderet. Hac ratione explicanda est illa m in mutoscedo. Nam nomine Apuleius in Apuleium mutato conductus quoque correctoris manum perpessum est, quae, ut uidetur, litteram -m supra -s posuit, unde littera illa inter conductus et ut in textum inrepsit. Multos edoceret igitur uana est interpolatio ad mutoscedo doceret sanandum, quae alteram etiam corruptelam conductos peperit. Hae omnes corruptiones in libro Hersfeldensi iam extabant, unde prima exordia earum antiquissima fuisse uidentur. Ne quis temere me talem lacunam statuere existimet, hoc admoneo, ne unum quidem locum, ubi aliorum scriptorum testimonia nobis suppeditant, codices nostros textum saluum praebere. 186 Meo quidem iudicio qui librum Hersfeldensem multis lacunis maculatum non agnouerit ueram indolem eius non perspexit. In hac autem lacuna supplenda haec in animo habebam, primo mentionem alicuius prouinciae fieri debere, quae prouincia est Hispania si Oscae suo loco recte restitutum est, deinde lacunas saepissime eis locis exoriri ubi idem uerbum paruo interuallo intermisso repetitum sit, aut uerba similiter desinentia in eodem uersu uel uersibus contiguis se habeant. 186 Ergo hoc loco inter ea u erba quae delapsa sunt deductus, uel tale quid eisdem syllabis desinens ac conductus, ultimum locum obtinere debebat, et in lacuna supplenda, etiamsi ea ipsa uerba quibus usus est Suetonius non restitui, ueram rationem secutus esse mihi uideor.

C. 22 (p. 116, 15) codices O W testimonium ab eo ceterorum librorum ualde discrepans proferunt. Familia Y ex oratione Tiberium testatur, O W ex oratione tiberius (Tyberius O) uerbum ostendunt. Maduigius¹³⁷ iam dudum corruptelam in lectione uulgata ex oratione Tiberium latere animaduertit scribens: "Neminem reprehendimus ex oratione, neque grammaticus Tiberium ipsum reprehenderat, nec illud habet quo referatur. Scrip-



¹²⁴ Hic error in ipso W oriri, signo 'per librari neglegentiam omisso, uel iam antea factus esse potuit. Signum illud pro -us in W saepius inuenitur, praecipue in indice. In Agricola Aesino unum solum exemplum extat (f. 56^b, 8) man' (manus). Vide infra p. 91 ad uenalicius.

¹³⁵ Vide supra p. 78 sq.

¹³⁶ Vide supra p. 78. C. 28 (p. 124, 12) e duobus libris D et Q, qui nullam necessitudinem inter se habent, uerba sectam sequeretur, malle respondit Isaurici exciderunt, propter uerbum Isaurici in contiguis uersibus repetitum.

¹⁸⁷ Aduers. Crit. II p. 582.

tum fuerat: cum ex oratione Tiberi uerbum reprehendisset." Licet forma Tiberius manifesto corrupta sit, ego haud dubito quin lectio duplex tiberius uerbum: tiberium in Hersfeldensi extiterit, uera autem lectio e familia X restituenda sit. Neque quicquam melius noui quam Maduigi coniecturam, quam Rolfius etiam in contextum suscepit.

- C. 23 (p. 117, 14) W solus eam formam quae in Hersfeldensi libro se haberet praestare mihi uidetur. Agitur de uerbo quod uulgo parsasse editur. W percisse testatur; O L U pepercisse; D H \triangle parsisse; V parcisse; ω parcisse. Perfectum peperci solum adhibet Suetonius teste Ihmio. Haud dubium mihi uidetur quin percisse ex pepercisse corruptum in archetypo locum obtinuerit, atque $\langle pe \rangle$ percisse restituendum sit, quod etiam iudicauit Ihmius. Formam percisse per compendium in Hersfeldensi libro extitisse puto, quod librarium Y falso in parcisse eodem tempore emendationem de suo parsisse proponentem explicauisse; quamquam non infiteor talem lectionis uarietatem in ipso Hersfeldensi se habere potuisse. 141
- C. 30 (p. 127, 1) familia X cum solis B D ueram scripturam excanduisset ut¹⁴² exhibet. Cum B D a ceteris suae familiae discedentes hanc scripturam ostendant, utrumque coniectura eam assecutum existimo.¹⁴³ In familia autem X haec forma ex ipso Hersfeldensi manauisse uidetur, siquidem teste Decembrio excanduisset ut in illo extabat. Alia quoque est hoc loco corruptela quam Rothius copula et ante ita suppleta recte sanauisse uidetur.¹⁴⁴
- C. 18 (p. 114, 5) familiam X mimographus exhibentem genuinam scripturam praebere persuasum habeo. Familiae Y codices praeter $C \triangle Q$ mimographus (mimographis Q) proferunt, et sic uulgo editur. $C \triangle Q$ autem mimographis (minographis Q) testantur. Quamquam hi tres libri leuissima sunt auctoritate, uix fortuito accidisse uidetur, ut mimographis, quod multo facilius ex mimographus quam ex mimographos corrumpi poterat,
- 188 Eadem narrantur apud Cassium Dionem LVII 17, unde continuo apparet non Tiberium ipsum reprehendisse Marcellum sed uerbum quoddam minus Latinum ab eo usurpatum.
 - 129 Op. cit., p. 551 ad fin.
 - 140 Vide supra p. 63 adn. 49.
- ¹⁶ Aliquid simile c. 18 (p. 114, 6) uidetur. W (= C P) percula, quod archetypo uindico, praebet. Idem uerbum compendiose percula in O M K H inuenitur; in N G I D V L Q parcula legitur. Δ solus ueram scripturam pergula coniectura assecutus est; pericula in B; omis. U.
 - 14 Perperam hanc lectionem codici I attribuit Reifferscheidius.
 - 148 Vide infra p. 124.
- 144 Sic edidit Rothius: cum cohiberent lictores nimias laudantium uoces, <et> ita excanduisset. Eandem emendandi rationem secutus est is qui codicis B archetypum (uide infra p. 122) confecit, qui pro uoces ita excanduisset scripait uoces et excanduisset. Reifferscheidio, ne illud et adderet, grauiorem interpolationem a Stephano primo propositam, deinde a Casaubono omnibusque sequentibus ante Trossium editam, cum cohibente lictore nimias laudantium uoces ita excanduisset, resuscitare uisum est.

exhibeant, praesertim cum editio Incerta, quae ut infra (p. 159) demonstrabo e duobus fontibus, archetypo codicis H et archetypo codicis B, conflata est, mimographus 145 proferat. Duplicem lectionem mimographus: mimographos Hersfeldensi libro uindicare malim, sed numquam ut mimographos in accusatiuo plurali intellegatur, sed potius forma Graeca olim interpolata 146 habeatur. Nam quid sit mimographum circa scenam uersari animo facile fingere possum, sed quaenam fuerint officia eius qui mimographos adiuuaret non extrico.

C. 4 (p. 103, 25) familia X tam discretis ostendit, ¹⁴⁷ ubi satis constat iam tam discretis in Y extitisse. Nam in tam discretis in stirpe a manifesto e iam tam discretis corruptum est. Libri D V L iam discretis proferunt, quod ab Aldo ex editione Florentina 1478 (= D)¹⁴⁸ susceptum ad hanc diem in editionibus permansit. Sed uerbum tam in D V L omissum, cum codex B, qui est eiusdem stirpis, iam tam testetur, quicquam esse nisi errorem uel interpolationem concedere nolo. Scripsisse uidetur Suetonius iam tum discretis, ut olim a Beroaldo restitutum est.

C. 13 (p. 110, 21) hic convenienter tractari potest. Primo de praenomine et nomine grammatici Staberi Erotis codices O W et inter se et a ceteris discrepant. Ottobonianus solus inter omnes libros L. Staberius ostendit, sed Ihmio adstipulari, hoc praenomen a librario O concinnatum, 140 omnino nequeo. Namque praenomen L. non solum in $\mathbf{0}$ sed etiam in libris $\mathbf{C} \Delta \mathbf{Q}$ (Lutius C 1 Vcius A) invenitur, sed eo pacto ut hi L. Taberius exhibeant, ubi O L. Staberius testatur. Codex H quoque V Taberius exhibet, ubi illa V certe ex L corrupta est. 180 In K etiam Taberius in ordine scriptum est, sed nulla est littera in marginem eminens, ut in capitum initiis in hoc libro uulgo fit. Ceteri autem libri Staberius (Straberius a) nullo praenomine adhibito proferunt. In Vindobonensi codice hoc quoque animaduertendum est, totum nomen staberius in ordine exscriptum esse, cum ceteris locis ubi grammaticis praenomina desunt prima nominis littera in praemisso spatio quadrato, ut minio postea exaranda, indicata sit. 181 Ergo librarius W nisi praenomen in exemplari X uidisset, primam nominis litteram s non in ordine sed in illo spatio uacuo, quod praemissum erat, scripsisset. 152 Noli ta-

¹⁴⁵ Beroaldus, qui Incertam emendauit, mimographos edidit.

¹⁴⁶ Vide infra p. 90 ad grammatices.

¹⁴⁷ Vide tabulam supra p. 44.

¹⁴⁸ Vide infra p. 126.

 ¹⁰⁰ Op. cit. p. 548 adn. 4: "Für Staberius Eros gab der index kein praenomen; W hat daher nur den üblichen leeren Raum markirt, während L. freie Erfindung von O zu sein scheint."
 100 Codicis H apographon P VABERIVS testatur. In U et praenomen et nomen deficiunt.

¹⁸¹ E. g. c. 5 (p. 104, 14) s Aeuius nicanor; c. 12 (p. 110, 16) c Ornelius epicadus.

¹⁸⁸ Vnum solum huic opinioni obstare uidetur, quod c. 10 (p. 108, 18), ubi W nouum caput indicat, uterque O W ylen non Hylen habent. W autem ylen in ordine scriptum habet, nulla omnino littera in spatio uacuo praemisso indicata.

men existimare me praenomen L. huic grammatico indere uelle. Hoc loco libri deteriores K H C Δ Q aliquo sunt pretio, non quod ueram lectionem praebeant, sed quod nos quominus in errorem delabamur prohibent. L. littera, ut mihi uidetur, in aliquem antiquissimum codicem olim inrepsit propter confusionem inter f et l, ita ut iam in Hersfeldensi codice quaedam lectio duplex l. taberius et staberius extaret.

De eis quae in eodem capite sequuntur singulorum codicum testimonia diuersa primo exponam, deinde quid meo iudicio e tanta farragine eliciendum sit docebo.

Y

eros nametra empturus N (eros om.) nametra epturus I hero suo metre emptus eros nametra empturus G heros nametra empturus¹⁵⁸ in mg. (m.2 in M) hero suo metre (met' K) emptus M K p ercenametra hero suo Metre. emptus V hero suo metre. emptus; in marg. herosnametra L here suo Metre emptus B hero suo morem emptus D heros suo (lacuna decem fere litterarum) empturus nametra H hero emptus (spatio nacuo quattuordecim fere litt. praemisso) U hiero suo meneaemptus heros nam&ra (?) empturus C hiero suo menea emptus heros ramata empturus Δ hierausuomene emptus heros empturus O emptus post decatasta; cett. omis. F X

heros nametra emptus O eros nametra emptus W

Quamquam hae scripturae uarietates in sola familia Y inueniuntur, uix dubium mihi uidetur, quin lectio duplex eros nametra: hero suo metre Hersfeldensi libro assignanda sit. Vtrum altera lectio duplex emptus: empturus eidem archetypo uindicanda sit, an haec uarietas in sola familia Y originem habuerit, non ita plane constat, neque magnopere ad rem pertinet, cum nihil ex uocabulo empturus efficiendum sit. Si uarietatem eros nametra: hero suo metre perlustrauerimus, continuo apparebit omnem emendationem

164 emptus in emptus mutauit altera manus in M.

ex eros nametra procedere oportere. Nam huic grammatico nomen esse Staberio Eroti Ios. Scaliger ad Manil. p. 4, Plinium N. H. XXXV 199 proferens, primus ostendit. hero suo metre manifesta est interpolatio alicuius librari qui e corrupta scriptura eros nametra hanc sententiam excutere sibi uisus est: Staberium libertatem ab ero suo, cui nomen esset Metrae, emisse. Quae cum ita sint, Rothi coniectura Staberius Eros suomet aere emptus plane damnanda est, cum ab interpolata lectione procedat; quae omnia demonstrauit Reifferscheidius (p. 412). 154 Veram emendandi rationem mihi monstrat Vahlenus, cuius in exemplari Reifferscheidiano ipsius manu sub nametra scriptum nam erat inueni. Quae coniectura neque unam quidem litteram addit neque tollit. Sin Suetonium nam erat scripsisse iudicauerimus, statim apparebit aliquid excidisse, nam quo referendum est illud nam? Neque tamen multa excidisse existimo, cum Suetonius plerumque in uitis grammaticorum aliquanto post grammatici nomen uerbum docendi ponat, ut c. 5 (p. 104, 14) Seuius Nicanor . . . docendo peruenit; c. 6 (p. 105, 1) Aurelius Opillus¹⁵⁵ . . . docuit; c. 11 (p. 109, 5) P. Valerius Cato . . . docuit156 multos et nobiles; hic autem in Staberi uita Staberius Eros . . . docuit inter ceteros Brutum et Cassium. In uitarum initiis Suetonius censum eius grammatici, cuius uitam enarrat, fere semper indicat, ut c. 7 (p. 105, 12) M. Antonius Gnipho, ingenuus in Gallia natus sed expositus; c.10 (p. 107, 22) < L.> Ateius Philologus libertinus; c. 17 (p. 113, 10) M. Verrius Flaccus libertinus; et passim. Hoc quoque animaduerte, Suetonium patroni nomen adducere uideri, si hoc ei notum erat, ut c. 12 (p. 110, 16) Cornelius Epicadus, L. Corneli Sullae dictatoris libertus; c. 19 (p. 114, 16) Scribonius Aphrodisius Orbili seruus atque discipulus. Staberius Eros autem teste Plinio (l. c.) e belli spoliis, ut uidetur, in grege uenalium Romam naui aduectus est. Suetonius autem dominum Erotis non nouit, sed haec sola proferre potest: Staberium de catasta (h. e. auctione publica) esse uenditum atque propter studium litterarum manumissum. Vnum igitur uerbum libertinus addo et totum locum sic lego: Staberius Eros < libertinus > - nam erat emptus de catasta et propter litterarum studium manumissus — docuit inter ceteros Brutum et Cassium.

C. 30 (p. 125, 17) familia **X** suscepit eius partis (patris **W**) mores ita impleuit testatur; familia **Y** autem suscepit eas partes (partis **B** Δ) atque ita¹⁵⁷ impleuit. Talis discrepantia meo iudicio non explicari potest, nisi duplicem

¹⁸⁴ Beckius (Berl. Philol. Wochensch. 1892, p. 797) Staberius Esos a sua matre emptus proponens in eundem errorem ac Rothius incidit. Neque fidem faciunt Doergensi (Philol. XI (1856) p. 785) et Funaioli (1907) coniecturae. Ille Staberius Heros (1) (cog)nomine. Et redemptus proponit; hic edidit Staberius Esos natione Thrax.

¹⁵⁵ Opilius codd.

¹⁵⁶ Haud recte Reifferscheidius ceterique editores post *patrimonio* punctum ponunt, ut nota eiusdem Vahleni me monet.

¹⁵⁷ atque ita] actaque ita K itaque ita C itaque H U A.

lectionem eius partis mores: eas partes atque in Hersfeldensi libro ponas,¹⁸⁸ quamquam prioris lectionis origo non liquet.

C. 24, p. 119, 6 O W perraro unius pauca testantur; N G I D V L perraro (raro I) nimis. Pauca (nulla est distinctionis signum in I sed Pauca littera maiuscula incipit; in L pauca); ceteri perraro nimis (minus C Δ) pauca (nimis pauca om. U) sine distinctionis signo. Sic uulgo editur: idque perraro. Nimis pauca . . . Ihmio assentior nimis pauca et exigua abundare, neque credere possum Suetonium hoc scripsisse. Ihmius hanc opinionem adumbrat, codices O W meliorem traditionem praebere atque aliquam altiorem corruptelam (lacunam fortasse) hic latere. Quem de meliore lectione a familia X tradita uere iudicasse, grauitatem tamen corruptelae in maius credidisse Aistermanni praeclara coniectura Viuus persuadet.

Vtrum c. 3 (p. 101, 17) metellum ¹⁶¹ (M. Metellum ω) et c. 23 (p. 116, 22) uicetinus 162 (Vicentinus ω) in W sorti debeantur an ad lectionum uarietates in Hersfeldensi referenda sint non liquet. Ad c. 1 (p. 100, 11) iure animaduertit Ihmius de augurali disciplina in X (= U Δ) non deteriorem lectionem quam de augurandi disciplina in Y praebere. Idem iudicium pronuntiari potest c. 25 (p. 119, 12) de uerbis censorum edictum in X contra censorium edictum in ceteris. In inscriptione etiam ad Gellium XV 11 item uerba edicti censorum leguntur. C. 30 (p. 125, 17) neque exorare in O W neque excitare in Y satis idoneam sententiam praebere mihi uidetur, sed excitare praeserendum puto, cum in scriptura haud satis composita excitare facilius in exorare corrumpi potuerit quam exorare in excitare. Dolendum est Ciceronis epistulam ad M. Titinium, quam citat Suetonius c. 26 (p. 123, 6), aetatem non tulisse, quae diiudicaret utrum (1.8) et in O W an quod in ceteris uera esset scriptura. Certe et haud deterior lectio uidetur. C. 11 (p. 109, 21) abditus modice gurgustio, quae O W testantur, familiae Y lectioni abditus modico gurgustio praetulerim; nam quid sententiae accedit si uerbo gurgustio, quod et ipsum genus habitationis angustum et sordidum significat, uocem modico addas?163



¹⁸⁸ Cf. Agricolam Aesinum f. 63^b, 24 (Agr. c. 39, 2) in textu: uteraldomitianus fronte laetus pectore anxius, in margine -domitiano moris. Codex Toletanus in textu ut erat domitianus, in marg. Domitiano moris. Codex Vat. 3429 (A) in text. ut Domitiano moris erat, in marg. ut erat Domitianus. Codex Vat. 4498 (B) in text. ut Domitianus erat.

¹⁵⁰ L. c. p. 552.

¹⁶⁰ De M. Valerio Probo Berytio, Bonnae, 1910.

¹⁶¹ Metellum Rothius; Q. Metellum Aldus et uulgo ante Rothium.

¹⁶⁰ Veicetinus Aldus; Vicetinus Vinetus. Suetonium Vicetinus scripsisse codices Hieronymiani ad Ol. 206, 4 persuadent. Sic etiam in optimis titulis. Vide Mommsenum, C.I.L. V p. 306.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Caes. 46 modicis aedibus; Aug. 72 aedibus modicis Hortensianis; Tib. 11 hic modicis contentus aedibus; Aug. 73 toro . . . humili et modice instrato.

IIII. Lectiones quas Codex N et secunda Manus in G cum Familia X communes habent exhibentur. Nonnullae corruptelae sanantur. Conspiratio inter Familiam X et Familiae Y singulas Stirpes tractatur.

Impeditior est quaestio de nonnullis optimis lectionibus quas praebent O W cum solo N uel cum N et altera manu in G. Ouae fere sunt:

OWN Gm.2

 $Gm.1 \omega$

c. 4, p. 104, 1 meditationum in text. O W institutionum N meditationum in marg.

G m.2

institutionum (institutione B)

c. 5, p. 104, 19 Seuius nicanor¹⁶⁴
posthus: idem ac
marcus docebit O
saeuius nicanor.
post hisidem¹⁶⁵
marcus docebit W
Seruius Nicanor is
dem ae ¹⁶⁶ Marcus
docebit N Seruius
post học i dem at
Marcus docebit, in
mare, nicano Gm.2

Seruius post hoc idem at Marcus docebit Gm.1 Seruius post h' idem At marcus docebit I Seuius/ Seuius postli' idem ac Marcus docebat B seuius post hui' idem. ac marcus docebit L seuius post huius idem ac Marcus docebit V Saeuius (Seuius U seuius H) post huius idem at (idem. At, in mare, eadem man, alr ac M idem: at C) Marcus (marcus H C) docebit MHUC Saeuius est huius idem ut Marcus docebit A Saeuius Postmus idem ac Marcus docebit D Seuius postumus idem. At. M. docebit K Saeuius posthumius idem ac Marcus docebit O

c. 10, p. 111, 17 solitudo (in marg. Gm.2)

solicitudo (sollicitudo G I B V U \triangle P)

OWN

c. 24, p. 119, 1 grammatice O N gramatica es W

grammatices ω grammatices in grammaticis mut. ut uid. K grammaticis O grāmatic.s P

Duo uersiculi (18-19) in O sic ostenduntur: in text. Saeuius nicanor : a posthus: idem ac marcus docebit: in marg. eadem man. marci libertis. negabit Seuius nicanor. Propter Seuius nicanor in utroque uersu scriptum librarius in errorem delapsus est, quem tamen in margine correxit.

¹⁶⁵ hisidem ex husdem corr. eadem man. ut uid.

¹⁶⁶ Nescio si lectio in ordine pro ae capienda sit. Certe littera e non est eadem forma quam ubique affectat hic codex.

imposuere

O W N Gm.2

 $Gm.1 \omega$

c. 25, p. 120, 7 latinos rhetorasibi; in marg. eadem man. .i. latine W latinos rhetora sibi O167 i. latine latine rhetora, sibi N latinos rhetora. sibi; in mg. .i. latine Gm.2

latine scilicet rhetores¹⁶⁸ ibi Gm.1 latine scilicet rhetoras. Ibi (ibi L C) D V L C latine scilicet rhetoras Ibi U latine . f. rhetoras (rethores I) ibi (ubi K Tbi Δ) I M K H Δ latine ; rhetora sibi B latinos rhetoras. Ibi169

OWN

c.25, p. 122, 20 uerebatur¹⁷⁰ (uerebat' W) O W uerebantur N

uerebantur

21 imposuit (inposuit

(imposuer L) ω celarunt (celarunt H)

22 celauit (celauit N) 22 uenit (= **U**)

uenitur

OWN Gm.2

Gm.1 ω

c. 25, p. 122, 22 res cognita est O N (= D) recognita est W 1 res cognita ē sub uersu; signo i supra uersum quoque posito

recogniti sunt Gm.1 Res cognita est D Rescogniti sunt V rescogniti sunt in recogniti sunt corr. L171 res cogniti sunt Q¹⁷² recogniti (recogmti **B**) sunt ω

OWN

c. 28, p. 124, 16 cornibus aureis O N cornibus aurib W

cornibus (cornelius M)

imposuerunt G I B Δ

Gm.2

¹⁶⁷ Correxit eadem manus; u. supra p. 55.

¹⁶⁸ Prima manus in G scripsisse uidetur latine scilicet/rhetorice ibi, deinde rhetorice in rhetores correxisse. Altera manus latine in latinos correxit, scilicet erasit, rhetora in rasura scripsit; deinde post rhetora in margine sibi acripsit; rhetores (ex rhetorice corr.) in uersu proxime sequente eradendo et inducendo deleuit; denique uocula ibi post rhetores animaduersa litteram s praemisit sibi efficiens, alterum sibi autem quod iam uersui praecedenti in margine adfixerat erasit. Eadem altera manus .i. latine in margine scripsit.

¹⁰⁰ E Gellio correctum; u. infra p. 179.

¹⁷⁰ L. 19 etiam educeret in O W; u, supra p. 40.

¹⁷ Prima manus litteram s puncto supposito ut delendam notauisse uidetur; tertia autem manus duas uirgulas eidem litterae induxit.

¹⁷⁷ Ex L uel libro Pontani contaminatus; u. infra p. 180 sq.

Quo modo fiat ut N et Gm.2 his locis cum familia X conspirent infra¹⁷⁸ excutiam. Praedicare satis est, contaminationem e familia X in N et Gm.2 non possum non agnoscere. Nunc eas lectiones quas supra exposui aestimemus a certis exordientes. C. 10 (p. 111, 17) lectio solitudo et ipsa sententia et a Cicerone (*Epist. ad Att.* XII 26) confirmatur. Nihil est ad diiudicandum utrum duplex lectio in Hersfeldensi libro fuerit, an corruptela solicitudo (uel sollicitudo) in codice Y exorta sit.

C. 25 (p. 120, 7) ueram lectionem latinos¹⁷⁴ Gellius XV 11, 2, testatur. Quae fuerit hoc loco Hersfeldensis codicis facies pro certo non extrico; siquidem W N Gm.2 pro altera lectione non latine scilicet, quod expectandum erat, sed i. latine praebent. Quo pacto latine scilicet ex latinos corrumpi potuerit facile diuines; cum uerbo latinos in latines corrupto librarius aliquis latine .s. inde effecerit. Sed ubi haec corruptela exorta est? Vtrum in codice Y an in codice aliquo antiquiore quam Hersfeldensi? Compendium .s. pro scilicet ab Hersfeldensis codicis consuetudine omnino abhorrebat, sed nulla est causa cur tale compendium in antiquiore quodam libro se habere non posset. Fortasse in Hersfeldensi latinos in textu extabat, latine scilicet in margine; librarius autem X lectionem marginalem non tam pro altera lectione quam pro interpretamento capiens in sui libri marginem transcribens compendium .i. (id est) pro scilicet substituit. Sed uerum non praesto.

Transeo ad illum locum c. 5 (p. 104, 19) desperatum, ubi diuinatio uirorum doctissimorum satis fertilem sese praestitit, sed, ut mea est opinio, alii in metrum, alii in ipsam rem, omnes in fidem codicum peccauerunt. Mihi testimonia omnium librorum saepius perlustranti luce clarius apparet ueram emendationem non ex post huius progredi debere, neque cognomen Postumum, nedum Postumium, nam tale cognomen nemo nouit, huic grammatico uindicandum esse. Vnde post hoc in G exortum sit frater eius codex I post h' exhibens docet; qua autem ratione post h' capiendum sit, libri O W posthus exhibentes plane demonstrant; posthi' in codice B eodem pertinet. Neque dubito quin nicanor non solum in priore uersu (p. 104, 18) sed in hoc quoque uersu codici Hersfeldensi uindicandum sit, ut O W N Gm. 2 docent. Quin in eodem uersu lectio duplex at: ac in Hersfeldensi libro fuerit uix dubitari potest. Vna littera deleta et at pro ac e familia Y substituto totum locum e codicis O testimonio sic sanauisse mihi uideor:

Seuius Nicanor Marci libertus; negabit

Seuius Nicanor Pothus idem. At Marcus docebit

Inutile est quaerere quid Seuius negaturus fuerit aut quid Marcus docturus fuerit, neque haec ad rem pertinent; nam Suetonius hos uerisculos non nisi



¹⁷⁸ P. 113 sq.

¹⁷⁴ De rhetora sibi et rhetoras ibi uide p. 55; p. 70.

ad duas res demonstrandas profert: Seuium libertum ac duplici cognomine fuisse.

C. 4, p. 104, 1 meditationum ut lectionem difficiliorem cum Rolfio edere haud dubitabo; quod etiam probauit Ihmius. Quo modo meditationum uerbum reconditius et inusitatius et perraro numero plurali adhibitum in codices inrepere potuerit uix explices, sed si institutionum pro glossa, quae iam in codice Hersfeldensi tamquam lectio uarians ualeret, capies, omnia ad liquidum perducentur. Verbum meditatio singulari numero idem fere quod exercitatio, praeparatio, saepius usurpatur; plurali numero usurpatum hoc solo loco ab Ihmio prolato noui; qui tamen locus ad omnes scrupulos tollendos satis esse debet. Gell. XX 5, 1-2: "Commentationum suarum artiumque, quas discipulis tradebat, Aristoteles philosophus, regis Alexandri magister, duas species habuisse dicitur. Alia erant, quae nominabat 'έξωτερικά', alia, quae appellabat 'άκροατικά'. 'Έξωτερικά' dicebantur. quae ad rhetoricas meditationes facultatemque argutiarum ciuiliumque rerum notitiam conducebant . . . " Confer etiam Quint. II 10, 2, qui et ipse de eloquentia formanda loquitur: "Neque enim uirtus ulla perpetuae duntaxat orationis reperiri potest, quae non sit cum hac dicendi meditatione communis."

C. 24 (p. 119, 1) lectionem uulgatam grammatices damnauit Reifferscheidius (p. 417), recte quod iudicare possim, censuitque grammaticae recipere oportere, etiamsi nulla librorum auctoritate confirmaretur, cum Suetonius forma Graecanica grammatices non usus sit. Codicis W testimonium grammatica es duplicem lectionem in Hersfeldensi arguit, quamquam quid inde efficiendum sit, haud satis constat. Fortasse grammatices ab eodem interpolatum est, qui, nisi fallor, c. 18 (p. 114, 5) formam Graecam mimographos introducere uoluit.¹⁷⁵

In cap. 28 (p. 124, 16) Reifferscheidius, quamquam inique in codices 0 et N semper iudicabat, non dubitauit eorum testimonia contra ceteros libros accipere atque parua emendatione ab O. Iahnio proposita accepta cornibus taureis edidit. Nunc codicis W testimonio, cornibus aurib, adhibito, quamquam pro certo statui potest illud aureis uel auribus aliquem locum in Hersfeldensi obtinuisse, haud scio an res etiam obscurior efficiatur. Aut aureis in Hersfeldensis codicis textu locum habebat, et Reifferscheidius recte edidit, nam aptiorem emendationem uix reperias, aut W ueram traditionem praebet et auribus ut lectio uarians pro cornibus capienda est, quae in familiae X textum inrepsit. Non infiteor cornibus taureis magnas illecebras ostendere. 176

C. 25 (p. 122, 19 sq.) O W uerba omnia educeret... uerebatur... imposuit... celauit numero singulari proferunt. N educerent cum ceteris libris



¹⁷⁵ Vide supra p. 82.

¹⁷⁶ Vide et infra p. 115.

ostendit; uerebantur etiam ut ceteri primitus scriptum habebat, quod eadem manus¹⁷⁷ puncto supposito in uerebatur correxit; imposuit et celauit tamen cum O W praebet. De interpolatione in his numeri singularis formis nemo cogitare potest, cum subiectiuum uenalici (Venalicii H) in omnibus codicibus se habeat. Neque talis error tam multis locis per librari imperitiam uel neglegentiam oriri potuit. Illa autem ipsa forma uenalici simplici littera i desinens, etiam si uerbum singulari numero nusquam inueniretur, magnas suspiciones mouere debebat. Nam nominatiuum pluralem simplici littera i desinentem eorum substantiuorum, quorum nominatiuus singularis in -ius desinit, alibi et in nostris codicibus et in codice Aesino frustra requiras. Quid, quod codices fere omnes imposuere non imposuerunt testantur; cum illa forma temporis perfecti in tertia persona pluralis numeri Suetonius tantum non utatur, 178 et in hoc libello talis scriptura nisi in uno et altero codice¹⁷⁹ alibi non inueniatur! Nonne hoc interpolationem sapit? Ego non dubito quin codices O W N numerum singularem recte proferant atque uenal'ci e uenalici' corruptum sit. 180 Haec opinio autem eo confirmari uidetur, quod 1. 23 dicit Suetonius quod domini (non dominorum) uoluntate fuerit liber. Si ea quae sequuntur inspicimus, non iniuria codicibus O W N fidem habere uidemur, cum hi soli cum Gm.2 et D res cognita est proferant, quae lectio, quicquid de praecedentibus iudicaueris, certissima ratione edenda est. Quod tamen ad uocem uenit (sic in O W N U pro uenitur in ceteris) pertinet, non eandem fidem codicibus O W N habeo, nam uenitur certe praeferendum est. Cum codicem N e familia X contaminatum censeam, nullam causam uideo cur librarius X propter praecedentia imposuit . . . celauit uel inconsulto uenit pro uenitur ponere non potuerit. Quod uenit in isto U pessimo omnium librorum se habet nil moror. Non infitior me haerere cum Hersfeldensis codicis faciem hoc loco restituere tempto. Libenter crederem simplices lectiones in archetypo fuisse, formas plurales autem omnes a librario Y concinnatas, nisi codices nostri docerent duplicem fuisse lectionem¹⁸¹ rescogniti sunt: 182 res cognita est. Quod si uerum est, satis constat corruptelam illam uenalici pro uenalici' antiquissimis temporibus alias corruptelas parere coepisse, et haud scio an tutius has omnes duplices lectiones codici Hersfeldensi uindices: educeret: educerent; uerebatur: uerebantur; imposuit: imposuere; celauit: celarunt; uenitur: uenit; res cognita est: rescogniti sunt.183

¹⁷⁷ Secundam manum in N non noui.

¹⁷⁶ Vide Thimm, De Vsu atque Elocutione C. Suetonii Tranquilli, Regimonti, 1827, p. 20.

¹⁷⁰ D praecipue hanc formam adamat: p. 120, 15 appetiuere, p. 121, 10 edidere, p. 122, 15 adiere, p. 122, 15 pepigere. W etiam p. 121, 15 exercuere exhibet, sine dubio ob compendium exercuer in X. Cf. in W p. 122, 15 pepiger, p. 122, 16 expectauer.

¹⁸⁰ Vide supra ad Apulei p. 80.

¹⁸¹ Hanc ad opinionem inclino eo potissimum quod Res cognita est in D inuenitur.

¹⁸² Hoc potius quam recogniti sunt.

¹⁸⁸ Hae uarietates maximam partem singulis syllabis supra uersum scriptis indicari poterant.

Nonnumquam familia X corruptas lectiones cum una uel altera stirpe familiae Y praebet, cum ceterae stirpes eiusdem familiae Y bonas lectiones exhibeant. Qui loci tamen perpauci sunt neque magnum scrupulum mihi iniciunt. C. 23 (p. 117, 7) O W cum familiae Y stirpe β (B D V L) faciunt, nec ni etiam (nec in; om. etiam B) exhibentes; ceterae duae stirpes familiae Y recte nec non etiam (etiam om. K) proferunt. In re incerta tutius mihi uidetur hanc corruptelam codici Hersfeldensi assignare, ueram autem lectionem in stirpibus a et γ coniecturae attribuere. C. 24 (p. 119, 3) stirpis β codices D V L una cum codice O unum uel alterum testantur. Codicis W testimonium nobis non suppeditat, cum hoc loco complura uerba desint lacuna tamen rite relicta. 184 Codex B eiusdem stirpis β, unum et alterum cum ceteris facit. Cum B multis earum corruptelarum quas communes habent D V L careat, 185 id ipsum quod B et cum ceteris codicibus profert demonstrare mihi uidetur corruptelam uel in communi librorum B D V L fonte se habere non potuisse, sed in eo archetypo186 e quo D V L ortus ducunt natam esse. Quod si uerum est, idem error librario O quoque attribuendus est; neque est mirandum duos librarios eundem errorem separatim fecisse, cum causa huius corruptelae in illo uel post alterum perspiciatur. 187 C. 26 (p. 123, 14) hordearium, quidam est consensus inter X et β , cum utraque secta litteram i pro e inter d et a haud recte ostendat. Testimonia unius cuiusque codicis infra (p. 118) uideri possunt.

Duobus quoque locis familia X easdem corruptelas ac familiae Y stirps a exhibet: c. 11 (p. 109, 19) permaneant 188 pro permaneat; c. 20 (p. 115, 7) quidem pro quidam. Quae corruptelae tam paruulae sunt, ut facile in codice X et a separatim exoriri potuerint. 189 C. 3 (p. 102, 3) X et a inpatiens (tpatiens I) testantur, 180 ubi non dubito quin pristinam Hersfeldensis codicis lectionem conservent. 181

De quibusdam locis, perpaucis sane, ubi familia X cum stirpibus α et γ contra stirpis β memoriam corruptas lectiones ostendunt infra (p. 140 sq.)



¹⁸⁴ Vide supra p. 52.

¹⁸⁵ Vide infra p. 122 sq.

^{186 \(\}lambda\) in stemmate p. 186 exhibito.

¹⁸⁷ unum et alterum certe praeferendum est, non solum quod lectio difficilior est, sed etiam quod Suetoni usui dicendi melius congruit. Vide eos locos locos quos Rothius in apparatu conferre iubet: Tib. 63 unum et alterum consulares; Vesp. 4, 6 unoque et altero proelio tam consularer inito; Gr. et Rhet. 25 (p. 122, 12) unam et alteram; Vit. Horat. Reiff. p. 45, 2 unaque et altera liberalitate.

¹⁸⁸ Hanc corruptelam in O N I Reifferscheidius non notat. Haud scio an altior quaedam corruptela in hoc uersu lateat, cum O W saeculo (seculo O) non saecula exhibeant.

certe in uerbo quidem nihil est haerendum. In codice L idem compendium pro-dem et-dam saepius inuenitur: p. 103, 12 quad = quadam; p. 108, 18 eund = eundem; p. 117, 13 quand = quadam; p. 119, 7 quibusd = quibusdam; p. 121, 14 ead = eadem; p. 123, 7 quend = quendam; p. 123, 11 eund = eundem.

¹⁹⁰ in patiens in K C quoque; spatiens M impatiens w.

¹⁰¹ Vide supra p. 66.

disseram; itemque eas corruptelas, quas X et stirpes $\beta \gamma$ contra stirpis a memoriam exhibent, infra (p. 104) expositas inuenies. Multo difficiliores intellectu sunt ei loci ubi X cum a et β a stirpis γ memoria discedens corruptas lectiones praebent; qui loci fere sunt:

XaB Memmia¹⁹² (memmia W G Memc. 14, p. 111, 6 Memmius M K mio D memma B) Memmii H Q F Memini U memini C Memnii A in iis N G (omis. in text. add. in mg. c. 25, p. 120, 11 iis (his \triangle Q) m.2 G) ID V L (1 ut delendum notauit eadem man. in L) in his O W B .L. Oltacilius O W V .L. Octacilius c. 27, p. 124, 1 L. Voltacilius M Voltatilius K Lu-NI L. OCTACILIVS G Lutius otcius uoltacilius H tacilius B LVCIVS Octacilius D LVcius uolacilius Lutius otacilius L U LVCIUS uolcatius C 1 Vcius Volcatius A L. **VOLCATIVS O**

Quorum locorum unus solus, c. 27 (p. 124, 1) Voltacilius, scrupulum mihi inicit. Memmii¹⁹³ coniecturae attribuo, quod eo certius uidetur, quod codices M K, qui archetypo γ proxime accedunt, non Memmii sed Memmius exhibent. Quomodocumque hic locus emendandus est, neque quicquam melius quam Memmi noui, memmia certissima ratione Hersfeldensi codici uindicandum est. Neque causa talis erroris latet, cum uocabulum ad proxime sequatur. C. 25 (p. 120, 11) X a β praepositionem in perperam ostendunt. Sed hic quoque non dubito quin in his (uel in iis?) in Hersfeldensi codice locum obtineret, librarius autem γ bene emendauerit.

In L. Voltacilius e contrario plane haereo. Quamquam soli M H ueram scripturam ostendunt, eae formae quae in ceteris stirpis γ codicibus inueniuntur, omnes e L. Voltacilius corruptae putari debent. In X a β autem omnes lectiones ad L. Oltacilius referendae sunt. Talis est nexus inter nostros libros, ut omnia indicare uideantur L. Oltacilius in Hersfeldensi locum obtinuisse; sed quo pacto fieri poterat ut stirps γ ueram scripturam reuocaret? Nam Voltacilius genuinam esse formam nemo negare poterit, cum in indice (p. 99, 2) libri fere omnes¹⁹⁴ L. Voltacilius proferant; Hieronymi codices ad Ol. 174 uultacilius ostendant; Macrobi codices Sat. II 2,

¹⁰⁰ Falso Reifferscheidius codicum O I testimonia in apparatu profert.

¹⁰⁰ Memini et Memnii ad Memmii referenda sunt.

¹⁹⁴ Volcacilius O voltatilius I uolcatius e textu interpolatum A.

13 uotacilius exhibeant. Putet aliquis librarium γ nomen ex indice correxisse. Quod uix crediderim; nam quomodo librarius ille scire poterat Voltacilius genuinam esse scripturam? Neque ullum exemplum in hac stirpe noui ubi textus ex indice correctus est, licet in singulis libris index e textu nonnumquam contaminatus sit.

188 Hieron, Chron, Ol. 174, 4: "Vultacilius (uultacius B uulcacilius A P uttacilius F) Plotus Latinus rhetor Cn. Pompei libertus et doctor scholam Romae aperuit." Macr. Sat. II 2, 13: "'M.' inquit 'Votacilius (sic codd.; male Casauboni coniectura Otacilius editur) Pitholaus (pytholaus codd.) cum Caninius Reuilus uno tantum die consul fuisset, dixit ante famines, nunc consules diales funt.'" Codices nostri in c. 27 cognomen Pilutus dant, in indice quoque omnes (pillut' I pilatus L) praeter O W Pilutus ostendunt. O W plut' proferunt. Reifferscheidius cognomen inauditum Pilutum respuit et Plotus ex Hieronymo restituit. M. Hertzius (Rh. Mus. XLIII [1888] p. 312 sq.) cognomen Pitholaum huic rhetori restituere uoluit, affirmauitque etiam, se ante decem fere annos nonnullos titulos in quibusdam diurnis uel Francogallicis uel Italicis publicatos uidisse, qui Voltacilios Pitholaos laudarent; omnia tamen eorum titulorum uestigia se perdidisse neque inuestigatione diligentissime instituta eos reperire potuisse. Si forte hi tituli iterum in lucem proferantur uix dubitandum sit cognomen Pitholoum nostro loco restituere; sine hoc titulorum testimonio res prorsus in dubio habenda est. Schanzius (Röm. Litteraturgesch. I 2º, p. 119) Hertzium secutus L. Voltacilius Pitholaus edere non dubitauit. Animaduertendum est codices O W in indice plut' exhibere, quod Hieronymianae lectioni Plotus propius accedit, sed probabilius mihi uidetur plutus in O W e pilutus corruptum esse. Hertzius illum M. Voltacilium a Macrobio citatum non nostrum rhetorem fuisse, sed quendam cognatum, cuius mentio apud Suet. Coes. 75, 5 fit, existimat. Mihi in mentem uenit corruptelam in Suetonianis codicibus in illo praenomine L. latere posse; et Suetonium non L. Voltacilius sed Voltacilius scripsisse, Voltacilius autem in L. Oltacilius corruptum esse; nam L. Oltacilius in textu codicis Hersfeldensis fuisse meliores libri arguunt. Sed huic opinioni L. Voltacilius in indice repugnare uidetur. Exemplum litterae L in V corruptum praebet codex H c. 13 (p. 110, 21) (u. supra p. 83) et contrarius error facile fieri poterat.

CAPVT IIII

DE FAMILIAE Y TRIBVS STIRPIBVS α β γ

I. QVAEDAM DISCREPANTIAE INTER FAMILIAE Y SINGVLAS STIRPES AD LECTIONES DVPLICES IN HERSFELDENSI CODICE REFERENDAE DEMONSTRANTVR. NONNVLLAE CORRVPTELAE SANANTVR.

Alter codicis Hersfeldensis apographon, quod Y appello, ut saepius iam dixi, tres procreauit filios, quos a $\beta \gamma$ nomino, qui omnes ita ut progenitor eorum perierunt. Nepotes et pronepotes huius codicis Y, non est infitiandum, diuersissima testimonia praebent, sed non solum discrepantias enumerare oportet, sed multo magis decet indolem earum discrepantiarum examinare. Peculiares igitur lectiones unius cuiusque harum stirpium eius esse generis mihi uidentur ut perraro Hersfeldensis codicis memoriam reuocent, sed fere omnes ad interpolationes et errores, et rarius quidem ad felices coniecturas singulorum librariorum referendae sint. Sed haec memoriae diuersitas nonnumquam lectionibus duplicibus, quae in Hersfeldensi codice fuerunt, debetur. Tales locos in tabulas ita contuli ut eae uarietates quas Hersfeldensi codici attribuo media columna ubique contineantur. Non ignoro complures harum diuersitatum in ipso codice Y oriri potuisse, sed, cum hoc nullo certo iudicio statui possit, tutius uisum est omnes uelut ex Hersfeldensi profluentes indicare. Non est putandum utrasque lectiones in Hersfeldensi codice semper exscriptas esse, sed potius tales diversitates simplicibus litteris aut syllabis supra uersum uel in margine scriptis notatas esse.1

	Y	Hersfeld.	X
c. 3, p. 102, 12			
a	panasagacema N pansa gacema G	72	panosagacema W
β	pansagasansema I panosa gacema uli panosa/saga B		
	panosagacema D L Panosagacema V		
γ	panosagacema M -i.sagace pasiosagatema K		
¹ Vide supra p.	72.		
² Vide supra p.			
¹ Vtraque lectio	in textum accepta.		

. 7 - 106 6	Y p (lacuna decem fere litt.) H pana- sagacicon U pano- sagatema C Δ Panosgarema Q	Hersfeld.	· X
c. 7, p. 106, 6 α β γ c. 9, p. 107, 19	hoc N hic G hic I hoc B V L om. D hic ω hoc Q	hoc: hic	om. O hoc W
a	palliati N palliati G palleati I	palliati: pallenti	pallenti
β	ł est paleati ac palliati B palliati		
	D palliati V pal- liati L		
γ	palleati M K C Δ palliati H Q omis.		
c. 10, p. 108, 1			
a	notus N notus G natus I	notus: natus	natus
β	nominatus B natus D notus V notus L		
γ	natus ω nactus K om. U Δ		
c. 11, p. 109, 14	i.		
a	inscripsit N Is scripsit G Inscrip- sit I	inscripsit: is scripsit	Inscripsit
β	Inscripsit; in uersu sequente inter pro-		

⁴ Ex L uel Pontani libro acceptum. Vide infra p. 180 sq.

^{*} Haec uarietas potius quam palliati: palleati Hersfeldensi libro assignanda mihi uidetur. Ad alterius lectionis pallenti memoriam conseruandam librarius Y, nisi fallor, litteram e supra palliati scribere satis habuit. Similiter c. 14 (p. 112, 2), ubi duplicem lectionem non possit: possem uel Hersfeldensi codici uel codici Y uindico (uide supra p. 78 sq.), in codice V possem inuenitur, nihil ad uerae lectionis non possit memoriam reuocandam nisi unica littera i suprascripta relicto.

	Y	Hersfeld.	X
	bantur et Lydia altera lectio in textu i is B Inscrip- sit D Inscripsit V	-	
	Is scripsit L		
γ	is scripsit M Inscripsit ω		
p. 109, 15	•		
-	hycida Lydia N lydia G I	ladio, lasido	11:.
<u>α</u> β	lydia ł B ^o Lydia D	lydia: lycida	lydia
. F	L Lydia V		
γ	Lydia (lidia C)		
c. 11, p. 110, 5			
a	calculi et libra N I calculi et, libra; in mg. m.2 una G	calculi selibra: calculis et libra?	calculis & libra (calculis in calculi corr. m.2 W)
β	calculi et selibia B calculi selibra D V cauliculi selibra L (Pontanus)		
γ	calculi et selibra M calculus et selibra Q catulli et libra K calculis et libra H U calculus et libra C Δ	·	
c. 14, p. 111, 13			
a	Craticus N I cre-	criticus: creti-	criticus
β	criticus B V cre-		
γ	ticus D criticus L criticus ω triticus K Δ criticus ex triticus C		

 $^{^{6}}$ Vocula et quae sequitur omissa est in B. Illud l' indicare uidetur librarium indoctum alteram lectionem in textu scribere coepisse.

⁷ Varietas propter scripturam continuam exorta. Vide supra p. 70 sq.

a 14 a 111 19	Y	Hersfeld.	X
c. 14, p. 111, 18 a	mollitiem N mollitie in marg. m.2 mollitie G mollitie	mollitiam: molli- tiem	mollitiam
β	molitiam B molli- tiem D molliciam V L		
γ	molliciam M K Q molliciam C mol- liciem H U molli- tiem Δ		
c. 15, p. 112, 10		•	
.	curchonem N cür- chonem in text.;	lurchonem: cur- chonem	lurconem O lurchonem W
	in mg. m.2 ut uid. lürchonem G cur- chonem I		
β	surconem B Lur- chonem D V lur- conem L		
γ	curchonem M K C Δ Q lurconem H U		
c. 17, p. 113, 17			- m
a	catulinae N I Ca- tuline G	catulinae: cati- linae	Catiline
β	Catiline B Catilinae D Catuline V cateline L		
γ	Catuline M Catiline K Catuline H Cathiline U catilinae C Catelinae A Catilinae Q catilianae F		
c. 18, p. 114, 9 a	hoc N hanc G I	hanc: hoc	hoc

* mollitit ex mollitit corr. ut uid.

-	Y	Hersfeld.	X
β	hoc B hoc V hanc D L		
γ	hanc H U h' M hoc ω		
p. 114	, 11		
a	nota N nota G uota I	nota: uota	nota
β	nora (ut uid.) B uota D nota V L nota ω uota H U	-	•
γ c 10 p 114			
c. 19, p. 114		ombrodicino.	anh-adielus
a.	Aphrodisius N aphrodisius G I	aphrodisius: aprodisius	aphrodisius
β	aprodisius B aphrodisius D L pro Aphrodisius V		
γ	Aphrodisius ω aprodisius K a frodisius U Am phrodisius Δ		
c. 20, p. 115	, 3°		
a	Hyginius N hyginius (-y-supra-i- m.2 ut uid.) G iginius I		phyginus O phryginus W
β	hyginus B higinus P phryginus D Hyginus V hi- fit ginus (fri perleuit m.3) L		
γ	phryginus M Q phriginus H \(\Delta \) Phriginus U priginus C Jgiginus K		.*
c. 25, p. 123,	, 1		
a.	syntaxis N G sin- taxis I	syntasis: syn- taxis	syntasis O syn- taxis W

 9 In indice (p. 98, 18): phriginus W G I B V C phyginus O friginus L phriginus e phryginus corr. ut uid. M phryginus $\Delta.$

	Y	Hersfeld.	X
β	syntasis B synta-	·	
	xis DV synthesis L		
γ	sintaxis M Sinte-		
	sis K synthesis H		
	sinthasis U C Sin-		
	thesis \Delta Synth s -		
	sis Q		

His quoque in locis, quamquam binae lectiones nullo in codice inueniuntur, diuersitates eadem ratione meo iudicio explicandae sunt; siquidem in familia X codex O cum aliis, codex W cum aliis familiae Y libris facit:

		Y	Hersfeld.	X
c. 15, p. 11	2, 13		•	
a		perceptisque N praeceptisque G I	perceptisque: praeceptisque ¹⁹	
β		praeceptisque B perceptisque D V L		
γ		praeceptisque (perceptisque e praeceptisque corr. Q)	•	
c. 21, p. 11	6, 7	•		
•		togatorum N I to- gatarum G	togatarum: to- gatorum	togatarum O togatorum W
β		togatarum		
γ		togatarum M U togatorum ω		
c. 25, p. 12	20, 9			
a		intrare N Gm.2.	itare (<i>uel</i> ita re?): intrare	intrare O ita re W
β		itare BVL intrare D		
γ		itare		
c. 25, p. 12	23, 1			
a		graeci	graece: graeci	greci O11 graece
β		grece B V graece D L		W
γ		graece M Q grae- ci (uel greci) ω omis. Δ		
10 Vida i	nfra n 1	115		

¹⁰ Vide infra p. 115.

¹¹ Perperam Reiff. in apparatu et Quaest. Suet. p. 416. Vide supra p. 55.

In dubio haec uidentur:

	Y	Hersfeld.	x
c. 6, p. 105, 8			
a	duårum ¹² N G du- orum I	diuarum: duarun	duarum
β.	diuarum BDL di- duarum uarum V		
γ	duarum ω diua- rum Q Y	•	
c. 17, p. 114, 1			
a	parieti N Pparieti perite	parieti: perite	parieti
	lectio suprasc. m.2 ut uid. G perite I		
β	p a rieti		
γ	parieti M K pa- riete Q perite.ω		
c. 24, p. 118, 11	• •		
a	omnes N se I se m.1; del. et in marg. add. omnes m.2 G	omnes: se	omnes
0			
β	se B omnes DVL		
γ	se ω omnes ¹⁸ Q		
c. 28, p. 124, 14			
a	Nuncino N nuncino G nŭtino I	nučino: ¹⁴ man- cino	nucerino
β	nucerino B nun- cino D Nuncino V macino L		
γ	Mancino M K nuncino H U C nuntino Δ -mi- nemo Q		

His lectionibus duplicibus perlustratis primo obtutu plerumque apparet utrae accipiendae utrae respuendae sint. Non tamen alienum de nonnullis fusius disserere uidetur.

C. 7 (p. 106, 6) hoc: hic. Ad hunc locum corruptissimum sanandum Vahleni emendationem, quam in ora eius exemplaris Reifferscheidiani repperi,

¹⁹ Vide infra p. 108 et adn. 52.

¹⁸ Ex L uel Pontani codice acceptum. Vide infra p. 180 sq.

¹⁴ Vide supra p. 62 sq.

propono. Sic legendum mihi uidetur: in quibus et suum alicubi reperiri nomen <ut> auctoris. Quod certe optimam sententiam praebet neque ita longe a fide codicum abhorret. Nam tale quid in antiquissimis libris pono: VTAVTHOIS. Si quo casu illa Λ delapsa est, facile perspicitur VT quoque delapsurum fuisse, atque illa S desinens facile in C corrumpi potuit. Compendi signo etiam omisso hoc relinquitur VTHOIC. Corrector aliquis in HOIC uel hoc uel hic perspicere sibi uisus est, unde exoritur lectio duplex hic: hoc

C. 11 (p. 109, 14) Inscripsit: Is scripsit. Neutra lectio edenda est, cum satis constet hunc errorem e uulgari pronuntiatione iscripsit pro scripsit exortum esse, quod Reifferscheidius etiam in addendis p. VIIII recognouit. Similis est error c. 3 (p. 101, 15), ubi codices Istilo (istilio B Istilio H stillo K stilo e coniect. Q) pro Stilo exhibent. Vide Grandgent, Vulgar Latin p. 97-98.

C. 18 (p. 114, 9) hanc: hoc. Reifferscheidius hoc praetulit et interpolationem coniugium pro coniugio introduxit; nescio quo pacto, cum illius "dux certissimus" Vaticanus V utramque lectionem hoc: hanc proferat. Cum utraque lectio codici Hersfeldensi uindicari possit, nullam causam uideo cur coniugio hanc scribere non liceat, quae mea quidem opinione longe praestantior est lectio. Vahlenus¹⁵ et Ihmius ¹⁶ pro coniugio hanc statuerunt.

C. 25 (p. 123, 1) syntasis: syntasis. Hoc animaduertendum est synthesis leuissima auctoritate niti, nam sine dubio in L Pontani coniectura est, in H (P) autem coniecturae eius uiri docti qui codicis H archetypum exarauit attribuendum est. Aldus et omnes ante Oudendorpium Graece surtifeus ediderunt. Oudendorpius partim Schotti coniectura, quae nisi fallor codicis P testimonio inititur, partim ex adnotatione ad marginem ultimae editionis Casaubonianae adtexta, quae et ipsa ad eundem P referenda est, surbifeus edidit. Wolfius etiam eodem codice P ab ipso collato alterum testem huius lectionis reperire sibi uisus est. Codex L a. 1841 a Trossio in lucem prolatus et ipse synthesis exhibens hanc lectionem confirmare olim uidebatur. Sed etiamsi synthesis codicum auctoritatem haberet, idoneam sententiam inde numquam efficeres. Gronouius (apud Graeuium) biscus uoluit, Senec. Contr. I praef. 12 citans: "Declamabat autem Cicero non quales nunc controuersias dicimus, ne tales quidem quales ante Ciceronem dicebantur, quas thesis uocabant." Itemque Cic. Top. 21 (79): "Quaestio-

¹⁵ Sitsungsberichte d. Berl. Akad. 1904, p. 1070.

¹⁶ Op. cit. p. 551.

¹⁷ Vide infra p. 158.

¹⁸ Vide Rothium, praefat. p. LIX adn. 36.

num duo genera: alterum infinitum, alterum definitum. Definitum est, quod δπόθεσιν Graeci, nos causam: infinitum, quod θέσιν illi appellant, nos propositum possumus nominare." Volkmann¹º ὑποθέσεις huic loco restitui oportere censet. Reifferscheidius ad syntaxis reuertit, quod hoc loco sensu caret. Nonne uerum in altera codicis Hersfeldensis lectione syntasis inueniendum est? Nam Graece σύντασις propria significatione eadem est quae Latine contentio. Contentio autem saepius pro causa uel controuersia²⁰ usurpatur. Ego syntasis edere malim quam illud ineptissimum syntaxis suscipere, aut tam longe a fide codicum discedere ut θέσεις uel ὑποθέσεις scribam. Sed totus locus corruptissimus uidetur. Nam quaenam satis idonea sententia ex appellationes Graeci uel appellationes Graece efficienda sit non uideo. Reifferscheidius Schotti (L. IV Obs. Hum. c. 7) coniecturam appellatione Graeca edidit, quae sensui congruit sed in fidem codicum uim facit.²¹

C. 28(p. 124, 14) nucino: mancino. Wissowa (p. XX) mancino in L Pontani diuinationi attribuit; quam opinionem eadem lectio in M K perdubiam efficit.²²

II. DE STIRPE a

1. Lectiones hvivs Stirpis nec non Codicis N propriae exhibentyr

Stirpis a tres codices hodie sunt superstites, quorum unus Neapolitanus (N) tamquam filius, duo ceteri Gudianus (G) et Vaticanus 1518 (I) nepotes ipsius codicis a haberi possunt. Hanc stirpem pristinam Hersfeldensis codicis inscriptionem conservare supra²³ iudicavi. In Neapolitano grammaticorum rhetorumque indices deficiunt; in Gudiano et Vaticano autem duabus columnis iuxta positis et textui praemissis totius libelli inscriptione praecedente continentur. Grammaticorum index inscriptionem Grammatici (Gramatici I), rhetorum index inscriptionem Item rhetores (rethores I) praemissam habet. Quae inscriptiones Hersfeldensi libro uindicari possunt, nam illud Item uix additicium esse potest, cum in familia quoque X et in B V inueniatur.²⁴

¹⁹ Rhetorik der Griechen u. Römer p. 35.

[&]quot; Vide Thesaurum Linguae Latinae s. u.

²¹ Vide supra p. 55.

²² Vide supra p. 75 ad satti.

²⁸ Vide supra p. 40; p. 61 sq.

³⁴ In familia X grammaticorum index nullam inscriptionem habet; rhetorum index eandem atque in stirpe a. De indicibus in stirpe β uide infra p. 116.

Haec fere bene correxit librarius a, nisi forte in c. 17 (p. 113, 18) et c. 22 (p. 116, 16) pristinas Hersfeldensis codicis lectiones uidere malis:²⁵

a (1	N G I)	·
c. 1, p. 100, 7	annotatum (=ad- notatum ²⁶ B)	adnotum ω at (at inducto) notum L aduotum D ad notum C notum U Δ
c. 3, p. 102, 6	Posthac	post hoc ω post hec B U post haec H post hos L (Pontanus)
c. 11, p. 109, 12	siren $(=Lm.3)$	syren ω (latinas) irem O (latinas) item W
c. 14, p. 111, 9	Dolabellam ²⁷ (= V L K)	Dolobellam
c. 17, p. 113, 18	palati (=V C)	palatii
c. 17, p. 113, 20	-	hemyciclium O hemycyclium W hemiciclium B hemiciclum D L Q
		emicyclium M emiciclium K hemy- clium H Emiciclum U hemiculium
		C hemiculum Δ Emiculium (?) F
c. 22, p. 116, 16	futurum certe iam inde. Mentitur ²⁸	futurum: certe iam inde mentitur (om. inde D) DL futurum certe: jam
	(=0 V)	inde mentitur C Δ futurum certe iam inde mentitur (metitus U) ω
c. 22, p .116, 19	gallus ²⁰ (=L H U Q)	Gallius
c. 28, p. 124, 13		Epidici

Haec autem temere uel neglegenter mutauit librarius a:

²⁵ Proprias lectiones duco eas quae in hac stirpe separatim exortae uidentur, etiamsi in uno et altero codice aliarum stirpium inueniuntur. Codices cum N G I consentientes a dextra uncis inclusos indicaui. Paruas discrepantias inter ceteros, quorum lectiones dextra columna continentur, indicare non semper operae pretium uisum est. De bonis lectionibus in N et Gm.2 e familia X sumptis uide supra p. 87 sq.

²⁶ Vide supra p. 66.

²⁷ Dolabellam ex Dolobellam corr. I.

²⁰ Punctum deest in G. Littera m minuscula in O V. Semicolon pro puncto in O.

[™] Punctum in L.

Gallus N.

Epidii N.

^{*} Corruptum ex qui idem.

```
a (NGI)
c. 1, p. 100, 6 utranque<sup>33</sup> lin-
                                        utraque lingua
                  guam (= U)
             10 aeditos N editos G
                                       editos (edito W)
                  I(=C)
             18 acroasis NG acre-
                                       acroasis (om. U)
                  oasis*4 I
c. 2, p. 101, 9 Leneus NG leneus
                                       leneus uel leneus (uide supra p. 48)
c. 3, p. 102, 8 de ea re
                                       de ea
     p. 103, 4 deficeret (= Q)
                                       deficeretur
                 absolutum
c. 4, p. 103, 17
                                       absolute
                 in tam<sup>36</sup>
                                       tam O W H iam tam B M K C A
                                       iam tum U iam D V L Q
c. 5, p. 104, 14 Seruius<sup>87</sup>
                                       Seuius wel Saeuius (Aeuius K Neuius
                                       D
             18 Seruius (Saeuius in
                                       Seuius wel Saeuius
                    mg. Gm.2)
e. 5, p. 104, 19
                id.
                                       id.
                                                             y duarum
c. 6, p. 105, 8 duarum N
                                       diuarum ** B D L Q diuarum V du-
                                duă-
                         e duorum
                                       arum \omega
                 rum
                 correctum; o supra
                 scribsit m.2 ut uid.
                 G duorum I
c. 7, p. 105, 12 grapho (Grapho
                                       gnipho (gnifo O B L U F giinpho W)
             15 quae equidem4
                                       quod equidem (qui equidem B quod
                                       quidem U)
                  y pominatus
c. 10, p. 108, 8 notus N
                            notus;
                                       nominatus
                 in mg. m.2 nomi-
                 natus G natus I
c. 11, p. 109, 5 bursini (Bursini N)
                                       Burseni (ubursenia W
                                                                 bursem C
                                       bursen \Delta)
   30 utramque L
   Perperam Reiff. in apparåt.
   adefficeret L.
   36 Vide supra p. 83.
   <sup>87</sup> SERVIVS G Servius in indice (p. 98, 3) G I.
   Vide infra p. 139.
   *Sic in indice (p. 98, 5) G I.
   "Que G que I.
   a aequidem N quidem G (perperam Reiff.).
   "Vide supra p. 75.
```

a (1	N G I)	ω
6	cuius (= U)	cui
8	Silani (silani G)	Syllani (Sillani K syllam C)
c. 11, p. 109, 10	uel ex his ⁴⁸ κατά Γραμματι κθυз	uel his (uel om. B U)
12	Cato grammaticus (litteris Graecis in mg. repetitis) N kard Γραμματικοῦς Cato grammaticus G Graeca desunt	Graeca desunt
c. 12, p. 110, 16	in I Silę (silę G)	syllae (u. Syllae u. sylle u. Sylle)
· ·		(syle B)
19	sila (Sila I)	Sylla (Silla Q)
c. 13, p. 110, 21	Straberius	Staberius uel L Taberius44
p. 111, 3	silanis (Silanis I)	Syllanis (uel syllanis) (Sillanus Q)
c. 14, p. 111, 8	Marci N G māci I	M. (magister L Q)
c. 14, p. 111, 13	Craticus N craticus I creticus G	criticus (criticus L creticus D triticus K \(\Delta \) criticus \(ex \) triticus C)
c. 14, p. 112, 2	possum N pos- sum G no possit possum I	non possit uel possem uel possim ω ⁴⁶ possum U
c. 15, p. 112, 10	popinionemque N G popimonemque I (-B)	popinonemque ω popinomenque W pompinonem Δ pompinonem quae C popi (lacuna sex fere litt.) q; K
13	subrectus	subreptus ω surreptis O W surreptus D surreptus in surreptis mut. m.3 (?) L
c. 17, p. 113, 20	parte fori $(=F)$	fori parte (foro parte B)
c. 18, p. 114, 3	ordine $(=\Delta)$	ordinis (ord K)
14	ad Q. atque Sexti N G ad .q. atque sexti I	ad Q. Sexti (uel sexti) B V L ad .Q. septimi D ad sexti M K in sexti H U Sexti (ad Q. om.) C Δ atque sexti ⁴⁷ O W
c. 19, p. 115, 1	libris N libros (=K Q) G I	libris
44 vide supra p. 44 Vide supra p. 45 Vide supra p. 46 Vide supra p. 47 Vide supra p.	. 97. . 78.	

a (N G I) c. 20, p. 115, 3 Hyginius N hyuide supra p. 99 ginius (y supra i m.2 ut uid.) G iginius I $Marcum (= \Delta)$ M. c. 23, p. 117, 9 ędidisse (=C) p. 118, 1 edidisse c. 24, p. 119, 7 aedidit N (= C) eedidit didit GI(=H)nec N I ne48 G ne cui (nec cui M) c. 25, p. 119, 11 nulla est inscriptio. caput a ceteris c. 25, p. 119, 13 caput a ceteris distinctum in W; caput minio indidistinctum post subiciam N G I catum in M; nulla capitis distinctio inscriptio AEDIC-TVM CENSO-RIVM Nedictum celori, ŭ I nulla est inscriptio sed uerba usque ad senatum litteris maiusculis G in iis49 (qui eo uep. 120, 12 iis nire) declamitauit (clamitauit U) p. 121, 1 declamauit (= D C ∆ declamauit B) 18 breuiter atque breuiter ac (breuiter & Δ)50 c. 27, p. 124, 1 L. Octacilius N I uide supra p. 93 (=LVCIVS Octacilius D) L. OC-TACILIVS G ioci ω loci B coti Δ Cm.1 omis. K c. 29, p. 125, 4 sotii N soci I ioci quanta..est data (data est: 0; uirquanta..est data? gula post data DVM; punctum in L) excanduisset ut O W B D excanc. 30, p. 127, 1 excanduisse ut⁵¹ duisse & ut ω excanduisse et ut corr. m.3 L

⁴⁰ cui omis.

⁴⁹ Perperam Reiff. in apparatu.

ac in L ut in ceteris; perp. Reiff. in apparatu.

M Perperam Reiff. in apparatu.

Quo pacto eae duplices lectiones, quas codici Hersfeldensi uel saltem apographo Y attribuo, his in libris exhibeantur, e tabulis (p. 95 sq.) apparet. Sunt autem nonnullae lectiones duplices quarum nulla uestigia nisi in hac stirpe inueniuntur. Has e codice a quam ex Y aut Hersfeldensi originem ducere malo.

Codex N, quamquam optimus huius stirpis habendus est, propriis uitiis minime caret. Librarius qui hunc codicem exarauit quandam antiquitatem, uel id quod ei antiquitas uidebatur affectare uoluit, ut litterarum formae et tales scripturae quales c. 4 (p. 104, 4) obmiti (=K), c. 20 (p. 115, 12) substentatum (=KU); c. 24 (p. 119, 3) substineret (=KHC); quom saepissime pro cum; ae pro e ut c. 3 (p. 102, 14) .eq.; c. 4 (p. 104, 1) aeloquentiam (=WCQ); c. 7 (p. 105, 15) aequidem; c. 21 (p. 115, 15) aeducatoris, et passim, demonstrant. Huius codicis lectionum peculiarium unam solum bonam inueni: c. 26 (p. 123, 14) hordearium (=H). Lectiones propriae codicis N quae sequuntur eius librarium indoctum fuisse satis demonstrant. Lectiones quae ad orthographiam pertinent fere neglexi. 55

	N	GΙω
c. 1, p. 100, 11	poste prioris	posterioris (posterius K)
c. 2, p. 100, 18	o m.	tempus
c. 3, p. 101, 14	om.	Aelius uel Elius (LElius U)
p. 102, 9	uideantur	tradantur (traduntur D F)
14	Clauino	caluino (Caluino V caluuino K Caluinio Q)
c. 4, p. 104, 1	ipsi	ipsos B D V L Q ipsis (ipiūs I romanis K) ω
c. 7, p. 105, 14	Scytobarchionis	uide infra p. 117
c. 11, p. 109, 19	sed in summa dictinna ⁵⁶	diana G D om. lacuna sex fere litt. relicta I dictinna O W L U C Dyc- tinna V M dictina B \(\Delta \) dictimia K dictyna H Dictina P doctrina Q
20	om. ⁵⁷	sed in summam (sumā L) ω sed in summa D H Δ
c. 13, p. 111, 3	libros $(= \mathbf{Q})$	liberos
c. 14, p. 111, 9		haec (hec $O V K hoc B \Delta$)

¹² P. 100, 5 quidem; p. 100, 18 acréasis; p. 105, 8 dudrum; quae omnes supra expositae sunt. I nominatus

De notus u. infra p. 113.

Wide supra p. 67 sq.

⁵⁴ Vide infra p. 118. C. 21 (p. 115, 16) N cum B L Δ Maeconati. Vide infra p. 110.

[№] De contaminatione huius libri e familia X uide supra p. 87 sq. et infra p. 113 sq.

⁸⁸ Verba nescio quo pacto e textu extrusa ut lectio uarians pro dictinno capta sunt.

⁸⁷ Vide supra adn. 56.

	N	GΙω
c. 17, p. 114, 1	inscios (=B)	incisos (inciso D)
c. 48, p. 114, 5	om.	circa
. 8	totus uersus deest ⁵⁸	
c. 22, p. 116, 10	adaduersarios	ab aduersario (ad id sar. sr C ad id sr Δ)
c. 23, p. 117, 3	praecipuum	principem (primcipem C)
6	capiebant	capiebat
c. 24, p. 118, 6	Berities	Berytius G B V M H Q beritus I beritius L K C \(\Delta \) bertius O bertecius W berritius D betytius U
6	centuriam	centuriatum (conturiatum I centum- uiratum U)
9	omni	omnino (om. U -no in ras. m.2 ut uid. G)
p. 119, 7	reliqui	reliquit
c. 25, p. 120, 1	•	Pomponius (ponponius I Pom. U poni K)
p. 121, 7		ne (nec H)
8	emisse	omisisse (missis W omisit B obmisisse K omnisisse C commisisse Δ)
p. 123, 3		extet (extat H)
c. 30, p. 125, 19		audenti (audět I audens K)
p. 126, 7		sectatur (sectaretur U)
c. 30, p. 126, 9		in lite (in litem ** W militem O)
15	porcos	procos I K procos. G procons. M H personalem D V L Q proconsulem ω
p. 127, 5	om. (= D)	ob uitium (uel ob uicium)

2. Codex aliquis dependitus ν inter Codices G I et Codicem α intercedere demonstratur

Codices Gudianum et Vaticanum 1518 eundem habuisse patrem, et qui fuerit ipse Neapolitani frater, lectiones infra exhibitae satis demonstrant. Duas modo bonas lectiones horum codicum peculiares animaduerti: c. 9 (p. 107, 4) neglegentia pro negligentia in ceteris; c. 10 (p. 108, 8) Lelium (= L

⁵⁶ Hoc non adnotat Reiff. in apparatu.

⁵⁰ Vide supra. p. 52.

^{*} Vide supra p. 43.

a , in stemmate.

M U F) pro Lelium. Codex G etiam post correctoris manum expertam has fere lectiones proprias cum I conservat:

Νω v (G I) c. 2, p. 101, 2 diligenter G dilidiligentius gent' I c. 3, p. 102, 12 pansagacema G uide supra p. 95 pansagasansema I apparituram ω appituram B appic. 9, p. 106, 19 apperituram eadem nota in marg. turam V apud preturam H appituram C preturam A aperturam Q inc. man. G aperiom. U turam I nostri c. 14, p. 111, 18 nostro omis. (=H U C A puerum c. 20, p. 115, 4 Q) grammaticum (gra cu B) 6 grammaticum quendam G gramaticum quedă I moecenati G Moe-Maecenati N B L Mecenati & mec. 21, p. 115, 16 caenati W Mecenati A micenati H cenati I sexagesimum N O W B D V L Q p. 116, 3 LX^m LXmum M .LX. \omega hordearium N H hordiarium W orc. 26, p. 123, 14 hordeam diarium O horditarium B ordinarium D L hordinariu V horden M hordear™K C ordeanu U ordeare ∆ hodear O Cannutius (canutius O B) c. 28, p. 124, 11 Carnutius

Plures sunt ei loci, ubi Gm.1 olim cum I faciebat, secunda manus ea uitia sustulit:⁶²

c. 2, p. 100, 20 imitā/d u m (du in imitatōe;
ras. m.2 supra
-tione ut uid. uirgula supra a m.2)
c. 7, p. 105, 20 prim_A; in marg. m.2 prius (= Y)
Aum (-m in text. in
ras. supra-us)
p. 106, 1 dicitur del. et etiam dicitur
supraser. m.2

⁴² Correctiones in G a secunda manu factae sunt. Ceteri codices cum correcta lectione in G fere consentiunt. Codices cum I et Gm.1 conspirantes uncis inclusos indicaui.



	G	1
c. 11, p. 109, 17	cura labores	labor (cura om.)
p. 110, 15	uenit del. et iecur	uenit
c. 12, p. 110, 18	in marg. add. m.2 nonnunquam in nunquam non corr.	nonuquam (= U)
	m.2	
c. 14, p. 111, 12	aristarcus	aristāc' (= U F)
c.15, p. 112, 14	& liberalibus (& erasit m.2)	& liberalibus (=U)
c. 16, p. 113, 2	deinde (-in ex m	demum
	corr.; de in ras. su- pra -um m.2)	
9	epirrota (prior -r- eras.)	epirota
- 22 - 116 10	Polim .	
c. 22, p. 116, 18	eum (olim m.2)	$\operatorname{eum} (= \overline{\mathbf{U}})$
c. 23, p. 117, 14	sibi om. Gm.1 add.	omis.
445 45	in mg. Gm.2	
p. 117, 18	proüincialium <i>in</i>	prouincialiū
	mg. m.2 prömer- caliū	
c. 24, p. 118, 11	se in text. del. in	se $(=B \gamma)^{44}$
0 110 2	mg. add. omnes m.2	••
	aliquorum in aliquot mut. m.2	aliquorum
c. 25, p. 120, 3	interiecto (-i-ex-r-corr.; -ec-in ras.	int'rupto ($=HUC\DeltaQ$)
	supra -up-)	
c. 25, p. 121, 10	aediderunt in	om. spatio uacuo sex fere litt. relicto
42	lacuna m.2	
13	processerint e pro- cesserunt	processerunt (= $\mathbf{H} \ \mathbf{U} \ \mathbf{C} \ \Delta$ processer $\mathbf{F} \ \mathbf{K}$)
15	Aerudierunt in mg. m.2 exercuerunt	erudierunt
C 21 (p. 116	A) librarius C ban 1 :	. 1114

C. 21 (p. 116, 4) librarius G haud inepte sed dubito an uere inscribuntur (= L U) pro scribuntur posuit. C. 9 (p. 107, 19) G et L soli marmoreo os-

⁴⁴ Lectio genuina cura liber. Perperam Reiff. in apparatu.

⁶⁴ Vide supra p. 101.

Nolo inscribuntur cum Vineto Casaubono omnibusque sequentibus edere, cum persuasum habeam scribere nonnumquam ab antiquis eodem significatu quo inscribere usurpatum esse. C. 6 (p. 105, 7) omnes codices nostri scripsisse testantur, quod Wolfio Reifferscheidioque in inscribere mutare uisum est. Charisi codices, I p. 127, 17, haec proferunt: "Ateius Philologus librum sic edidit scriptum, 'An amauerit Didun Aeneas.'" Hic quoque editores temere, ut mihi uidetur, inscriptum restituerunt. Neque longe diuersa est sententia apud Gellium

tendunt, quod ad ipsum Hersfeldensem uix referri potest. 66 Item c. 4 (p. 103, 20) G titulo ostendit. Eodem loco codices O W D titulo recte ex hibent, ceteri falso titulos (titulis Δ). Quamquam familiae X testimonio fretus titulo in Hersfeldensi libro fuisse credo, titulos in codice Y extitisse uidetur. Quod si uerum est, titulo in G D coniecturae attribuendum est. Quamuis pro certo diiudicari non possit, probabilius mihi uidetur secundam manum in G litteram s addidisse. C. 16 (p. 113, 6) Vergilium, et c. 23 (p. 117, 12), Vergilio, G ueram scripturam exhibet, illic cum W; hic etiam cum W et V consentiens. Multa alia librarius G temere immutauit, alia etiam neglegenter deprauauit:

	G	ΝΙω
c. 1, p. 100, 6	foris	forisque
c. 2, p. 100, 16	cum in regione (=U)	cum regione
c. 3, p. 102, 15	conductum ut	conductus uel conductos
		(conductum Q) ⁶⁷
p. 103, 3	Hic quidem docuit	Hic quidem
c. 4, p. 103, 18	existimant $(=U)$	existiment
p. 104, 10	grammaticę	grammatici I B V grammaticis ω
c. 9, p. 107, 11	cum in iudicio	cum iudicio
15	omis.	actatis (crat is Δ om. U)
c. 10, p. 108, 16	sic philologus quod sane	quod sane (quid sane B om. U)
c. 11, p. 109, 19	diana (= U)	om. lacuna relicta 18 I uide supra p. 108
c. 15, p. 112, 7	fuit	fuerat
c. 17, p. 113, 10	dicendi(=W)	docendi
c. 21, p. 115, 17	omis.	est
c. 23, p. 117, 10	et secum	secum et (Sed cum et K)
c. 25, p. 119, 10	cum	quam (qua B)
11	ne	nec N I ne cui (nec cui M) ω
p. 121, 8		quoque bis antea
14		docendi (docendi e dicendi corr. C)
c. 27, p. 124, 5		eius
c. 29, p. 125, 6		uellet (uelleret D)
c. 30, p. 126, 13	sua magna	magna sua (magna sui D V L Q)

XVIII 6, 3: "Ei libro titulus est ingentis cuiusdem inlecebrae ad legendum; scriptus quippe est: 'de loquendi proprietate.'"

et marmoreo G cum L c. 30 (p. 126, 10) optulisset contra obtulisset in ceteris facit, sed nullum artius esse uinculum inter hos duos codices puto. Vide et p. 134 adn. 189.

⁸⁷ Vide supra p. 79 sq.

⁶⁶ Verbum *dictinna* in archetypo librorum G I omissum erat spatio uacuo relicto; G suo Marte suppleuit.

Quod ad alteram manum in Gudiano codice pertinet, quas lectiones e familia X manentes addiderit supra (p. 87 sq.) uidere potes. Eis locis ubi lectiones duplices in compluribus codicibus inueniuntur, quae primae manui quae secundae debeantur, supra (p. 95 sq.) indicaui. Altera manus in G non solum eas correctiones quas dixi fecit, sed etiam nonnulla errata codicis G propria correxit, ut c. 2 (p. 100, 13) opinamus in opinamur corr., (p. 101, 1) aliorum in ras. supra amicorum uel animorum ut uid., (p. 101, 13) Vsus in usus corr.; c. 7 (p. 105, 17) grace in gracee corr.; c. 14 (p. 111, 13) hos in text. omis. add. supra uersum; c. 15 (p. 112, 6) ad tellurem in ad telluris corr.; c. 20 (p. 115, 5) & audiit & imitatus ê omis. in text. add. in mg., Cornelium scripsit in ras.; c. 25 (p. 122, 14) cum in text omis. add. supra uersum. Vnam emendationem de suo fecisse uidetur Gm.2: c. 11 (p. 110, 5) una margini adiecit signo inter to the libra ad hoc notandum posito.

3. Qvaedam Lectiones in N et Gm.2 e Familia X profluxisse iudicantur

Nunc quaestio de fonte ex quo secunda manus in G hauserit, et altera illa indagatio ei coniunctissima, unde emanauerint eae lectiones familiae X propriae, quas inter familiae Y codices N et Gm.2 soli exhibent, instituendae sunt. Primo causas adferam, cur Neapolitanum codicem contaminationem expertum esse existimem. Supra (p. 103 sq.) demonstrauisse mihi uideor codices N G I e communi archetypo a profluxisse. C. 10

(p. 108, 8), ubi ceteri libri nominatus recte ostendunt, N notus, Gm.1 notus (notus perleuit atque nominatus in margine addidit Gm.2), I natus testatur. Cuiuis apparet notus in textum codicis a ob librari neglegentiam e praecedente notus (p. 108, 1) inrepsisse. Sed quo pacto fit ut N et Gm.2 ueram quoque lectionem nominatus ostendant, Gm.1 et I autem

Vide et p. 108.

⁷⁶ Alterae lectiones in G ubique e prima manu profluxisse habendae sunt, nisi aliter admoneo.

⁷¹ Hoc loco I: studiose audiuit et immittatus est Cor. Gm.1 ceteris omissis scripsisse uidetur Studiose audiuit Cor.; Gm.2 audiuit Cor. erasit, Cornelium in rasura scripsit, & audiit et imitatus & in margine addidit.

⁷³ Vide supra p. 97.

⁷⁸ Haud scio an tertia quaedam manus in hoc codice uideatur. Nam c. 18 (p. 114, 8) ubi Gm.1 falso una pro uni scripserat quaedam manus et a m.1 et m.2 discrepans una in unica correxit. Neque c. 3 (p. 102, 11) Léuius, certo iudicare possis cui illa i attribuenda sit; neque quis in c. 16 (p. 113, 7) Domitius Marsus in Domiti Marsi correxerit.

⁷⁴ Vide supra p. 87.

⁷⁸ Vide supra p. 96.

omnem eius memoriam amiserint? Dicat aliquis librarium a errorem suum recognouisse ueramque scripturam postea addidisse. Sin librarius ille tam turpem errorem perspexisset falsam lectionem certe deleuisset, atque ueram scripturam non ut lectionem uariantem sed ut correctionem adhibuisset. neque falsam illud notus in apographis codicis a ullum locum occupauisset. Quae cum ita sint, quo modo uerbum nominatus in N explicari possit, nisi ex alio quodam codice atque a acceptum sit, non uideo. C. 25 (p. 122, 19) Neapolitanus cum ceteris libris praeter O W numerum pluralem, educerent, adhibet, 76 deinde (l. 20) librarius primo uerebantur cum ceteris codicibus praeter O W scripsit, postea litteram n expunxit ut uerebatur, familiae X lectio, efficeretur. In sequentibus autem N cum O W contra ceteros codices omnes facit, imposuit, celauit, uenit, exhibens. Quae omnia luculentissime demonstrare debent librarium N duplices lectiones ante oculos habuisse. Idem fere accidit c. 25 (p. 120, 7), ubi idem librarius propriam familiae Y lectionem latine scilicet scribere coeperat, deinde uerbo latine scripto litteram e ut delendam notauit, atque os et i latine suprascripto codicem ad familiae X fidem correctum effecit. 77 Quid, quod librarius N contaminationem quasi ipse professus est? Nempe Dialogi in illa magna lacuna, quae est post c. 35, haec scripsit: multum deficit in exemplaribus quae reperiuntur. Caue tamen ne hanc contaminationem in ipso codice N primum factam esse existimes. Nam hoc loco Gm.2 nobis auxilio subuenit, quippe qui tam mirum in modum cum N conspiret78 ut nemo existimare possit N et Gm.2 familiae X lectiones proprias e diuersis fontibus accepisse. Aut Gm.2 ex ipso N hausit aut N et Gm.2 e communi fonte derivantur. Sed una lectio a Gm.2 addita, c. 5 (p. 104, 18) Saeuius in margine scriptum, cuius nullum est uestigium⁷⁹ in N nos impedit quominus Gm.2 ex N hausisse existimemus. Quae cum ita sint, satis constat codicem a post v, commune codicum G I archetypum, transcriptum sed antequam Neapolitanus exaratus sit, selectas lectiones e familia X adsciuisse, nisi forte credere malis alium quendam codicem inter N et a ita intercedere, ut N non sit filius sed nepos codicis a, atque in hunc codicem potius quam in ipsum a eas familiae X lectiones inrepsisse. Vtramcumque ad opinionem inclinas, concedas necesse est Gm.2 suas lectiones ex illo ipso exemplari, e quo N transcriptus sit, accepisse. Quaerendum igitur est e quo potissimum familiae X codice Neapolitani pater has lectiones acceperit. Quem non ex W hausisse quat-

⁷⁶ Vide supra p. 90 sq.

⁷⁷ Vide supra p. 89.

⁷⁸ Etiam in minutis rebus Gm.2 cum N conspirat, ut c. 6 (p. 105, 8): N duarum exhibet, Gm.1 et I duorum; Gm.2 autem non satis habuit litteram a suprascribere, sed duorum in duarum primo immutauit, deinde litteram o supra posuit.

⁷ Vide supra p. 105.

tuor loci, ubi N cum O contra Vindobonensis testimonia facit, probare mihi uidentur:

Wω ON c. 15, p. 112, 13 perceptisque⁸⁰ (= praeceptisque (praeceptisque in per-DVL) ceptisque corr. Q) c. 24, p. 119, 1 grammatice grammatica es W grammatices (gramatices I) ω grammaticis e grammatices corr. ut uid. K grammaticis Q grammatic.s P ita re W I itare ω itaf B c. 25, p. 120, 9 intrare⁸⁰ (Gm.2 D) cornibus aurib, W cornibus \(\omega \) c. 28, p. 124, 16 cornibus aureis

Cum tamen c. 25 (p. 120, 7) .i. latine (in marg. W Gm.2; suprascr. N) in O non legatur, ibidemque rhetora sibi a librario O in rhetoras ibi iam correctum esset, uix recusandum est quin librarius qui Neapolitani archetypum exarauit ipsius codicis X copiam habuerit. Quod si uerum est, c. 28 (p. 124, 16) cornibus aureis non cornibus auribus in codice X et ipso Hersfeldensi libro erat, neque Reifferscheidius temere egisse uidetur, cum cornibus taureis edidit. ⁸¹

De codice I non est multum quod dicam. Imperitiam illius librari, qui saepius eis locis, ubi lectiones uariantes se habebant, utramque in textum acceperit, iam aestimare potuisti. Michaelisius in Dialogo recensendo hunc codicem tamquam per somnum scriptum esse dicit. Reifferscheidius eum ita plerumque inconsulta deprauatione corruptum, ut saepe se pigeret futilia eius testimonia referre, professus est. Vnam bonam lectionem, quam propriam uocare possum, quamquam in nonnullis aliis codicibus inuenitur, c. 4 (p. 104, 10) praebet: gramatici (= grammatici B V). Quod autem in eodem libro continuo sequitur, stacii pro statim, non prorsus intellego, nisi forte librarius nomen aliquod fingere uoluit. C. 30 (p. 127, 3) I, quod satis est admirandum, bonam lectionem statua cum ceteris codicibus, ubi N G falso statuam (= B) proferunt, exhibet. Inter sescenta uitia huius codicis pauca exempli gratia adfero: c. 2 (p. 101, 3) Octauianus pro Octauius, (l. 6) enim (= W) pro Enni; c. 3 (p. 102, 16) doctissimis (= B H U F); c. 4 (p. 104, 8) publico pro pulpito; c. 5 (p. 104, 15) comentarios pter pro praeter commen-

^{*}Nolim tamen praestare lectiones perceptisque, intrare, rhetora sibi e familia X in N fluxisse, cum omnes locum in codice Y habuisse uideantur; siquidem prima in D V L, altera in D, tertia autem in B reperitur. perceptisque et intrare sine dubio ad duplices lectiones in Hersfeldensi codice referenda sunt (uide supra p. 100). De rhetora sibi (fortasse hic quoque duplex lectio Hersfeldensi codici assignanda erat) uide supra p. 70.

a Vide supra p. 90.

^{*} Vide supra p. 95 sq. et 104 sq.

¹² Praefat. p. XIII.

⁸⁴ grammatice G grammaticis ω.

tarios; c. 7 (p. 105, 23) ajure pro aiunt; c. 18 (p. 114, 4) pausam (= D) pro Pansam; c. 22 (p. 116, 12) petisse pro petiit; c. 24 (p. 118, 7) Legereat pro Legerat; c. 25 (p. 121, 13) sonatorium pro senatorium.

III. DE STIRPE β

1. Lectiones Stirpis β propriae exhibentur

Ex alio codicis \mathbf{Y} apographo, quod β nomino, quattuor libri, Bodleianus (B), Hauniensis (D), Vaticanus 1862 (V), Leidensis (L), uariis gradibus ortus ducunt. Horum codicum V L soli cum opusculis Taciteis Germania et Dialogo coniuncti sunt, de quorum dispositione uide supra p. 60 sq. Codices BV L indicibus praediti sunt; D indice caret. De totius libelli inscriptione nulla est conspiratio inter hos codices. V ut longe optimus huius stirpis Hersfeldensis libri inscriptionem una cum stirpe a conseruat:85 C. SVETONI TRANQVILLI DE GRAMMATICIS ET RHETORIBVS INCIPIT. Cui B proxime accedit exhibens: C. Suetonii Tranquili & Gramaticis antiquis et RHETORIBVS. D et L interpolatiores inscriptiones exhibent: C. SVETONII. TRA NOVILLI. DE/GRAMMATICIS. ET. RHETORIBVS./CLARIS. LIBER. INCIPIT. FELICITER. D Caii Suetonii Tranquilli De Viris illustrib,/liber incipit:—DE GRAMMATICIS. L. In codicum BVL indicibus rhetorum nomina post ea grammaticorum leguntur; non sunt iuxta posita ut in stirpe a.86 Ante grammaticorum indicem est inscriptio: Grammatici cebres B GRAMMATICI CELEBRES. V GRAMMATICI: ILLVSTRES:— L. Anterhetorum indicem: ITEM RHETORES CLARI (litteris minusculis in B) B V RHETORES L. Unde apparet uerba celebres et clari additicia esse. 87 Totius libelli inscriptio indices sequitur. In D ante eam partem, quae est de rhetoribus, haec uidentur: DE CLARIS. RHETORIBVS. In L in margine minio confecta haec sunt uerba: — De rheto/ribu/s. In B V alteram partem nihil nisi nouum caput indicat. Ad finem totius operis haec subscriptio in V margini adtexta est: Non repperi ultra in exemplari; in D NIL. AMPLIVS. REPERITVR; in L in margine Amplius repertum non est ad huc. desunt rhetores XI; in **B** relws. Has bonas lectiones stirpis β peculiares reperies:

β (B D V L) (recte) ω
c. 2, p. 100, 14 Aristarchi (= H U Aristarci ω Haristarci O W arisΔ) (Aristarchie B) tarici I
c. 2, p. 101, 12 Ser. Seruius

^{*} Vide supra p. 61.

⁸⁸ Vide supra p. 103.

⁸⁷ Vide supra p. 103.

β (B D V L) (recte) ipsis ω ipsi N ipiūs I romanis K c. 4, p. 104, 1 ipsos $(=Q)^{44}$ duarum ω duarum N G duorum I c. 6, p. 105, 8 diuarum B D L V duarum (=Q) diuarum V c. 18, p. 114, 14 ad .Q. atque X ad .Q. atque a ad (.Q. om.) MK in (.O. om.) HU omis. C A Q P phrygic. 20, p. 115, 3 hyginus B Hygi-Hyginius a phryginus wel phriginus nus V higinus D ω (uide supra p. 99) higinus L Lectiones quas pro corruptis habeo, quamquam nonnullae earum omnibus editoribus fraudes fecisse uidentur, sequuntur: β (B D V L) (falso) ω c. 2, p. 100, 15 secundum et • (= secundum ac MKUA) et DVL ut B p. 101, 3 etiam Catullo B V (= K Catulo w W in marg. capulo O W c. 3, p. 102, 13 H Q) Catullo in Catulo corr. L catulo D c. 4, p. 103, 8 diligenter aliquid aliquid diligenter V L aliquid omis. B D p. 104, 3 alia (= Q)alias scythobrachionis O G I M H C scyc. 7, p. 105, 14 Scytobachionis B scitabachionis D cho brachyonis in scytho brachy-Scythabachionis V onis corr. Wm.2 Scytobarchionis N scythabachionis L scithobrochionis K scytobrachionis e coniect. U Scithobrachionis Q c. 8, p. 106, 8 grammaticae D L grammatica (= Q) grammatice BV Varone B V L (= c. 9, p. 107, 12 Varrone IK) Varrone D c. 10, p. 109, 2 $nil (= \gamma)$ nihil c. 12, p. 110, 1 assillas $B = (-\Delta)$ assylas w assyllas (ex adsyllas corr. O) O N I P alsill s M assilas K Asyasilla (eadem nota las U in mg.) D asillas V

asillas L

³⁵ Vide infra p. 180 pq.

[™] Vide infra p. 138 sq.

^{*} Perperam Reiff. in apparatu.

β (B D V L)		ω
c. 13, p. 111, 1	om.	litterarum
c. 15, p. 112, 14	om.	domino
c. 17, p. 113, 20	inferiore	superiore
c. 18, p. 114, 4	pasides (= Q; Pasides V)	pasicles
c. 21, p. 116, 4	qui nunc locorum B D V qui nunc iocorum L	qui nunc iocorum ω qui nun cio corum O qui nuntio eorum W
c. 22, p. 116, 13	sibi sed $(= \mathbf{Q})$	sed sibi
c. 23, p. 116, 22	Rheminius (= Q; Reminius L)	
c. 26, p. 123, 14	horditarium B ordinarium D hordinarium V ordinarium L	hordearium N H hordiarium W ordiarium O hordeam G I hordea M hodear K ordeanum U hordear C hordear Δ hodear Q

Huc adde quod c. 13 (p. 110, 21) haec stirps interpolatam lectionem hero (here B) suo Metre (metre L morem D) in textum accepit. 11

2. Codicis **B** Lectiones notabiliores exhibentve atque breviter excutivntve

Codex B, quamquam propriis uitiis scatet, quibusdam lectionibus quae codicum D V L propriae sunt²² caret, unde facile perspicitur illum non eadem uia atque hos e codice β profluxisse. In hoc codice duo genera lectionum peculiarium inter se maxime repugnantia animaduerti. Quorum unum uiri alicuius docti curam plane arguit, qui nonnullas praeclaras emendationes fecit. Alterum genus librarium stultissimum detegit, qui nihil omnino eorum quae scribebat intellexisse uidetur, lectiones marginales uel supra scriptas in contextum accepit, compendia ineptissime explicauit, permultas uoces nihili effecit. Bonae lectiones, quae in hoc solo codice uel in paucis aliis inueniuntur, hae fere sunt: 4

	В		DVLω
Index p. 98, 22	M.	omis.	
p. 99, 1	L. (= M)	omis.	

⁸¹ Vide supra p. 84 sq. De ceteris lectionibus duplicibus vide et p. 74 sq.; p. 95 sq.

[™] Vide infra p. 122.

⁹³ Vide supra p. 95 sq.

⁸⁴ Hunc codicem unam litteram i in genetiuo singularis numeri eorum nominum propriorum, quorum nominatiuus singularis in -iss desinit, saepius exhibere supra p. 65 sq. ostendi.

	В	DVLω
c. 1, p. 100, 7	adnotatum (= an- notatum a)	adnotum (aduotum D)
c. 3, p. 102, 15	doceret ⁹⁵ (= OW)	edoceret ω edocent D edocuisse Q
c. 4, p. 103, 11	Messalla ⁹⁴ ($-I$ K Δ P)	Messala (Mesalla H)
p. 104, 10	grammatici ⁹⁷ (=I V)	grammaticis (grammatice G)
c. 11, p. 109, 5	Publius (=.P. 0 p W)	omis.
c. 17, p. 113, 10	Marcus(=.M.W)	omis.
c. 20, p. 115, 3	hyginus (= Hygi- nus V)	uide supra p. 99
c. 24, p. 118, 6	berytius (= V G M H Q)	uide supra p. 109
c. 25, p. 122, 3	tum utilia et tum ⁹⁸	dum (om. Δ) utilia (italia W)dum
p. 122, 23	in libertatem ⁹⁰ (= U)	in libertate (om. K)
c. 28, p. 124, 14	nucerino ¹⁰⁰ (=0 W)	Nuncino uel Mancino ¹⁰¹
c. 29, p. 124, 18		Sextus ,
c. 30, p. 127, 1	et excanduisset ut ¹⁰²	ita excanduisset ut O W D ita excanduisse (excauduisse K) et (et ut delendum not. $m.3$ L) ut ω ita excanduisse ut a

Has omnes lectiones coniecturae attribuo, nisi forte c. 20 (p. 115, 3) hyginus, et c. 24 (p. 118, 6) berytius, quae ex Hersfeldensi codice in B manare potuerunt, excipere uelis. Quamquam c. 28 (p. 124, 14) nucerino et c. 30 (p. 127, 1) excanduisset in Hersfeldensi fuisse persuasum habeo, nihilominus illud in B et hoc in B D coniecturae deberi mihi uidentur.

⁹⁶ Vide supra p. 75.

⁸⁶ Haec forma in titulis est usitatior. Vide Lübker⁸, Valerius 43; Prosopogr. III Valerius 90. Non infitior tamen talem scripturam in singulis codicibus uel librari socordia oriri potuisse.

⁹⁷ Praepositio e ante grammatici deficit in B.

^{**} et reiciendum est. tum . . . tum in omnibus fere editionibus post Stephanum.

[&]quot; in libertatem Vinetus et uulgo.

¹⁹⁶ Vide supra p. 62 sq.

³⁰¹ Vide supra p. 101.

et ita excanduisset ut edendum est, ut uidetur. Vide supra p. 82.

Vt cetera propria huius codicis attingam: praenomina saepissime exscripta sunt; consonantes saepenumero duplicatae sunt, ut declammare et uerba quae ab eo deriuantur sic ut uides semper scripta, c. 4 (p. 104, 4) arridi (= C), c. 21 (p. 116, 2) ellegantë (= K), c.22 (p. 116, 18) pugillem, (l. 21) pugillus, c. 23 (p. 117, 1) comitatur, c. 23 (p. 117, 19) colleret, c. 25 (p. 119, 10) difficillius, c. 28 (p. 124, 9) apperuit, c. 29 (p. 124, 19) occulatus, c. 30 (p. 127, 5) reddiit, et alia: contrarium nonnumquam fit ut c. 23 (p. 117, 6) comittendam, (p. 117, 9) Arogantia, ibid. uaronem (= K), c. 25 (p. 122, 21) falatiam (= falaciam M K), c. 29 (p. 125, 6) concesisti. Littera e pro ae fere semper scripta est. Idem codex scribendi compendiis horret. Praeter compendia usitata, quae in aliis codicibus inueniuntur, haec inter alia in B inuenies: syllisq; pro syllabisque, exis pro exemplis, 1° pro una, 108 p° pro primo, .q. pro quondam, 104 ex^{orie} pro exemplaria, p^{oon105} pro personam, 3 pro scilicet, 106 ma pro materia, wx pro uxorem, 107 9 pro contra, forme pro fortuna. Quae compendia indoctum illum librarium in exemplari quo usus est repperisse puto, cum tam multis locis in compendiis male explicandis uel omnino neglegendis ineptissimec errores admiserit, ut c. 4 (p. 103, 26) nomin' pro nihilo minus; c. 9 (p. 106, 23) citus esse pro Cicerone; c. 9 (p. 107, 20) filiam pro filium; 108 c. 10 (p. 108, 24) Rome pro ratione; c. 14(p. 111, 9) ration pro Romae; c. 16 (p. 113, 2) pt (praeter?) pro post; c. 23 (p. 116, 22) in litteris pro mulieris; c. 25 (p. 120, 10) peoptor pro praeter, (p. 120, 13) scientiam pro sententiam; c. 25 (p. 122, 12) ex caua pro exempli causa; c. 25 (p. 123, 3) aqua pro aliqua. Minime est operae pretium omnia futilia testimonia huius libri hic proferre, quippe quae in apparatu critico editionis meae mox apparitura sint, sed complura notabiliora exempla hic profero:110

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DVL w
                 1 nec in usu<sup>111</sup> (=H)
                                             ne in usu
c. 1, p. 100,
                 2 om. (=\gamma)
                                             scilicet
c. 1, p. 100,
c. 2, p. 100, 14 Millotes (=F)
                                             Mallotes w Molotes U
                                             aullotes C A Aulotes Q
    C. 9 (p. 106, 18).
    ™ C. 23 (p. 117, 13).
    24 (p. 119, 3).
    104 C. 25 (p. 120, 7) latine scilicet.
    <sup>197</sup> C. 14 (p. 111, 6).
    Vide infra p. 146.
    160 Cf. c. 25 (p. 120, 2) Ros pro Romas.
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 130 Ea potissimum exempla exhibeo, ubi B cum deterioribus libris stirpis γ facit, ut quisque pro se iudicare possit num B aliquam artiorem necessitudinem cum his libris habeat. Ego quidem talem necessitudinem agnoscere nequeo, neque meo iudicio haec conspiratio quicquam probat, nisi eadem fere compendia saeculi quinti decimi parte posteriore usitata esse, atque librarios inscios et oscitantes saepius in eis explicandis eosdem errores fecisse.

¹¹¹ Sic Decembrius. Vide supra p. 60.

	В	DVL ω
c. 2, p. 100, 17	foramine $(=K)$	foramen
20	ad hec $(= ad haec C \Delta Q)$	adhuc (ad h ^c H)
p. 101, 4		punicum
9	philoconiü $(=\gamma)$	Philocomum (Phylocomum N phylocomum W)
c. 3, p. 101, 15	istilio $(=H)$	istilo ω stillo K stilo Q
c. 4, p. 103, 6	Corq (=Corne- liusque HUCQ)	Cornelius (Cornellius K) quoque (om . quoque Δ)
17	et istum illum (= H U)	et (ne D om. F) illum
c. 8, p. 106, 13	enniclencorum	Ennii (enni W m.1 V emnii O enim C Δ .n. H .i. U) elenchorum (elencorum L elnthorū I elleutorum K elinchorum U)
c.9, p. 107, 5	omni occasione ¹¹³ $(=Wm.2)$	omni in occasione ω omni sermone γ praeter \mathbf{Q}
c. 10, p. 108, 1	•	notus L G notus N notus V natus (nactus K om. U Δ P) ω
3	scripta dicta	scripta ω dicta Δ
	translationibus al- ter cato ut non nulli ¹¹⁸	translationibus
c. 14, p. 111, 8	M. Tulii Ciceronis	M. (Marci N G I magister L Q) Ciceronis (Cyceronis W)
c. 18, p. 114, 3	crassibius	Crassitius (crassicius K)
c. 18, p. 114, 9		coniugio hanc uel coniugio hocii4
c. 20, p. 115, 3	.C. augusti	Augusti uel augusti (aug: C)
c. 20, p. 115, 7	multi uocabant quedam	multi quidam (quidem O W N G I)
10	claudio	Clodio uel clodio (.C. D)
13	cloctrina	doctrina
c. 21, p. 116, 3	om.	actatis uel etatis
c. 23, p. 116, 22	uincentinus (=H)	uicetinus W uicentinus (uiccentinus G) ω
117, 14	inclusit	indulsit
c. 25, p. 119, 11		etiam
p. 120, 4		censores

Vide infra p. 144.
 Caput quod sequitur incipit: Publius uallerius cato etc.
 Vide supra p. 102.

	В	DVLω
c. 25, p. 120, 10	om. $(= \mathbf{Q})$	maiorum (malorum Δ)
12	• • • •	uidetur
p. 121, 2	om.	quoque
5	om.	causam ω cam L K H U causas D
c. 25, p. 121, 7	om.	bello
p. 122, 11	sicut certe et col-	sic (si W & sic K H U C Δ) certe col-
	lecte	lectae (uel collecte) (collaecte C)
c. 26, p. 123, 9	dolobelam	dolebam
c. 28, p. 124, 14	epidicus	Epidius (Epilius U)
14	epidico	Epidio ¹¹⁵
c. 30, p. 126, 10	incesserat	incessebat (incessabat W & P)

Harum lectionum complures sine dubio uelut c. 10 (p. 107, 5) omni occasione, 116 c. 14 (p. 111, 8) M. Tullii Ciceronis, c. 18 (p. 114, 9) anno hoc, c. 20 (p. 115, 3) .C. augusti, c. 20 (p. 115, 10) claudio, c. 25 (p. 119, 11) esse, c. 25 (p. 122, 11) sicut certe et collecte, c. 28 (p. 124, 14) epidicus, epidico (ob epidici nomen l. 13), 117 c. 30 (p. 126, 10) incesserat, eidem uiro docto, qui bonas lectiones supra (p. 118 sq.) exhibitas restituit, attribuendae sunt, sed in magna parte earum nihil nisi inconsultam deprauationem a stulto illo librario qui ipsum B exarauit admissam uidebis. Quo autem pacto illa duo genera lectionum in B in concordiam redigi possunt? Meo iudicio fieri non potest, si B ex ipso β transcriptum esse censemus. Persuasum igitur habeo inter B et β alterum quendam librum multo praestantiorem quam ipsum B intercedere, quem librum a uiro certe non indocto exaratum esse. Sed ne quis me in re dubia nimium praestare existimet, certissima testis editio quam Incertam nomino nobis adest. De fontibus eius editionis infra (p. 159 sq.) disseram, atque demonstrabo ut spero, codicem B esse apographon ipsius β non posse.

3. Codices D V L e communi Archetypo deperdito λ profluxisse demonstrantur

Artius est uinculum quod codices D V L coniungit, ita ut cuiuis appareat duo fuisse codicis β apographa, unum librum illum e quo B transcriptus sit, alterum, quem in stemmate λ nomino, e quo D V L ortus ducant. Quam opinionem has lectiones peculiares codicum D V L confirment:

¹¹⁶ Vide supra p. 47.

¹¹⁶ Vide infra p. 146.

¹¹⁷ Vide supra p. 104.

¹¹⁸ D indice caret.

D /	7 L	Βω
c. 1, p. 100, 8	preallegabant V preallegabant V preallegabat corr. eadem man. ut uid. L	plegebant B praelegebant ω prelegebant O U perlegebant Δ Q praelegabant W
c. 4, p. 103, 7	quidem uulgo (= U Q)	uulgo quidem
c. 4, p. 103, 25	iam ¹¹⁹ (= Q)	iam tam ω in tam N G I tam O W H iam tum U
c. 12, p. 110, 17	filioque L filiosque D	filio quoque
18	Quasi ¹⁹⁰ V quasi D L	q̃ cum lineola transuersa per q litter- am B quare (Qr M) ω
c. 21, p. 116, 1	Augusto et V augusto et (=I) L augusti et D	Augusto etiam (om. C Δ Q) B ω
c. 24, p. 119, 3	$\mathrm{uel}^{121} (=0)$	et B ω
c. 25, p. 121, 11	profluit D V (=	profluxit
,	Q) profluit corr. m. 3 L	
p. 122, 17	affuit (=adfuit Q)	infuit (fuit Η U C Δ)
c. 27, p. 124, 3	et V L & D (= 0 Q)	ac
c. 30, p. 126, 4	$adornate (= \mathbf{Q})$	adoranter
13	sui (= Q)	sua (<i>om</i> . Δ)
15	personalem $(= \mathbf{Q})$	proconsulem BOWUC procos. GIK procons. MH proconsule Δ porcos. N
p. 127, 3	yspeü ¹²² V ispeum D ipseü L	9spectu B conspectu ω

Huc adde quod c. 5 (p. 104, 21) obisse (= W G Q), c. 15 (p. 112, 13) perceptisque¹³³ (= O N correcta lectio in Q), D V L Hersfeldensis codicis scripturas conservare uidentur, ubi B in eosdem errores ac ceteri fere codices delapsus est.

- 139 Vide supra p. 83.
- 250 Perperam Reiff. in apparatu.
- ma Vide supra p. 92.
- E compendio 9spess corruptum.
- 133 Lectio duplex perceptisque: praeceptisque in archetypo.

4. CODEX D ET EDITIO FLORENTINA A. 1478 TRACTANTVR

Quaedam est confusio in codicis D testimoniis, ut saepius animaduertere potuisti. Namque c. 4 (p. 103, 20) bonam lectionem titulo 124 cum X et Gm. 1, c. 25 (p. 122, 22) Res cognita est¹²⁵ cum X (recognita est W) N Gm.2, c. 30 (p. 127, 1) excanduisset¹³⁶ cum X et B exhibet. C. 2 (p. 101, 8) lucili, cum solo V genetiuum una littera i scriptum ostendit, quamquam ceteris fere locis duplicem i praefert. 127 C. 3 (p. 103, 2) D solus, fortuito ut censeo, Sescenius una littera n scriptum ostendit, quae scriptura, si titulos sequimur, restituenda est. 128 C. 24 (p. 119, 4), ubi uix extrices utrum cum plurimos an cum plurimis in Hersfeldensi codice extaret, D meliorem scripturam cum plurimos praebet. 129 C. 3 (p. 102, 13) catulo et c. 9 (p. 107, 12) Varrone, D ueras lectiones contra ceterorum suae stirpis testimonia praebet. praecipue est hic codex insignis propterea quod c. 14 (p. 111, 12 sq.) in Ciceronis epistula ad Dolabellam nomen Niciae (l. 12) et uerba Graeca (l. 13) δβελίζει, et (l. 14) τοῦ ποιητοῦ παρεμβεβλημενοι (sic) e Cicerone restituta exhibet. Interpretationes Latinae etiam suprascriptae sunt: .i. poete. .homeri..interpositi. Vocula an (l. 14) in hoc ut in omnibus codicibus deest. Quibus additamentis certe ignoscendum est, sed non ita benigne de permultis aliis quae in eodem libro se habent iudicaueris. Nam codex D, quamquam est praestantior quam stirpis γ libri, si modo Venetum M excipias, neque tam inconsulta deprauatione quam B et I maculatus esse uidetur, interpolationibus tamen refertus est. Huius codicis librarius, uel potius librarius qui archetypum huius codicis exarauit, ut infra demonstrabo, permulta recta deprauauit. Interpolationes quae in inscriptionem introduxit supra (p. 116) uidisti. Summa libidine in nominibus propriis mutandis usus est, ut c. 3 (p. 102, 11) .L. pro Laeuius, c. 10 (p. 108, 8) .L. pro Laelium, c. 20 (p. 115, 10).C. pro Clodio, c. 25 (p. 121, 8) Ne. Ro. Caes. pro Nero Caesar, c. 2 (p. 101, 6) Varguntius pro Vargunteius, c. 10 (p. 107, 22) ATRIVS pro Ateius, c. 18 (p. 114, 14) .O. septimi 130 pro Q. Sexti. In tertia persona plurali perfecti actiui finem -ere pro -erunt saepe substituit: c. 25 (p. 120, 15) appetiuere, (p. 121, 10) edidere, (p. 122, 15)

¹⁸⁴ Vide supra p. 112.

¹⁵⁸ Vide supra p. 88; p. 90 sq.

¹³⁶ Vide supra p. 82; p. 119.

¹²⁷ Vide supra p. 65 sq.

¹⁵⁶ Vide Schulzium Laiein. Eigenn. p. 231, quem codicis L interpolatae lectioni fescennius aliquam auctoritatem attribuisse miror.

¹³⁰ Cum plurimis W N G V M Q cum plurimos O D L K U C cum plurim' I cum plurimi H cum plurimum Δ coplures B. Ihmius, l. c. p. 552, cum plurimis in Hersfeldensi libro fuisse iudicat, quod probabilius mihi uidetur. Idem cum plurimum restituendum censet. Cf. Aug. 78, 1; Dom. 7, 2; Tib. 38, cum longissime.

¹⁶⁰ Hoc et multa alia futilia huius librari ab Aldo ex editione Florentina 1478 sucepta sunt, atque in editionibus usque ad Oudendorpium, Wolfium, uel etiam Trossium locos obtinebant.

adiere, pepigere, 181 (1. 16) soluere. C. 20 (p. 115, 10 sq.) ubi Suetoni uerba sunt, qui eum admodum pauperem decessisse tradit et liberalitate sua quoad uixerit, sustentatum, librarius iste haec effecit: qui cum admodum pauper decessisset: tradit ex liberalitate sua quoad uixerit sustentatum. C. 11 (p. 109, 20) ubi codices recte 182 in summam pauperiem . . . inopiam proferunt, casum ablatiuum substituit, quae interpolatio uiris doctissimis ualde placuisse uidetur, cum lectionem ab Aldo susceptam, in summa pauperie et paene inopia,133 nemo ad hanc diem, quod sciam, correxerit. Sed librarius ille non satis habebat hanc interpolationem facere, sed etiam senectutem pro senectam, paupertate pro pauperie scripsit. (p. 116, 1) ubi corruptum quod elegantem (pro quo delegante) in exemplari legit, corruptelam sanare sibi uisus est quod eleganter scribens. Alias ineptias ab eodem librario admissas hic habes: c. 1 (p. 100, 7) graece pro Graecos; c. 3 (p. 101,16) quimanum pro optimatium; c. 4 (p. 103, 13) sigida pro tigida in exemplari, (p. 103, 16) grammatica: ne pro grammatista, et, (p. 103, 20) non temere quem non pro non temere quem, (p. 104, 5) uides pro uideo, (p. 104, 8) uero mane pro mane uero; c. 6 (p. 105, 8) Huic pro Huius; c. 10 (p. 109, 3) utque pro uitetque; c. 11 (p. 109, 10) poetas pro poeticam, (p. 109, 21) abductus pro abditus; c. 14 (p. 111, 16) haberi pro habere; c. 15 (p. 112, 6) ad telluris templum pro ad Télluris, (p. 112, 8) probum pro probi; c. 17 (p. 114, 1) facto pro fastos, (p. 114, 2) inciso publicaret pro incisos publicarat; c. 21 (p. 116, 7) trachatas pro trabeatas; c. 22 (p. 116, 20) glossamata pro glossemata; c. 23 (p. 117, 13) militem pro iudicem; c. 25 (p. 120, 13) ostendemus pro ostenderemus; c. 25 (p. 120, 5/13) uobis pro nobis; c. 25 (p. 122, 6) exsoluerunt pro exoluerint¹²⁴ in exemplari; c. 28 (p. 124, 16) scarni pro Sarni; c. 29 (p. 125, 10) assignati pro assignasti; c. 30 (p. 126, 2) densum pro demum. Multa quoque uerba omissa inuenies, ut c. 2 (p. 100, 16) Punicum, (l. 19) ad imitandum, (p. 101, 13) usus; c. 7 (p. 106, 6) ut hoc; c. 9 (p. 107, 4) post neglegentia, quod in hoc codice negligentiore scriptum est, uerba usque ad acerbae omissa; c. 10 (p. 108, 7) auditor; c. 14 (p. 111, 12) opinor; c. 22 (p. 116, 17) inde; c. 30 (p. 127, 5) ob uitium; et alia.

¹⁸ Vide supra p. 91 adn. 179.

¹²⁸ Haud dubitabo lectionem archetypi, Vixit . . . in summam pauperiem et paene inopiam restituere, cum luce clarius hoc ipsum dicere voluerit Suetonius. Nam Cato non semper pauper fuerat, quippe qui olim uillam Tusculanam haberet, sed in summam pauperiem uixit.

¹²⁸ Sic in **H** Δ solis. Vide infra p. 158; p. 177.

¹²⁴ Reifferscheidius recte exoluerunt edidit. exoleuerunt, quod primum apud Beroaldum animaduerti, a Statio Casaubono omnibusque sequentibus praeter Trossium editur. Non ignoro Priscianum (II 488, 20) perfectum exoleus huius uerbi proferre, sed nullam satis idoneam causam uideo, cur uim codicum fidei faciam. Ad Curtium III 13, 17 codices teste Heidicke exoluisse testantur, quod exoluisse non exoleuisse, ut uulgo editur, plane indicat. exoluere uel exsoluere apud Plaut. Bacch. 1135 in codicibus exhibetur. aboluerit in titulis (C. I. L. VI 10407c) semel inuenitur. Vide Neue, Formenlekre III² p. 378 sq.; p. 421.

Ad codicem D recte iudicandum editio Florentina a. 1478 testis pretiosissima nobis adest. Quae editio tam mirum in modum cum D conspirat ut paene existimes te unum atque eundem librum ante oculos habere. Easdem inscriptiones et subscriptiones exhibent, 185 easdem capitum et clausularum distinctiones, cuiusque capitis primum uerbum litteris maiusculis exaratum, ceterisque locis easdem litteras maiusculas, haec omnia communia habent. Quin etiam minutissimis rebus orthographis fere semper inter se conspirant. Cum in eis lectionibus omnibus stirpis β tum in eis librorum D V L propriis quas supra 186 exhibui editio Florentina semper cum D facit, nisi quod c. 12 (p. 110, 17) ubi D filiosque praebet, Florentina cum V L filioque testatur. Earum lectionum ipsius D propriarum, quas modo (p. 124 sq.) exposui, ne una quidem praeter uerba Graeca in Florentina editione deficit. Centum fere lectiones peculiares quae in D et editione Florentina solis inueniuntur enumeraui. Verba Graeca c. 14 (p. 111, 13-14) in Florentina deficiunt, sed spatia uacua rite relicta sunt, unde continuo apparet codicem D ex editione Florentina transcribi non potuisse. Quod si etiam dubium uidetur aliis exemplis¹⁸⁷ probare licet, cum c. 29 (p. 125, 9) codex D duo milia sic exprimat, .II.; in Florentina autem compendium in secundum resolutum sit. C. 8 (p. 106, 14) etiam sedecim milibus D sic, \overline{XVI} , profert; Florentina autem . VXI. testatur. Quae cum ita sint, facile animum induxeris Florentinam editionem codicis D esse apographon, quod tamen a uero abhorrere uidetur. Namque c. 28 (p. 124, 12-13) uerba sectam sequeretur, malle respondit Isaurici in D deficiunt, cuius corruptelae causa manifesta est, cum nomen Isaurici in l. 13 repetitum librario fraudes fecerit; editio Florentina tamen hunc locum integrum praebet. Item c. 4 (p. 103, 15) Florentina recte Grammaticumque, D (= U) falso grammaticum profert; c. 6 (p. 105, 4) Florentina cum libris scriptis consenuit: composuitque, D consenuitque (composuit om.) ostendit. Adde quod D has lectiones falsas praebet, ubi editio Florentina cum ceteris fere libris scriptis facit: c. 1 (p. 100, 7) aduotum est; c. 3(p. 102, 15) annis; c. 4 (p. 103, 23) LETERES 188 (w ETERES Florent.); c. 9 (p. 106, 17) QRBILIVS 138 (o RBILIVS



¹⁶⁶ Vide supra p. 116 sq. Inscriptioni uerbum FELICITER in editione Florentina deest.

¹⁸⁸ Vide supra p. 116 sq.; p. 122 sq.

¹⁸⁷ Paucae propriae lectiones in Florentina inueniuntur, quarum pars maxima typographorum erroribus debentur. Hae fere sunt: c. 4 (p. 104, 3) aethologias pro aetheologias in D, (p. 104, 12) aliquit; c. 5 (p. 104, 15) commetatores, (l. 19) postinus (postmus D); c. 9 (p. 107, 6) ut om., (p. 107, 4) habitum; c. 10 (p. 108, 5) adiurium; c. 14 (p. 111, 7) proditas, (p. 111, 11) Hirciam, (p. 111, 15) si om.; c. 15 (p. 112, 12) inerudissimum; c. 16 (p. 113, 2) Post inde; c. 17 (p. 113, 20) heniculum; c. 18 (p. 114, 4) pausa (pausam D I K), (p. 114, 11) Iniam pro Intima, extiterunt; c. 25 (p. 120, 6) iuuentus ad quos, (p. 120, 13) placet; c. 28 (p. 124, 14) nunciono. Duobus locis bonas lectiones praebet Florentina: c. 28 (p. 124, 13) epidi (epidici in libris praeter N G I Lm.3 C Δ); c. 29 (p. 125, 4) obicit (= O W B K).

¹⁸⁸ Hinc colligitur miniatorem in D uix eundem fuisse qui librum exarauerit.

Florent.); c. 10 (p. 108, 17) tam pro tamen; c. 12 (p. 110, 17) filiosque (filioque Florent.); 139 c. 14 (p. 111, 8) interdum est, (1. 9) deo (pro de eo); c. 20 (p. 115, 9) socios; c. 21 (p. 116, 1) augusti, (l. 2) ordinatum; c. 26 (p. 123, 6) si refert, (l. 9) continebatur; c. 27 (p. 124, 2) doneo; c. 29 (p. 125. 6) uelleret. Quae cum ita sint, nemo putabit editionem Florentinam apographon esse codicis D, sed quisque libenter concedet Florentinam et D eiusdem patris esse gemellos. Ipse D igitur non est apographon codicis A, communis archetypi140 codicum D V L, sed alter quidam liber iam diu deperditus inter D et à intercedit. Ego quidem uerisimillimum puto duos libros inter D et à intercedere, cum meo iudicio uir ille doctus qui Graeca e Cicerone suppleuerit, catulo, titulo et alia bene restituerit, omnes eas interpolationes ineptissimas, quae etiam in codicis D archetypo¹⁴¹ erant, numquam admittere potuerit.¹⁴² opinionem, cum argumenta certissima desint, non persequar.

Hauniensis codicis archetypum Vaticani 1862 esse apographon olim suspicabar, cum c. 3 (p. 101, 16) in V uerbum optimatium ita scriptum est ut litterae op pro go a librario imperito facile capi potuerint, et corruptum illud quimanum in D inde profectum esse tibi persuadeas. C. 30 (p. 126, 2) autem D corruptelam densum profert, quae originem in compendio demū, quod est in V, habere potuit, cum ille ductus cum praecedente littera m ita coniunctus sit ut in ipso V densum paene legi uideatur. 148 Cui tamen opinioni non iam suffragor, sed potius existimem librarium V, quippe qui exemplar suum religiosissime transcripserit, his locis quos dixi ipsam scripturae formam repetisse. Codicis D archetypum ex V transcriptum esse credere hae discrepantiae, quae non in D exortae sunt, sed ad ipsum Hersfeldensem librum ual saltem ad codicem Y referendae sunt. nos uetant 144

nbrum uei saite	m ad codicem 1 reier	endae sunt, nos uet
c. 3, p. 102, 1	conductus in con- ductos mut. 145	conductos
c. 14, p. 111, 13		criticus molliciam
c. 16, p. 112, 10		Satti
c. 17, p. 113, 1	7 Catilinae	Catuline
c. 18, p. 114, 1	l uota	nota
120 Vide supra	р. 123.	

- 140 Vide supra p. 122.
- 141 Vide supra p. 124 sq.



¹⁴ Haec opinio illo ipso loco, ubi uerba Graeca restituta sunt, confirmari uidetur, cum is qui tanto esset studio, ut Ciceronem adhiberet, voculam an uix omissurus esset.

¹⁴⁹ Item c. 21 (p. 115, 16) D datus est muneri pro muneri datus est testatur. Idem uerborum ordo in V scriptus est, sed eadem manus ut censeo, cum secundam manum in V non nouerim, genuinum ordinem indicauit.

¹⁴⁴ Vide supra p. 95 sq.

¹⁴⁵ Lectio duplex in Hersfeldensi; uide supra p. 79 sq. 146 Vide supra p. 75.

Firmius etiam argumentum in c. 4 (p. 103, 8) inueni, ubi in codicibus B D uerbum aliquid omissum est, codices V L autem diligenter aliquid pro aliquid diligenter testantur. Vnde cuiuis apparet uerbum aliquid in β, communi archetypo librorum B D V L, ita incertae fuisse sedis, ut ex B D omnino delapsum sit, in V L autem alieno loco restitutum sit. 147 Adde quod c. 4 (p. 104, 10) V grammatici (= B I) testatur, D cum ceteris libris (grammatice G) grammaticis exhibet.

5. DE CODICIBVS V L ET PRAECIPVE DE CORRECTORIS MANV IN L DISSERITVR

Leidensis codex, ut supra (p. 32) dixi, apographon illius codicis deperditi est, quem a. 1460 exarauit Iouianus Pontanus. Quaerendum est utrum Pontani codex, Hauniensis codicis archetypum, Vaticanus 1862, quasi tres filii codicis à habendi sint, an artior aliqua necessitudo inter Pontani librum et Vaticanum sit statuenda. B. Seppius¹⁴⁸ Leidensem codicem (quem ipsum a Pontano transcriptum iudicauit) Vaticani 1862 esse apographon demonstrare conatus est, sed nihil probauit nisi hos duos codices simillimos esse, quod quidem nemo umquam negauit. Pontani exemplar Vaticani esse apographon non credo, sed nolo Reifferscheidium et Wissowam hanc rem probauisse. Ille¹⁴⁹ quidem Trossi socordia ad falsa concludenda inductus unum solum infelicissimum exemplum ad opinionem suam confirmandam protulit. Nam c. 2 (p. 100, 15), cum Trossius de Leidensis lectione tacuisset, neque Ritschelius uerum declarasset, Reifferscheidius Leidensem codicem sic ut ceteros ac hoc loco testari et solum V lectionem falsam et exhibere existimauit. Sed re uera et non solum in V sed etiam in L B D, h. e. tota stirpe β , legitur, ut supra (p. 117) indicaui. Wissowa Pontani codicem Vaticani esse apographon negauit, sed quo pacto id probauisse sibi uisus sit, prorsus nescio. 180 Reifferscheidium Wissowamque nihilo minus ueram protulisse opinionem existimo, quam ad confirmandam nonnulla argumenta repperi. Hae lectionum discrepantiae inter L et V demonstrare mihi uidentur L nullo modo ex V deriuari potuisse.

	L		V
c. 4, p. 104, 10	grammaticis	grammatici	
c. 10, p. 108, 15	uendicauit	uindicauit	
c. 14, p. 111, 13	criticus (e ab ea-	criticus	
	dem manu)		

147 Non infitior quandam esse confusionem non semel tantum in testimoniis codicum **B** et **D**, quam extricare nequeo. Si *aliquid* in codice β primitus omissum deinde in margine uel supra uersum scriptum erat, quod factum esse puto, existimemus necesse est, codicem λ ex quo fluxerunt **D** V L eundem errorem qui fuisset in β transcripsisse, h. e. *aliquid* in margine uel supra uersum reliquisse.

¹⁴⁸ Philologus LXII (1903) p. 292 sq.

¹⁰ Quaest. Suet. p. 414.

¹⁸⁹ Wissowa, op. cit. p. XVIII ad. fin.

- L V
c. 16, p. 112, 16 Satti (r ab eadem Satti
manu)
p. 113, 8 uersiculis (corr. in uersicul'
uersiculus m.3)
c. 28, p. 124, 14 mācino Nuncino

Has lectiones in Pontani exemplari uel in ipso L originem haduisse non credo. Satti ad ipsum Hersfeldensem, 151 criticus, mancino uel ad Hersfeldensem¹⁴² uel saltem ad codicem Y referenda esse, ut opinor, iam demons straui. In stirpe \(\beta \) solus \(V \) uindicauit testatur, \(B \) \(D \) cum \(L \) uendicauti exhibent, ita ut haec lectio codici \(\beta \) si non ipsi \(Y \), cum tota stirps \(\alpha \) quoque uendicauit ostendat, referenda sit. Grammatici librario V, ut mihi uidetur, attribuendum est, cum alibi non nisi in B I inueniatur. Quid, quod Pontanus hoc loco interpolationem introduxit, cum praepositionem e ante ludo scripsit, quod uix facturus erat, si grammatici in eo exemplari, quo usus est, inuenisset? Versiculis non nisi in L B Q se habet, 153 sed dubito an hoc sorti attribui possit, cum, nisi fallor, haec lectio uel sine libris restituenda sit. Namque si totum locum examinaueris, omnes codices melioris notae¹⁸⁴ in Domiti Marsi uersiculo uerbum Et ante Epirota exhibere perspicies. Quod certe in uersu metro inuito stare non potest, neque tamen meo iudicio uox nihili habendum est. Mihi quidem clarius luce apparet Suetonium non unum sed duos uersiculos protulisse, quorum prior de Epitora Vergili interprete ageret, alter eiusdem in aliis poetis nouis interpretandis studia commemoraret. Prior autem uersus delapsus est; uocula te quae olim duos uersiculos iungebat tamquam pars alterius uersus in textu permansit. Locum sic restituo: 155 quod etiam Domiti Marsi uersiculis indicat < ur>:

< • • • • > Et:

Epirota, tenellorum nutricula uatum.

Altera autem est quaestio utrum V L filii an nepotes codicis λ habendi sint, cum hi duo nonnullas lectiones, quae in D et ceteris fere libris non inueniuntur, habeant. Nil haereo in c. 25 (p. 122, 22) Rescogniti sunt¹⁵⁶ et c. 30 (p. 127, 1) excanduisse et ut,¹⁵⁷ cum his locis V L codicis Y lectiones seruare putem. C. 25 (p. 119, 10) etiam paululo (= X M C) testantes genuinam lec-

¹⁶¹ Vide supra, p. 75.

¹⁸² Vide supra p. 97; p. 101.

¹⁸⁸ In Q sine dubio e Pontani codice acceptum. Vide infra p. 180 sq. Codex K uersiculi exhibet, ceteri omnes uersiculus.

¹⁵⁴ In interpolatioribus libris H C Δ Q Et omissum est. In L tertia manus deleuit.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. c. 12 (p. 110, 8) et rursus:

¹⁵⁶ Vide supra p. 91.

¹⁵⁷ Vide supra p. 107.

tionem exhibere mihi uidentur. Neque argumentum e M. Melissus pro C. Melissus in indice (p. 98, 19) deduci potest, cum in D index deficiat. Sunt tamen nonnullae aliae lectiones quae indicare uidentur alterum codicem inter V L et \(\lambda\) ponendum esse. Ouae fere sunt: c. 3 (p. 102, 9) Precia V (=GIC) pcia L (=K) pro pretia; c. 4 (p. 103, 8) diligenter aliquid pro aliquid diligenter, cuius erroris originem supra (p. 128) docui; c. 7 (p. 105, 14) Scytkabachionis; 158 c. 8 (p. 106, 16) autoris; c. 11 (109, 2) autor; c. 11 (p. 110, 15) crateris V (= M K U Q) crateri L; c. 14 (p. 111, 18) molliciam, 100 (p. 111, 9) Dolabellam¹⁶¹ (= a K); c. 17 (p. 113, 18) sestertia (= N Gm.2 H) pro sextertia in ceteris, (p. 115, 19) condicionem (= \mathbb{K}); c. 25 (p. 120, 3) .Gn. (= \mathbb{H} Q). Sed haec exempla maximam partem ad orthographiam pertinent, et uehementer dubito an quisquam de hac re ad certum iudicium ueniat. Neque infitior temporis rationem tam multos codices inter Pontani exemplar et Hersfeldensem codicem intercedere negare uideri. Cum Decembrius codicem Hersfeldensem a. 1455 Romae uidit, Agricola nondum recisus erat, quod demonstrare uidetur duo apographa X et Y postea transcripta esse, cum Agricola, quod iudicare possimus, in neutro locum obtineret. Pontanus autem librum suum anno 1460 exscripsit. Quae cum ita sint, haud scio an temere tam multos libros per hos quinque annos scriptos esse, ut Pontani codex non quarto sed quinto etiam gradu ex Hersfeldensi proflueret, statuamus. Tutius igitur uisum est codices V L et codicis D archetypum ut primo gradu e codice λ emanantes in stemmate indicare.

Codex Vaticanus 1862 insigne nobis ostendit exemplum studi et peritiae librari alicuius qui interpolationibus omnino uel fere abstinens exemplar suum religiosissime exscripsit et uix unum quidem errorem admisit. Ne unum quidem uerbum omissum, nisi ea quae in eius archetypo deficiebant, in hoc codice inuenies, et uitiis sui ipsius propriis adeo caret, ut affirmare non dubitem, si libellus Suetonianus unius solius codicis opera restituendus esset, hunc codicem ceteris praeferendum fuisse. Quae cum ita sint, non magnopere miror Reifferscheidium singulari eius bonitate et sinceritate captatum ducem primarium in Suetonio recensendo repperisse sibi uisum esse. Neque ipse codex V, etiam si nullo modo eiusdem est preti ac Reifferscheidius iudicauit, est incusandus, sed multo magis maiorum peccatis laborare habendus est. Haec codicis sinceritas eo magis est admiranda, quo eius librarius interpolationem uelut professus est, quippe qui ad Dialogi finem scripserit: "Ego tantum repperi et meliusculum feci." Sed sine dubio cum Michaelisio iudicare debemus uim huius enuntiati in illo deminutiuo latere. Quo igitur referendum est illud meliusculum? Hunc librarium c. 4 (p.

¹⁵⁸ Vide supra p. 117.

¹²⁰ Cf. tamen c. 30 (p. 127, 4) auctorem V autorem L.

¹⁸ Vide supra p. 98.

¹⁶¹ Vide supra p. 104.

104, 10) grammatici e grammaticis correxisse, c. 10 (p. 108, 15) suae sectae scripturam uendicauit respuentem uindicauit restituisse, fortasse etiam c. 16 (p. 113, 8) uersiculus pro uersiculis scripsisse supra iudicaui. C. 2 (p. 100, 18) ualetudinis (= 0 Wm.1) pro ualitudinis bene scripsit. Propriam orthographiae rationem passim secutus esse uidetur, ut c. 4 (p. 103, 26) nichilo; c. 14 (p. 111, 9) Nichil (= I); c. 24 (p. 118, 13) nichilo (= I); c. 29 (p. 125, 11) michil; c. 14 (p. 111, 17, p. 112, 2) michi; c. 26 (p. 123, 9) michi. Quandam antiquitatem affectare uoluit c. 2 (p. 101, 1) diuolgata (= M C); c. 8 (p. 106, 15) nolgandosque (= B Q nolgatosque M F); c. 25 (p. 119, 5) nolgares (= M C) scribens, quas formas quamquam in Hersfeldensi codice se habere vix potuerunt, et a Suetoni aetatis usu abhorrent, Reifferscheidius huius codicis auctoritate fretus edere non dubitauit. Multi alii loci aperte demonstrant librarium V orthographiam exemplaris summa religione non secutum esse, ut c. 2 (p. 101, 7) pronunciabation (= K H); c. 3 (p. 102, 14) Efitio (=Q) pro Aeficio (aefitio W efficio B); c. 4 (p. 103, 6) Cor.; 164 c. 11 (p. 109, 19) Dyctinna 165 (=M); c. 11 (p. 109, 21) Thusculana (=K), (p. 110, 9) Thusculanum (=K); c. 17 (p. 113, 16) palacium, (p. 113, 19) Tyberio (=0 I K Q); c. 22 (p. 116, 15) Tyberium (=H Q Tyberius O); c. 23 (p. 117, 4) Tyberio (= 0 H Q); c. 23 (p. 118, 5) ablygurire; c. 25 (p. 120, 3) Enobarbus (= K H U C Δ Q) pro Aenobarbus in exemplari, (p. 120, 4) renunciatum (= K H); c. 25 (p. 121, 3) Gneum (= Gn. B L M K H Q); c. 29 (p. 124, 20) amicicia (= G B H). Idem librarius V saepius in bonam partem orthographiam uel mutauit uel ueram scripturam reliquit: index (p. 99, 6) Albucius (= X); c. 2 (p. 101, 8) Saturas (= W NIHC); c. 14 (p. 111, 11) Niciam (= ONDKU), (p. 111, 15) Nicia (= O **W D N M U** Δ); c. 17 (p. 113, 20) hemicyclium¹⁰⁰ (= **N** G); c. 20 (p. 115, 3) $H_{yginus}(=B)$; 167 c. 30 (p. 126, 12) condicionem (= W), (p. 127, 7) contionantis (= 0 W N H C \(\Delta \)). Hunc codicem ueram formam una littera i scriptam genetiui singularis eorum nominum propriorum, quorum nominatiuus singularis in -ius desinit, fere semper adhibere, saepius cum W consentientem, nonnumquam etiam contra ceterorum omnium testimonia supra (p. 65) demonstraui. Sed nullo modo in libro tam longe a communi archetypo remoto, praesertim cum tam multas formas consulte immutatas praebeat, pro certo iudicare possis tales bonas scripturas ex ipso Hersfeldensi manauisse. Animaduerte quoque praepositionum in uerbis compositis sincere scriptarum, quae fere certo iudicio Hersfeldensi codici uindicari possunt, nullum

¹⁶ Vide supra p. 129.

¹⁶⁰ Perperam Reifferscheidius testimonia librorum O N G I in apparatu profert.

¹⁰⁴ Non notat Reifferscheidius in apparatu.

¹⁶⁵ Vide supra p. 108.

¹⁶⁶ Vide supra p. 104.

¹⁶⁷ Vide supra p. 99.

exemplum nisi quae in compluribus aliis codicibus inueniuntur ¹⁶⁸ praebet V. Praeterea una i in tertia persona singulari perfecti actiui in talibus uerbis qualia petit, praeter c. 9 (p. 106, 21) repetit, ubi omnes libri praeter L K (om. U) hanc formam conseruant, nusquam in V apparet. ¹⁶⁹ Neque talem formam qualis est obicit hoc in codice inuenies. ¹⁷⁰ Errores quos librarii inconsulto uulgo facerent, in hoc codice tantum non uidebis. Vnum solum deprehendi, in indice (p. 99, 16) Flabius, nisi quod c. 9 (p. 107, 11) in stestimonium primitus scripto prior s postea deleta est; c. 21 (p. 115, 16) datus est muneri scriptum est, signis supra positis ad uerum ordinem indicandum; c. 25 (p. 120, 12) facieundum littera e uirgula inducta inuenitur; c. 26 (p. 123, 12) quadam in quā est correctum.

Codex Leidensis, quamquam uerbis omissis¹⁷¹ fere caret, neque eis uitiis quae e librari imperitia aut neglegentia oriuntur maculatus est, manus emendatrices Iouiani Pontani aliorumque doctorum Italorum satis multis locis perpessus est. Vt uerbis Wissowae utar: "Primarium codicis Leidensis pretium in eo constitutum est, quod insigne nobis praebet documentum studiorum a doctis Italis renascentium litterarum aeuo in transscribendis explicandis emendandis scriptoribus antiquis nuper repertis positorum." Interpolationes uel correctiones in hoc codice tripertite distinguendae sunt; primo quas in ipsius Leidensis archetypum suscepit Pontanus, deinde quas fecit librarius ipsius L, qui et ipse vir doctus fuisse uidetur; denique quae posterioribus correctoribus debentur.

Nullam certam legem ad diiudicandum quae in hoc libro lectiones peculiares Pontano, quae autem ipsius codicis L librario debeantur, inuenio. Wissowa (p. XXVI) eas emendationes quas librarius L post librum scriptum fecit non Pontani esse coniecturas sed ab ipso librario propositas esse omni probabilitate coniecit; sed contrarium, omnes lectiones in textu se habentes Pontano attribui debere, non sequitur.¹⁷³ Manus emendatrix ab ipsa inscriptione orsa est, ubi pro De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus, De uiris illustribus substituit,¹⁷⁴ et alia mutauit.¹⁷⁵ Subscriptio quoque, Amplius repertum non est ad huc. desunt rhetores XI a pristina forma longe discedit. Wissowa (p. XXIII) librarium L orthographiae rationem Pontanianam

¹⁶⁶ Vide supra p. 66.

¹⁰⁰ Excipiendum est c. 5 (p. 104, 21) obisse (= W D L G Q).

¹⁷⁰ Vide supra p. 67.

¹⁷¹ Verba omissa in L praeter ea quae in tota stirpe β (uide supra p. 118) deficiunt haec sunt: c. 4 (p. 103, 23) et (= C Δ Q); c. 7 (p. 105, 20) adhuc; c. 9 (p. 106, 21) non; c. 23 (p. 118, 3) qui eum (qui cum eum Reiff.)

¹⁷³ Op. cit. p. XXXII.

¹⁷³ Vide infra p. 181 ad fin.

¹⁷⁶ Hoc Pontano attribuendum est, ut nota illa marginalis ad libri initium (uide supra p. 19) docet.

¹⁷⁶ Vide supra p. 116; p. 61 sq.

nobis ex autographis operum eius libris et ex eius tractatu de aspiratione sub idem fere tempus, quo haec opuscula exarauit, composito cognitam secutum esse iudicauit. Haec fere uel Pontanus uel ipsius codicis L librarius bene emendauit: 176 c. 4 (p. 103, 13) ticida pro tigida; c. 10 (p. 108, 3) sallustii pro salustii, (p. 108, 8) Laelium (= M F Lelium G I U) pro Lelium, (p. 108, 21) sallustium pro salustium, (p. 109, 2) sallustio pro salustio; c. 11 (p. 110, 4) sit sapientiam (= H Q F) pro sapientiam sit, (p. 110, 5) cauliculi pro calculi; 177 c. 21 (p. 116, 4) iocorum pro locorum; 178 c. 22 (p. 116, 19) Gallus (= a H U Q) pro gallius; c. 23(p. 117, 14) pepercisse pro parcisse; c. 25(p. 119, 13) messala (= Q) pro sala, (p. 122, 6) exoluerunt (= H U exsoluerunt D)¹⁷⁹ pro exoluerint. Pauca alia haud inepte, sed dubito an uere correcta sunt: c. 6 (p. 105, 4) simul (= U Q) pro simulque; 180 c. 11 (p. 110, 2) custodis pro custodes: 181 c. 21 (p. 116, 5) inscribuntur (= G) pro scribuntur; c. 27 (p. 124, 1) otacilius pro Oltacilius. 188 Multa plura temere mutata sunt, quae omnia hic proferre non est operae pretium. Praenomina in capitum initiis semper exscripta sunt; c. 12 (p. 110, 16) Corn. (= Cor. 0) pro Cornelii; c. 14 (p. 111, 5) Gn. (= Q Gneo U F) pro Cn.; c. 17 (p. 113, 15) Aug. pro Augusto ineniuntur. Alia exempla hic habes: Index (p. 99, 2) pilatus pro pilutus; c. 3 (p. 102, 6) Post hos pro Post hoc, 184 (p. 102, 11) Leneus 185 pro Leuius; c. 4 (p. 104, 6) reputo (= Q) pro repeto, (p. 104, 10) e grammaticis statim e ludo pro e grammaticis statim ludo; 186 c. 7 (p. 105, 14) dionis pro Dionysi, (p. 106,

 $^{^{170}}$ Secundo loco eas lectiones profero, quas Pontanus uel librarius L in exemplari quo usus est legere debebat.

¹⁷⁷ Vide supra p. 97.

¹⁷⁶ Vide supra p. 118.

¹⁷⁹ Vide supra p. 125 adn. 134.

¹⁰⁰ Trossius, Osannus, Rothius huius codicis auctoritate simul ediderunt; Reisferscheidius simulque restituit, sed locus ut nunc stat uix legi potest. Vahlenus in exemplari Reisferscheidiano suo, c. 8 (p. 106, 11) ibique in otio uixit et multa composuit conferens, comma post consenuit deleuit ita, ut hic sensus siat: simul et consenuit et composuit. Sed, ni omnia me fallunt, simul non ad sequentia sed ad Rutilium referendum est, nam Rutilius quoque Smyrnae consenuit, ut est apud Orosium V 17, 12-13: "Rutilius quoque uir integerrimus . . . qui Smyrnam commigrans litterarum studiis intentus consenuit." Mihi quidem haud dubium uidetur lacunam post Smyrnae statuendam esse, quam sic sere expleam: ibidem Smyrnae <uixit una familiarissime> (cf. c. 16, p. 112, 19) simulque consenuit; composuitque . . . G. Kruger, Neue Jahrbb. LXXXV (1862) p. 852, uerba sic transponere uoluit: in Asiam secutus Zmyrnae consenuit simulque ibidem composuit.

¹⁸¹ Ios. Scaliger, Pithoeus, Burmannus Iun., Weichertus in Anthologiis, quos secutus est Reifferscheidius, sic ediderunt: Custodes uidet hortuli Priapos. Statius custodis proposuit, quod Casaubonus omnesque sequentes ediderunt. Cum Hersfeldensis lectio nullo modo stare possit, prior emendandi ratio longe praestantior mihi uidetur.

¹⁸² Videsupra p. 111 adn. 65.

¹⁸³ Vide supra p. 93 sq.

¹⁸⁴ Vide supra adn. 176.

¹⁸⁵ Vide infra p. 181.

¹³⁶ Vide supra p. 129.

3) Atteius pro Ateius; c. 14 (p. 111, 8) magr (= magister Q) pro M., (p. 111, 13) obelixi (= Q) pro obelizi; c. 17 (p. 114, 1) publicauerat pro publicarat; c. 27 (p. 124, 3) studia pro studium; c. 30 (p. 126, 5) tam non pro tantum non, (p. 126, 10) optulisset (= G) pro obtulisset. C. 30 (p. 127, 3) corruptum illud yspea'87 in ipsea immutauit Pontanus, scilicet ut Latino uerbo simi'ius uideretur, ut est Reifferscheidi opinio. C. 28 (p. 124, 14) dubito an recte mācino¹⁸⁸ Pontani coniecturae attribuerit Wissowa (p. XX).

Librarius qui ipsum Leidensem exarauit nonnullos errores quos in scribendo fecerat, uel inter scribendum uel in relegendo correxit: c. 4 (p. 104,9) patrum niorū pro patrum scripsit, deinde niorū ut delendum lineola supposita notauit; c. 6 (p. 105, 10) duas lias scripsit, lias statim perleuit; c. 9 (p. 106, 18) peremptorū primitus scripsit, deinde per induxit et iter supra uersum addidit. Idem librarius post librum scriptum miniatoris officio functus est, quae omnia accuratissime in commentatione sua (p. XXVI sq.) descripsit Georgius Wissowa.¹⁸⁹

Nonnullas etiam coniecturas suo Marte temptauit librarius L. C. 1 (p. 100, 8) corruptam lectionem codicum D V L propriam preallegabant tribus punctis suppositis ut delendam notauit, atque ueram formam plegebāt supra uersum restituit; c. 1 (p. 100, 7) ubi corruptum adnotum est Pontanus at notum ê scribens etiam corruptius effecerat, uoculam at, cui primitus crucem desperationis adfixerat, perleuit atque ac supra uersum inter ê et

¹⁸⁷ Vide supra p. 123.

¹⁸⁸ Vide supra p. 101.

¹⁰⁰ Minus tamen accurate huius librari opus in M. Epidi uita (c. 28) enarrauisse mihi uidetur Wissowa haec (p. XXVII adn. 1) scribens: "f. 58r cum M. Epidii vitam (c. 28) a praecedente separare in scribendo neglexisset, postea litteram initialem in medio versu miniavit." Namque librarius Epidi uitam a praecedente separare neglexisse uix dici potest, siquidem cum in exemplari quo usus est hic librarius tum in ipso Hersfeldensi codice nullum erat caput boc loco a praecedente distinctum. In omnibus libris nostris melioris notae distinctionis signa post solitam ita posita sunt, ut locus sic legatur: solitam. Ad id tempus Epidius (praenomine M. omisso). Codices B K C H autem nulla omnino distinctionis signa habent, cum in I tale quid locum obtinet: solita/Ad id tps. Epidius. Sed caput a praecedente distinctum in solo G inuenitur, cuius librarius ab exemplaris sui memoria discessisse plane coarguitur, cum primitus Ad in eodem uersu ac uerba praecedentia scripserit, deinde uerbo Ad radendo deleto in uersu sequente AD ID TEMPVS EPIDIVS litteris maiusculis scribens nouum caput indicauerit. Hoc loco in Leidensi codice phototypice depicto saepius examinato compertum habeo librarium Leandem rationem ac librarium Golim secutum caput a praecedente distinctum confecisse. Nam in promptu est uerbum ad primum uersus locum obtinens in rasura supra litteram maiusculam D scriptum esse, et litterae maiusculae A a sinistra ex ordine in marginem extantis uestigia satis distincta apparere. Quae cum ita sint, librarius primitus ADid tempus epidius scripsit, deinde, si Wissowa librarium et miniatorem unum atque eundem fuisse recte iudicauit, uerbo AD radendo deleto ad supra D in rasura scripsit; item litteram e in epidius, cuius uestigia etlam decerni possunt, erasit atque litteram maiusculam E minio supra pinxit. Punctum tamen post solitam in praecedente uersu non sustulit, neque distinctionis signum post tempus posuit.

nihil addidit. C. 2 (p. 101, 2) ad retractarent coniecturam retrectarent littera e supra a scripta proposuit; c. 2 (p. 101, 7) ubi omnes codices praeter W falso uectius (uettius O). Q. philocomus (uel philoconius) pro Vettiusque Philocomus testantur, uoculam et inter uectius et .Q. supra uersum scripsit. Eidem librario c. 4 (p. 103, 13) ne in nec correctum attribuo. His etiam locis lectiones, quas in exemplari reppererat atque primitus transcripserat, postea bene correxit: c. 3. (p. 102, 13) in Catullo¹⁹⁰ priorem litteram l expunxit; c. 17 (p. 113, 10) claruit in inclaruit¹⁹¹ correxit; c. 25 (p. 120, 11) i iis, ¹⁹² expunxit i; c. 28 (p. 124, 13) in epidici litteram c ut delendam notauit. Adde quod c. 20 (p. 115, 7) in polyhistorem littera h, et c. 25 (p. 122, 22) in rescogniti¹⁹³ littera s expungendis medelam adferre sibi uisus est. ¹⁹⁴ Caue tamen ne omnia, quae hic librarius supra uersum scripsit, pro eiusdem coniecturis capias, cum nonnullae lectionum uarietates quae in Hersfeldensi libro uel in codice Y se habebant in hunc quoque codicem manauerint, ¹⁹⁵ uelut c. 16, (p. 112, 16) Satii. ¹⁹⁶

Tres posteriorum manus in ea parte huius codicis, qua libellus Suetonianus continetur, uiri docti distinguunt, quorum unam semel modo in libelli initio inuenies. C. 1 (p. 100, 3) ubi Pontani (?) coniectura (studiis uerius coniecisse uidetur Schoenemannus quam Wissowa artibus) olim extabat, haec manus ueram scripturam disciplinis, cuius uerbi litterae -nis a bibliopega resectae sunt, margini adiecit. Corrector posterior autem, quem m.3 nomino, Pontani coniecturam radendo deleuit atque lectionem marginalem compendiose discipvis in rasura scripsit. Temere Schoenemannus compendium discipvis, quod corrector in rasura scripsit, non disciplinis sed discipulis significare iudicauit. 197

Altera est manus eius quem Wissowa glossatorem (B¹) nominat, ego signo m.2 indico. Haec manus calami ductu aliquantulo exiliore atque litterarum formis acutioribus quam quae in textu leguntur insignis est. Hic glossator notas satis frequentes in margine scripsit, ita ut indiculos argumenti exhiberet, uoces locutionesque inusitatiores nomina propria quoque atque rerum memorabiliorum mentiones enotaret. Haec manus in Germania nulla uidetur, in Suetonio autem cum f. 50° (c. 9, p. 107, 1) uerbo

¹⁰⁰ Vide infra p. 136.

¹⁹¹ Vide infra p. 181 ad fin.

¹⁰² Vide supra p. 93.

¹⁰³ Vide supra p. 88.

¹⁸⁴ C. 3 (p. 102, 11) ubi librarius *l* litteram in *mellissus* expunxit sui ipsius erroris correxisse potius habendus est, cum *melissus* in V D exhibeatur; *mellissus* tamen in B.

¹⁸⁸ Vide supra p. 95 sq. C. 9 (p. 107, 19) marmoreo (=G) prorsus in dubio habendum est (uide supra p. 111 ad finem).

¹⁹⁶ Vide supra p. 75.

¹⁶⁷ Idem fere compendium in H hoc loco uidetur.

persenex¹⁹⁸ margini adscripto desinit. Qua de manu, cuius accuratiorem descriptionem in Georgi Wissowae docta et copiosa commentatione (p. XXVIII) inuenies, cum correctionibus omnino abstinuisse uideatur, nihil est quod plura dicam.

Tertia est manus, quam m.3 appello, 199 eius qui et glossatoris et correctoris officio functus est. Haec manus formis litterarum diuersis ductu calami crassiore atramento pallidiore insignis raro fallit. Omnes tres libellos Dialogum, Germaniam, fragmentum Suetonianum cum notis marginalibus eiusdem fere generis ac m.2 instruxit, tum, quod nostra multo magis interest, ipsi contextui medelam afferre conatus est. Alicuius uiri docti opus hic uideri, notae marginales quales ad c. 11 (p. 109, 12 sq.) Cato poeta de quo catullus et ouidius, ad c. 21 (p. 116, 7) Togatae Trabeatae aperte demonstrant. Neque illum linguae Graecae ignarum fuisse e c. 11 (p. 109, 21) perspicitur, ubi geo supra gurgustio scripsit, margini autem haec adiecit: ΓεωρΓώ colo îra. Corrector m.3 uno quidem loco glossatoris m.2 notam marginalem immutauit,200 unde illum hoc esse posteriorem colligitur: c. 3 (p. 103, 2) ubi m.2 Sescenius in margine scripserat, m.3 litteram F praemisit. 201 Eadem manus c. 3 (p. 102, 13) Catullo, c. 25 (p. 122, 22) rescogniti sunt, c. 28 (p. 124, 13) epidici, singulis litteris l s c uirgulis inductis easdem emendationes repetiit quas olim fecerat ipse librarius.202 C. 20 (p. 115, 3) etiam alteram lectionem ex Hersfeldensi prouenientem fri 202 supra uersum scriptam uirgulis perleuit. Quae manus c. 29 (p. 125, 6) falsum in salsum radendo correxerit uix praestare possis. Ceteras emendationes uel interpolationes a m.3 factas, quo facilius diiudicare possis, num quid de eorum fonte colligi possit, tabulis infra expono. Lectiones genuinas litteris Italicis, quae uocantur, indicaui:

		L	Lm3. ω
c. 1, p. 100,	3	studiis (?)	disciplis (disciplinis)
c. 30, p. 127,	2	redigerent $(= \mathbf{Q})^{204}$	redigeretur
		LB	Lm.3 w
c. 16, p. 113,	8	uersiculis ²⁰⁵	uersiculus (uersiculi K)
	L	V D (= Q)	Lm.3 w
c. 25, p. 121,	11	profluit	profluxil

¹⁹⁸ Wissowa persenex huic manui attribuit. Dubium mihi uidetur, cum calami ductus consuetudine sit crassior.



¹⁹⁹ Wissowa B2.

²⁰⁰ Idem bis in Dialogo factum est teste Wissowa (p. XXIX ad fin.).

²⁰¹ In textu fescennius se habet, unde uix fieri poterat ut littera f ex s ab eadem m.3 non mutata sit, quamquam talis correctio oculis non apparet.

²⁰² Vide supra p. 135.

²⁰⁰ Pontanus phry- in fri- immutauisse uidetur. In indice quoque friginus exhibetur.

²⁰⁴ Vide infra p. 180 sq.

²⁰⁵ Vide supra p. 129.

Lω	Lm.3 X
c. 2, p. 101, 12 gener .Q. ²⁰⁶	generque
c. 15, p. 112, 13 surreptus L	sub- surreptis
reptus ω su tus a	ibrec-
Lω	Lm.3 a
c. 11, p. 109, 12 syren L ω (la irem O (la irem W	tinas) siren
c. 30, p. 127, 1 excanduisse L ω excandut X B D	
Lω	Lm.3 H C \(\Delta \) Q
c. 16, p. 113, 9 Et Epirota ²⁰⁸	
Lω	Lm.3 B M C Δ
c. 25, p. 122, 5 anascenas (na I)	souas anascenas (anastenas M)
Lω	Lm.3 B M
c. 25, p. 122, 5 catascenas	catascenas Lm.3 cathascenas B ca-
_	tastenas M
Lω	Lm.3
c. 3, p. 103, 2 Sescennius cennius γ)	(Sis- fescennius ²⁰⁹
c. 11, p. 109, 21 gurgustio	geo gurgustio
p. 110, 3 Miratur (Mi	
C)	
c. 18, p. 114, 12 in iis β a in	his X et in iis
KHŪQ in 1	
	exeri- textrinus
num N)	
c. 30, p. 126, 4 tum	ta

Huius correctoris emendationes in Dialogo et Germania multo frequentiores sunt quam in libello Suetoniano. Schoenemanus (p. 50 sq.) in Dialogo plus centum et uiginti quinque, in Germania autem plus septuaginta quinque emendationes ex hac manu fluentes enumerat. Quae lectiones in Dialogo et Germania maximam partem cum quibusdam libris manuscriptis deterioribus uelut Vindobonensi bibl. Caes. 49 in Germania et

⁵⁰⁶ q₃ in L in rasura scripsit m.3. Prioris scripturae nullum est uestigium.

²⁶⁷ Forsitan haec correctio ipsi librario uindicanda sit.

ses Vide supra p. 129.

²⁰⁰ Vide supra p. 136 adn. 201.

Dialogo, uel nostro Harleiano (H) et Parisino (P) in Dialogo solo conspirant; artius etiam uinculum habent cum ea Germaniae et Dialogi editione, quam Franciscus Puteolanus Mediolani a. 1475 prelo subiecit, uel cum altera eiusdem editione Venetiis a. 1497 typis descripta. Correctorem igitur emendationes, praeter quasdam uiginti quinque fere numero quae ex ipsius ingenio prodisse uideantur, ex aliquo codice hoc genus et e priore uel altera Puteolani editione promptas libris Taciteis adiecisse iudicauit. Eundem correctorem talia subsidia in Suetonio corrigendo habuisse, nemo, qui tabulam supra expositam perlustrauerit, credet, sed eas emendationes, ut modo in hoc modo in illo codice, saepius etiam in nullo inueniuntur, omnes e correctoris ingenio nullo libro uel manuscripto uel impresso adhibito prodisse facile concedet; quod etiam Schoenemannus optimo iure suspicatus est

6. Stirps β in propriis Lectionibus levi esse Auctoritate iudicatur

Restat ut nonnulla de fide stirpis β in lectionibus peculiaribus disseram, praesertim cum opinio mea tam longe ab opinione uirorum doctissimorum, qui fragmentum Suetonianum edendum curauerunt, discedat. Priores Suetoni editores paene quaesiuisse mihi uidentur, quot huius stirpis lectiones peculiares accipi possent, ego quidem, cum hos codices ex Hersfeldensi ea uia quam demonstraui originem traxisse persuasum habeam, quaero non quot lectiones accipi possint, sed quo β accipias necesse sit.

Cum a. 1841 Ludouicus Trossius codicem Leidensem in lucem protulit, tanta erat nostri libelli codicum parsimonia, ut quidem uiris doctissimis id temporis uidebatur, editiones quae uulgo ferebantur tam foedissimis interpolationibus, quae uel nullius omnino codicis uel pessimorum modo codicum auctoritate nitebantur, maculatae erant, totus textus Suetonianus omnino tam incerto fundamento sedere uidebatur, ut nihil sit admirandum uiros doctissimos codicem Leidensem insignis esse bonitatis duxisse, atque ducem primarium, a quo paene omnis recensionis salus speranda esset, tandem repertum esse censuisse. Trossius igitur Leidensem codicem typis describi iussit. Osannus quoque et Rothius Leidensem omnium optimum habuerunt, quamuis paucos alios adhibuerint.²¹⁰

Reifferscheidius maiore librorum manuscriptorum copia usus²¹¹ Leidensem codicem multis Pontani aliorumque interpolationibus laborare recte perspexit, atque fidem quam priores Leidensi habuerant in eius patruum Va-

sio Osannus praeter Leidensem hos codices adhibuit: Harleianum et eius apographon Parisinum, et Berolinensem, quem nemo antea contulerat. Hic codex autem ei fraudes fecit, cum eum ex L uel potius Pontani libro contaminatum esse (uide infra p. 180 sq.) non perspexerit, atque complures codicis L peculiares lectiones codicis Q testimonio confirmari existimauerit. Rothius praeter eosl ibros quos adhibuit Osannus Gudianum codicem in medium protulit.

²¹ Hos codices adhibuit Reifferscheidius: Vaticanum 1862 (V), Leidensem (L), Neapolitanum (N), Gudianum (G), Vaticanum 1518 (I), Ottobonianum (O); quorum soli L G antea ad-



ticanum 1862 librum certe multo sinceriorem transtulit. Codici V nisi certa rei ratio repugnaret ubique oboediendum existimans, praeter c. 2 (p. 100, 14) Aristarchi, (p. 101, 12) Ser.; c. 4 (p. 104, 1) ipsos; c. 6 (p. 105, 8) diuarum; c. 18 (p. 114, 14) ad Q.; c. 20 (p. 115, 3) Hyginus, quae omnia uel sine libris adhibenda erant, has quoque totius stirpis β proprias lectiones suscepit: c. 2 (p. 101, 3) et ceteris; c. 4 (p. 104, 3) alia; c. 10 (p. 109, 2) nil; c. 15 (p. 112, 14) domino omis.; c. 17 (p. 113, 20) inferiore; c. 22 (p. 116, 13) sibi sed. Lectiones ad O.212 et Hyginus, 213 quae sunt testimonia ceterorum codicum, fere certa ratione Hersfeldensi codici uindicari possunt. Duplicem etiam lectionem diuarum: duarum in Hersfeldensi fuisse malim.214 Tres reliquae lectiones quas pro bonis habeo, Aristarchi, Ser., ipsos, non eo pacto edendae erant quo in Hersfeldensi archetypo essent, sed quod librarius & uerum coniectura assecutus esset. Quid autem de ceteris lectionibus a Reifferscheidio haud recte acceptis iudicandum est? C. 4 (p. 104, 3) alia antiquitus inde ab Aldo locum obtinet, sed quo iure ceterorum codicum lectioni alias (sc. meditationes)215 praeferendum sit non uideo. Mihi quidem alia interpolatio satis inscita uidetur eiusdem notae ac c. 8 (p. 106, 8) grammaticae, et c. 26 (p. 123, 14) hordinarium, quae haec eadem stirps exhibet. Si c. 15 (p. 112, 14) domino omittas, eodem iure c. 13 (p. 111, 1) litterarum omittere possis, cum nullo in codice huius stirpis inueniatur. C. 10 (p. 109, 2) forma nil alibi apud Suetonium testante Ihmio216 non inuenitur. Cur eum hoc solo loco nil scripsisse judicauerimus, cum familia X et stirps a nihil ostendant? Nemo, ut opinor, c. 2 (p. 101, 3) et meliorem lectionem quam etiam praebere credet. C. 17 (p. 113, 20) in scriptura inferiore non de Latinitate sed de ipsa re agitur, quam ad diiudicandam copiae nobis desunt, sed quo modo dubitari possit, quin superiore in Hersfeldensi codice extaret, non extrico.²¹⁷ Restat c. 22 (p. 116, 13), quem locum omnes post Casaubonum sic ediderunt: quando non putat is cum adversario de iure sibi, sed de soloecismo controuersiam futuram. Pronomen is ad Cassi clientem, cuius aduersarius est Marcellus, sine dubio referendum est. Sibi igitur est uerbum

hibiti erant, nisi quod Achilles Statius in editione a. 1565 in medium emissa selectas lectiones ex V et I protulit. Vide supra p. 31.

²¹² Vide supra p. 63.

²¹⁸ Vide supra p. 99.

²¹⁴ Vide supra p. 101. Huic opinioni repugnare uidetur quod librarius a nihil nisi duarum ante oculos habuisse uidetur (uide supra p. 108), siquidem alteram lectionem duorum proposuit, quod uix facturus erat si ueram quoque lectionem diuarum in exemplari Y legisset.

²¹⁵ Vide supra p. 90.

²¹⁶ Op. cit. p. 545.

²¹⁷ Ipse Reifferscheidius a Vahleno (1877, p. 3-4) incusatus quod *inferiore* edidisset postea (1877, p. 3-4) in incertum relinquendum confessus est utra esset uera scriptura. Sin nexum qui est inter nostros codices recte interpretatus sum, in incerto non est utra esset Hersfeldensis codicis scriptura.

leui momento, quod tam omitti quam addi poterat. Verba de iure uerbis de soloecismo opponuntur; sed, si illud sibi intercedit, tota uis huius oppositionis ruit, neque sententia aequabili lenitate profluit. Non tamen alterum uerborum ordinem sed sibi, licet is in Hersfeldensi codice fuisse uideatur, restituere uolo, cum sensus prorsus diuersus fiat et nimis sit difficilis. Vt mihi uidetur, aut sibi ut interpolatio reiciendum est, aut, quod probabilius duco, ei loco quem sententia apertissime postulat, h. e. ante controuersiam restituendum est. Totum locum sic lego: quando non putat is cum aduersario de iure, sed de soloecismo sibi controuersiam futuram.

Nunc examinemus eas lectiones quae in λ communi codicum D V L archetypo exortae uidentur;²¹⁰ quarum has admisit Reifferscheidus: c. 4 (p. 103, 25) iam; c. 30 (p. 126, 4) adornate, (p. 126, 13) sui, quae omnia inde ab Aldo locum obtinent; c. 27 (p. 124, 3) et studium. Quid, quod idem Reifferscheidius c. 21 (p. 116, 1) ubi Hersfeldensis liber Augusto etiam recte testabatur, ut corruptelam et, quae in λ exorta est, retineret, et Augusto scribens interpolationem introducere non dubitauit! C. 4 (p. 103, 8) etiam diligenter aliquid, quod in V et L solis inuenitur, pro aliquid diligenter scripsit. Quae autem huius loci ratio habenda sit, siquidem aliquid in B et D omittitur, supra (p. 128) ostendi.

E quattuor huius stirpis codicibus duos solos V et L nouerat Reifferscheidius; V autem et Pontani codicem e communi archetypo, quod esset ipsum apographon eius libri220 e quo omnes codices profluxissent, transcriptos esse existimabat. Nunc Bodleiano (B) et Hauniensi (D) in lucem prolatis non poteris non aliter de codicibus V et L judicare. Nam. etiamsi in hoc perstiteris communem parentem librorum B D V L non e codice Y sed ex ipso Hersfeldensi esse transcriptum, infitiari non poteris Pontani librum et V non duobus sed tribus gradibus ab Hersfeldensi remotos esse. Sin autem, ut credo, satis demonstraui codices B D V L eidem familiae referendos esse cui omnes praeter O W, Pontani codicem et V quattuor gradibus ab Hersfeldensi remotos satis constat. Ouid quod quadam probabilitate demonstrari potest hos duos codices ab Hersfeldensi non quattuor sed quinque gradus distare! 221 Vt ad lectiones codicum D V L proprias redeam, si eisdem locis codex B cum ceteris libris facit, cauendum est ne has scripturas archetypo β , nedum codici Y uel libro Hersfeldensi, attribuamus. Quare hae lectiones, nisi quid ad textum ceterorum codicum manifesto corruptum sanandum adferunt, plane damnandae sunt. Sed earum lectionum



²¹⁸ Nescio quae perturbatio hoc loco in Hersfeldensi erat, cum in familia X uerba proxime praecedentia *cum aduersario de iure* deficiant.

²¹⁹ Vide supra p. 122 sq.

²⁵⁰ Hunc librum non fuisse ipsum Hersfeldensem, sed eius apographon ab Enoch Romam reportatum censuit Reifferscheidius. Vide supra p. 71.

²²¹ Vide supra p. 129 sq.

quibus Reifferscheidius suffragatus est, quot ceteris codicibus medelam adferunt? Vna sola ut mihi uidetur, neque haec sine aliquo scrupulo suscipi potest. C. 30 (p. 126, 4) adoranter, quod in ceteris codicibus se habet, uix uera esse scriptura potest, adornate autem in D V L certe est melius, quamuis alterutrum sit &παξ λεγόμενον.²²² Quid de c. 4 (p. 103, 25), iam, censerem supra (p. 83) dixi. C. 30 (p. 126, 13) sui ab eodem librario qui personalem pro proconsulem et yspeū pro conspectu scripsit, quippe cui Suetoni uerba non sine magna sua inuidia²²³ haud satis perspicua uiderentur, interpolatum esse puto.

IIII. DE STIRPE γ

1. Lectiones Stirpis γ propriae exhibentur. Duae Corruptelae hvivs Stirpis Opera sanantur.

Tertium fuit codicis Y apographon, quod γ nomino. Codex γ quamquam ipse periit satis numerosam et uitiosam reliquit progeniem codices Venetum (M) Ambrosianum (K) Harleianum (H) Parisinum (P) Vrbinatem (U) Cheltenhamensem (C) Florentinum (F) Vaticanum 4498 (Δ) Berolinensem (Q) complectentem.²²⁴ In hac stirpe stabilienda ab ipsis inscriptionibus exordiar, quae aperte demonstrant libellum qui in Hersfeldensi codice unus²²⁵ fuerit a librario γ bipertite distributum esse: SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS DE GRAM/MATICIS. LIBER. PRIMVS. ante eam partem quae est de rhetoribus: SVETONII TRANQVILI DE RHETORIBVS/ LIBER SECVNDVS M nulla est inscriptio aut subscriptio²²⁶ in K; Suetonii tranquilli de grāmaticis & rhetoribus . . . Suetonii

²² Cf. tamen Cic. De Off. I 4: Demosthenem . . . facere potuisse ornate splendideque.
²³ Cf. Aug. 14: non tamen sine magnis suis et ante bellum et in bello discriminibus; Vesp.
22: amore suo.

Nunc etiam inter codicis γ nepotes habendus est codex Neapolitanus IV. B. 4. bis (S), qui libellum bipertite diuisum habet, atque lectiones huius stirpis proprias fere omnes ostendit. Verae scripturae c. 17 (p. 114, 2) publicarat, c. 23 (p. 117, 16) caperet, c. 26 (p. 123, 13) atratino, in S reuocatae sunt. C. 11 (p. 109, 15) probantur in S scripturam probabantur codici γ uindicare uidetur, quamquam probantur in omnibus codicibus praeter M K H restitutum est. C. 14 (p. 111, 6) memmio, et c. 25 (p. 120, 11) ita in S leguntur. C. 27 (p. 124, 1) hic codex cum M H genuinam scripturam uoltacitius ostendit, et c. 14 (p. 111, 13) duplicem lectionem creticus, quam codici Y uel ipsi Hersfeldensi (uide supra p. 97) attribuo, conservat. C. 14 (p. 111, 10) etiam ex te pūte in γ hic librarius repente effecit. Codex S indice caret. Vide et infra p. 152 adn. 256.

rhetoribus, quod illud quoque in primis alterius partis uerbis aperte proderet: Rhetorica quoque apud nos perinde alque grammatica. Quae opinio Decembri testimonio confirmatur: Suetonii tranquilli de grammaticis et rhetoribus liber. Incipit.

Titulus litteris cursiuis exaratus qui libro praemissus est: Suetonius de Inlustribus Grammaticis et Rhetoribus: itemque is qui Dialogo adiectus est: Taciti uel Quinctiliani Dialogus An et quare suae aetatis oratores ueteribus concedant, a manu multo recentiore confectus est, quam Sabbadinius (1903, p. 211) exeunti saeculo sexto decimo assignat. Mihi quidem hac aetate posterior uidetur.

tranquilli de grāmaticis liber primus/explicit. Sequitur eiusdem de rhetoribus liber secundus H; eadem atque H, nisi quod litteris maiusculis exarantur, in priore autem inscriptione LIBER INCIPIT post RHETORIBVS habet P: SVETONII. TRANOVILLI LIBEL/LVS. DE. VITIS. GRÃ-MATICOR.... FINIS ... SVETONII. TRANQVILLI. LI/BEL-LVS. DE. VITIS. RHETHOR, INCIPIT. FELICITER. U; CAI SVETONII TRANQVILLI: / HISTORICI DE GRAMATICIS PROEM/IVM LIBRI PRIMI, sequitur index grammaticorum..... SVETONII TRANQVILLI HISTORICI/ DE RHETORIBVS LIBER SECVND/VS DE capitula, sequitur index rhetorum C.C. SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS RHETOR DE :G/ GRAMMATI-CORVM VITA (post c. 18 [p. 114, 4] hic initio deficit) F; .C. Suctonii Tranquilli historici de Grāmaticis prohemium, sequitur grammaticorum index ... Suetonii Tranquilli historici de Rhetoribus Liber.11., sequitur rhetorum index Δ ; .C. SVETONII TRANQVILLI DE GRĀMA/TICIS ET RHETORIBVS INCIPIT... .C. SVETONII TRANQVILLI DE/ GRAMMATICIS LIBER FINIT, spatio uacuo complurium uersuum relicto EIVSDEM DE RHETORICIS LIBELLVS/ INCIPIT Q.

In subscriptione est quidam consensus. Codex M, qui longe est optimus huius stirpis et archetypo proxime accedere habendus est, haec in margine ostendit: non videtur integrum /hoc exemplar. H in margine: Hic antiquissimum exemplar/ finit & non integrum videtur. C: Hic antiquissimum/ finit exemplar/ quod non integr/um uidetur. In P nihil nisi SVETONII TRANQVILLI/ FINIS; in Q.FINIT. In U \Delta nulla omnino est subscriptio.

Lectiones huius stirpis peculiares tabulis infra conferens eam rationem sequor ut lectiones quas in ipso γ fuisse iudico exhibeam, etiam si in singulis uel compluribus codicibus uera scriptura coniectura restituta est. Discrepantias inter singulos stirpis γ codices accurate adnotaui, sed eorum codicum quorum lectiones in dextra columna exhibentur minores discrepantias non semper protuli. Vicem inter litteras minusculas et maiusculas et litteras as et e fere neglexi.



²⁵⁷ Vera scriptura saepissime in Q ad fidem codicis L uel Pontani exemplaris restituta est. Vide infra p. 180 sq.

²²⁸ Lectio duplex; uide supra p. 79 sq.

xx Vide supra p. 93.

γ(ΜΚΗΡΙ	JC ΔQ) (recte)	ω
	Voltacilius ²²⁹ M H Voltatilius K uolacilius U Volca- tius C Δ VOLCA- TIVS Q (falso) ²²⁰	Oltacilius X V Octacilius a D otta- cilius B otacilius L .
Index, p. 99, 11		Verg. (Vergi G Vero B Virginius L) flauus
12	Vrsilus	Vrsulus
γ (M K H P U	JCFAQ) (falso)	ω
c.1, p. 100, 2	rudis ac M K C rudi ac H U \(\Delta \) Q (-B)	rudi scilicet ac (.s. rudi ac I)
8	At siquidem M K C ac siquidem Δ at siquid H U Ac siquid Q	aut siquid
c. 2, p. 101, 7	philoconius (=W B)	philocomus
9	philoconium (=B)	philocomum
c. 3, p. 102, 11	lenaeus M H C Leneus K U A Le- uius Q	Leuius ω Leuius G .L. D Leneus L
p. 103, 2	Siscennius M C Δ Q Sissenius K Sisennius U Sis- tenius H	Sescennius ω Sescenius D fescennius ε sescennius corr. m.3(?) L
c. 4, p. 104, 3	omis.	scilicet (.s. I B)
10	stanti M C Δ statui K statim H U	statim ω stacii I
c 5, p. 104, 15	ferturque M K U Δ fertur quae C feruntque H fecitque Q	fecitque
15	tum M H U C A omis. K tamen Q	tamen (tn X cum B)
17	indicatur (indicat Q)	indicat

³²⁰ Indices in ceteris huius stirpis deficiunt.

γ (M K H P)	U C F A Q) (falso)	ω
c. 8, p. 106, 15	uulgatosque K H U \(\Delta \) uulgatos quae C uolgatosque M F uolgandosque Q	uulgandosque (uolgandosque B V)
c. 9, p. 107, 5	omni sermone M KHC \(\Delta \) omis. U omni in occasione Q	omni in occasione ω omni occasione B W $m.2$
20	ex ^m M exemplum K R _x ^m cett. filium Q	filium ω filiam B
c. 10, p. 108, 6	declamantum cett. declarator U declamantibus Q	declamantium
c. 10, p. 108, 21	historias (hystoriam Q)	historiam
24	Asinium (assinium K) Pollionem M K C Δ omis. H U Asinium Q	Asinium ω Asinum I assinium B
p. 109, 3	celerique et M K celeri et H C Δ omis. U ciuilique et Q	ciuilique et
c. 11, p. 109, 15		probantur
21	•	modico ω modice O W (corr. in modico $Wm.2$)
c. 12, p. 110, 20		imperfectum
c. 14, p. 111, 6	Memmius H F Q Memini U C Memnii Δ	memmia (memma B Memmio D)
10	Q putem U	putem
c. 14, p. 111, 15		haberem
p. 112, 1	cohitus M U coitus K H cintus C tritus Δ uictus Q	uictus

³²⁴ Vide supra p. 93.

γ (M K H P U C F Δ Q) (falso)		ω
c. 17, p. 113, 14	liber alis	liber aliquis
p. 114, 2	publicaret $(=D)$	publicarat (publicauerat L)
c. 18, p. 114, 12	cum edoceret222	cum et doceret ω cum doceret O
	(deceret U)	cum & edoceret W
14	omis.	Q. ²⁸⁸
c. 22, p. 116, 17	auctoritatem	ciuitatem
c. 23, p. 117, 16	carperet MKHC	caperet (cuperet W)
	caperet U Δ Q	
c. 25, p. 120, 9	omis.	quae
p. 120, 11	itura M K item H	recta
	U itam C ita A	
	recta Q	•
c. 26, p. 123, 13		Atratino (attino W)
	Cratino M C Δ Q	
	.A. cratino U	
c. 26, p. 123, 14	subiratoque (sub-	subtractoque
	natoque K) (sub-	
	tractoque Q)	
c. 28, p. 124, 9	docendi $(om. \Delta)$	dicendi
	(dicendi Q)	

Lectiones duplices quas Y ex Hersfeldensi codice accepit uel quae in ipso Y exortae sunt, in stirpe γ ita distributae sunt ut utraque lectio in eodem codice perraro uideatur, sed aliae in aliis exhibeantur, ut e tabulis supra (p. 95 sq.) expositis facile perspicies.

Vno quidem loco, c. 29 (p. 124, 20), haec sola stirps lectionem duplicem exhibet quam codici Hersfeldensi uindicare non dubito:

stirps γ ω extitisse se, in marg. eadem man. extricte M extitisse se K H U extitisse (se om.) Δ extricte se C extrictae se Ω

Qui ueram indolem lectionum duplicium quae erant in Hersfeldensi libro recte perspexerit, hanc lectionis uarietatem illi codici uix abiudicare poterit; sed hoc quoque clarius luce constare debet, extitisse non fuisse alteram lectionem pro extricte sed pro extricte se. Quare nolo Statium extrisse se proponentem, quod Rothius etiam edidit, ueram lectionem Suetonianam reuocasse. Emendatio igitur aut ab extricte se aut ab extitisse proficisci debet.

²²⁰ Lectio duplex in archetypo; uide supra p. 75.

²³³ Vide supra p. 63.

Quae cum ita sint, ad hunc locum sanandum haec propono: par oculorum in amicitia M. Antoni triumuiri extinctum esse aiebat.

Alio quoque loco Suetoni uerba non nisi huius stirpis opera reuocari posse mihi uidentur. C. 9 (p. 107, 5) haec stirps omni sermone testatur, ceteri libri omni in occasione, nisi quod in in B omittitur, in W autem a secunda manu deletum est. Dicat aliquis sermone olim glossam ad lacerauit interpretandum fuisse, quae in textum inrepserit. Hoc esse posse non infitior, sed facilius crederem nisi altera lectio omni in occasione suspiciones moueret. Praepositionem in Reifferscheidius delere non dubitauit Claud. 42, occasione omni, conferre iubens; quod Ihmius quoque probauit.234 Sin Suetoni usui dicendi consulimus per omnem occasionem potius scribendum Ergo haud dubium mihi uidetur quin Suetonius hic quoque per omnem occasionem scripserit; per omnem autem in corruptum sermonem abierit, atque corrector aliquis ex sermonem occasionem effecerit omni in occasione. Sed ne prioris lectionis memoria omnino periret sermone in margine uel supra uersum scripsit. Vnde factum est ut iam in Hersfeldensi libro duplex lectio sermone: omni in extaret.

C. 9 (p. 107, 20) M K reliquit exemplum (ex^m M) Orbilium, ceteri huius stirpis compendium incertae significationis proferentes reliquit R_x^m Orbilium testantur; a β X reliquit filium Orbilium (filiam Orbilium B orbilium filium O) ostendunt. Filium Orbilium certe ineptum uidetur, et Reifferscheidium Orbilium recte seclusisse puto. Osannus tamen cognomen Orbili fili in illo compendio R_x^m latere putauit, quod in Rufum²³⁶ explicare uoluit, licet nihil in contextu mutare ausus sit. Quae opinio non est sine illecebris, sed uix uera esse potest, cum satis constet et ex^m et R_x^m e compendio f_x^m profilium corrupta esse. Librarius γ hoc compendium profilium in Y inueniens uel ex^m uel R_x^m legere sibi uisus est atque utrumque in libro suo, unum in textu alterum in margine uel supra ordinem scripsit. Vtrumque ex^m et R_x^m in γ fuisse persuasum habeo,²²⁷ cum editio Incerta, quae codicis H archetypo pro fundamento usus est,²²⁸ exemplum exhibeat, quamquam nihil nisi R_x^m in ipso H se habeat. Itemque Veneta 1474 editio, quae eiusdem est sectae atque C Δ Q exemplum profert,²³⁰ cum C Δ R_x^m habeant.²⁴⁰

²²⁴ Op. cit. p. 548.

¹⁸⁴ Claud. 11, 2: per omnem occasionem; Tit. 8, 2: per omnis occasiones; Aug. 67, 2: per occasionem valitudinis; Aug. 41, 1: per occasiones; Claud. 26, 3: per . . . blanditiarum occasiones.

²⁰⁰ Romanum verius sit, ut mihi uidetur.

³⁰⁷ Haud scio an c. 9 (p. 107, 20) retorhicum, quod in M post orbilium margini adfixum est, et rhetoricum, quod in K in textum ante grammaticum inrepsit, ad illud compendium referenda sint. Vide infra p. 150 ad init.

²²⁸ Vide infra p. 159.

x Vide infra p. 166 sq.

²⁴⁰ Q filium e Pontani libro reuocauit.

Si lectiones huius stirpis peculiares examinaueris, ipsum librum γ interpolationibus de industria factis fere caruisse libenter iudicabis, sed uitia eius maximam partem e librari inscitia imprimis in scribendi compendiis explicandis exorta esse. Quae cum ita sint, non sine fructu hanc stirpem in Suetonio recensendo adhibuisse mihi uideor, quippe quae nonnumquam rectam emendandi uiam monstret, saepius autem pretiosissima testimonia ad ceterorum codicum lectiones recte aestimandas nobis praebeat. 24

Codices M K e communi Archetypo deperdito δ profluxisse demonstrantur. Codex M quodam Opprobrio liberatur.

Codices M et K, quamuis ille nonnullis hic permultis propriis uitiis sit maculatus, eis uitiis quae ceteri huius stirpis libri communia habent fere carent. Non tamen puto M et K ex ipso γ transcriptos esse, cum compluriens easdem lectiones peculiares ostendant, ita ut codex aliquis inter eos et γ intercedere iudicandus sit. Duo igitur fuisse apographa codicis γ censeo, quae δ et ζ nomino. Ex δ M et K ortus ducunt, ex ζ autem ceteri huius stirpis uariis gradibus profluxerunt. Hac e tabula iudicare poteris quae lectiones peculiares in δ extarent:

δ ((M K)	ω
c. 2, p. 101, 12	Lannuinus M Lan- nuuinus K	Lanuuinus ω Lanuninus B lanuinus L Lanuuius H C lanuius U lanuinus Δ lauinius Q omis. I
c. 4, p. 103, 8	acurate M accurate K	acute (accute B)
c. 9, p. 107, 13	gybberosos (= C)	gibberosos
14	gybber (= C)	gibber (giber $\mathbf{B} \Delta$)
20	exemplum	uide supra p. 144; p. 146
c. 10, p. 108, 14	qr	quia
19	comendare (= C)	commendare
p. 109, 4	audatiam (= W B I)	audaciam
c. 11, p. 110, 15	Crateris (= V U Q Crateri L)	Cratetis (cratis C)
c. 14, p. 111, 6	Memmius	uide supra p. 144
13	indicaturus	iudicaturus
c. 15, p. 112, 12	in eruditissimum (=I)	

⁹⁶¹ C. 7 (p. 105, 23) in his, c. 18 (p. 114, 12) in his (in iis M in hos C Δ), haec stirps cum familia X meliorem formam (in iis $\alpha\beta$) praebet, quam Reifferscheidius etiam contra Vaticani 1862 testimonium edidit. C. 10 (p. 108, 15) γ cum X recte uindicauit contra uendicauit in α et β (uindicauit V) exhibet.

³⁴⁸ Quae manus correxerit non liquet.

δ (M K)		ω
13	cathenis (= B D Q)	catenis ²⁴⁸
c. 16, p. 112, 16	Epyrota M epyrota K (= X)	Epirota
p. 113, 4	adolescentulis	adulescentibus W G I B C adolescentibus ω
9	epyrota $(=X)$	Epirota ·
c. 17, p. 113, 12	comittere	committere
c. 25, p. 120, 11	itura	uide supra p. 145
p. 122, 19	brondusii in brondusi corr. M brondusii K	brundusii ω brundis in W brondu- sium I brundisii H
21	falaciam	fallaciam ω fallatiam W I C falatiam B
c. 26, p. 123, 11	alii (= B)	ali (ali ex alii corr. I H)
• •	Mancino ³⁴⁴ (=L)	nucerino X B Nuncino (nuntino I Δ) ω

M et K multa scribendi compendia conseruant, quae codici γ sunt uindicanda. Quae nonnumquam errores in aliis huius stirpis libris facile explicant, ut c. 2 (p. 101, 1) aiorum pro aliorum, in H amicorum, in C U animorum, in Q animos; c. 9 (p. 107, 5) në (pro naturae) in K, in C Δ autem ne; c. 10 (p. 108, 18) sigitu in M K, in H signant, in Δ significatur. Quidam errores in K e compendiis, quae librarius M resoluere non ausus est, explicari possunt, ut c. 4 (p. 103, 9) prope (= proprie) M prope K; c. 9 (p. 106, 19) dei \hat{n} (= deinde) M Dema K; c. 10 (p. 108, 15) cogno \hat{m} (= cognomen) M cogno \hat{i} e

Venetus codex longe est optimus huius stirpis, atque meo iudicio integrior est quam Vaticanus I, Bodleianus, Hauniensis, uel etiam Gudianus. In quibusdam lectionibus, quae ad orthographiam pertinent, is codex cum uno et altero uel cum paucis aliis ueras scripturas praebet, ut c. 2 (p. 101, 9) leneus (= lenaeus C); c. 14 (p. 111, 5) Nicia (= O N V), (p. 111, 15) Nicia (= X N D V U Δ); c. 23 (p. 117, 13) Palaemonem (= W); c. 24 (p. 118, 6) berytius (= G B V H Q). C. 17 (p. 113, 20) emicyclium in M uerae formae hemicyclium, quae in solis N G V uidetur, proxime accedit. C. 4 (p. 104, 2) ethiologias, ²⁴⁷ M Hersfeldensis libri lectionem conseruat, ubi ceteri stirpis γ una cum W G B in ethymologias uel tale quid abierunt. C. 25 (p. 119, 10) M cum X V L C paululo pro paulo in ceteris testatur, ita ut uix dubitem illud

²⁴³ Graeuius, N. Heinsius, uulgo, Athenis; uehementer dubito an recte.

³⁴⁴ Vide supra p. 101.

²⁴⁶ Saepius eadem compendia atque H exhibent.

³⁴⁶ Idem compendium in B V L.

²⁴⁷ Pro actiologias, et sic edendum est, non ethologias, ut editores omnes (praeter Trossium) post Beroaldum haud recte publicauerunt.

Hersfeldensi libro uindicare. C. 14 (p. 112, 2) etiam M cum solis O W ueram scripturam non possit sincere exhibet.348 Haud ita multas lectiones peculiares quas neque librarius neque corrector sustulit in codice M inuenies. Viginti fere quinque praeter eas quae ad orthographiam pertinent, animaduerti. Haec exempli gratia ostendo: c. 5 (p. 104, 14) dignitatemque pro dignationemque; c. 7 (p. 105, 23) quoque claros (= Q) pro claros quoque; c. 9 (p. 107, 15) proprie pro prope; c. 10 (p. 108, 18) ad om.; c. 15 (p. 112, 11) Pistorum (prostorag; K); c. 18(p. 114, 6) & inyrne pro Zmyrnae; c. 23(p. 118, 1) libidinis pro libidinibus; c. 28 (p. 124, 16) cornelius pro cornibus; c. 30 (p. 126, 9) centumuiriali pro centumuirali. Quae omnia merae neglegentiae deberi uidentur, sed in indicibus duo additamenta de industria facta sunt. P. 98, 11 Staberi Erotis nomen ex Hersfeldensi libro uel exciderat uel numquam locum in indice habuerat; in M autem inter Cornelius Epicadius (sic in M) et Curcius nicia (sic) Staberius heros l' hiero addita sunt; p. 99, 1 L. praenomen, quod in ceteris libris praeter B deficit, nomini plocius (sic in M) Gallus e contextu praefixum est. Probabilius mihi uidetur haec additamenta non in ipso M sed in δ facta esse, sed pro certo iudicari non potest, cum indices in K deficiant. Sed p. 98, 6 praenomen M., 1. 8 praenomen L. in hoc solo codice desunt; quae neglegentia ab illo studio corrigendi abhorrere uidetur.

Librarius M saepius uel inter scribendum uel in relegendo suos errores sustulit, uelut c. 7 (p. 106, 5) reperitur; c. 9 (p. 107, 10) insectantem; c. 14 (p. 112, 3) libertos ut uidetur in libros correctum; c. 25 (p. 122, 23) uoluntate libertate. Curiosius correcturae officio functa est secunda manus in hoc codice, quae complures errores ab ipso librario factas sustulit, sed neque lectiones quae stirpis y propriae sunt, neque eas quas M communes cum K habet mutauit. Unde constat correctorem continuo post librum scriptum suo munere functum esse, neque aliud exemplar habuisse nisi id quo prior librarius usus esset.249 Haec uitia inter alia a prima manu admissa correctoris manus sustulit: c. 4 (p. 104, 1) pparanda ut problemata paraphrasis allocutiones in textu omissa in margine addidit; c. 7 (p. 105, 19) libidine in textu perleuit liberalitate in margine addidit; c. 9 (p. 106, 21) prorsus in textu deleuit professus in margine suppleuit; c. 23 (p. 117, 3) & expunxit, ac supra uersum scripsit; c. 23 (p. 117, 18) promercalium in textu omissum in margine addidit; c. 25 (p. 120, 10) neque placent in text. om. in margine addidit. Eadem altera manus c. 13 (p. 110, 21) alteram lectionem hero suo metre emptus margini adiecit, emptus autem quod librarius in textu scripserat in empturus immutauit. Idem corrector librum copiosis adnotationibus marginalibus ita instruxit ut argumenti indiculos exhiberet, ut ad c. 3 (p.



²⁴⁸ Vide supra p. 78.

²⁴⁰ Corrector idem fuisse uidetur qui cetera omnia hoc codice contenta praeter Suetonium et opera Tacitea exscripsit. Vide Philipp, 1904, p. 304; et supra p. 32.

102, 10 sq.) Quanta merces olim grammaticorum; uel ut res memorabiliores adnotaret, ut ad c. 16 (p. 113, 5 sq.) primus latine ex tempore disputauit; uel ut nomina propria et uerba singulariora in margine repeteret. Versus carminum a Suetonio prolatos, quos librarius continuos in ordine scripserat, in margine notauit, ut ad c. 9 (p. 107, 17) Versus trimeter catulli bibaculiad c. 11 (p. 109, 22) Catulus bibaculus Endecasyllabi Versus; uel uerbo uersus simpliciter adfixo ut ad c. 18 (p. 114, 8). Ad c. 9 (p. 107, 20) retorhicum margini adiecit, quod certe in exemplari suo inuenit, cum idem in K (rhetoricum) in contextum ante grammaticum inrepserit. 250

Codex K permultis uitiis, quae librarii imperiti et neglegentes admittere solerent, inquinatus est. Perpaucas bonas lectiones ostendit, quae sorti attribuendae sunt, ut mihi uidetur: c. 18 (p. 114, 3) is solus Crassicius habet; c. 16 (p. 113, 2) obicitur (= W B C Q), c. 25 (p. 119, 12) subiciam (= W B Q subitiam I), c. 28 (p. 124, 11) obitientibus (= obicientibus W), c. 29 (p. 125, 4) obicit (= 0 W B) simplicem i litteram recte ostendit. C. 3 (p. 101, 15) stillo exhibens verae formae Stilo, quae in solo Q inuenitur, accedit. 262 C. 16 (p. 113, 8) uersiculi formae uersiculis (= B L Q) quam restituendam censeo²⁵⁵ propius accedit. C. 24 (p. 119, 4) cum plurimos (= O D L U C), ubi cum plurimis in Hersfeldensi libro fuisse uidetur,364 profert. Alia quoque in hoc libro de industria mutata deprehenduntur, ut c. 4 (p. 104, 8) uero mane (= D H U), quod ante Trossium uulgatum erat, Rothius Reifferscheidiusque resuscitare non debuerunt, cum alter ordo mane uero in Hersfeldensi esset et sententiae sit aptior, siquidem mane et post meridiem inter se opponuntur; c. 3 (p. 101, 17) Marcellum pro Metellum; c. 4 (p. 104, 1) romanis pro ipsis in exemplari; c. 5 (p. 104, 19) postumus pro post huius in exemplari; c. 9 (p. 107, 3) perialogus pro perialogos; c. 18 (p. 114, 8) Viri pro uni; c. 30 (p. 125, 15) receptusque est pro receptusque, (p. 125, 16) plauti (= Q) pro Planci, (p. 125, 18) plauto pro planco, (p. 125, 18) actaque ita impleuit pro atque ita impleuit. Quae omnia uix inconsulte mutata sunt. Quod ad orthographiam pertinet, hic codex litteram e semper pro ae scriptam habet; consonantes duplicatas pro singulis saepissime ostendit, ut c. 10 (p. 108, 23) elligeret (= B), (1. 24) assinium (= B); c. 22 (p. 116, 19) Assinius (= H); c. 11 (p. 109, 5) traddiderunt (= F); c. 13 (p. 111, 2) traddant; c. 21 (p. 116, 3) traddit; c. 14 (p. 111, 11) proffert, (l. 12) oppinor; c. 17 (p. 113, 15) ellectus (=B); c. 21 (p. 116, 2) ellegantem (=B); c. 23 (p. 117, 17) dilligentissimus; c. 24 (p. 119, 7) eddidit; c. 25 (p. 122, 3) neccessaria (= U); c. 29 (p. 125, 1) accumen stilli; grammatticus et grammattica fere semper.

²⁵⁶ Vide supra p. 146 adn. 237.

²⁴¹ Vide supra p. 67.

²⁸² Vide supra p. 102.

²⁴² Vide supra p. 129.

²⁵⁴ Vide supra p. 124 adn. 129.

In permultis aliis huius libri propriis nihil nisi inconsultam deprauationem agnoueris: c. 1 (p. 100, 3) disciplinibus, (l. 5) apoete pro et poetae, (l. 11) posterius pro posterioris; c. 2 (p. 100, 19) uris pro nris, (p. 101, 11) aieruntque pro auxeruntque; c. 3 (p. 102, 4) nemo pro ueneno; c. 4 (p. 103, 26) descriptis pro discretis; c. 8 (p. 106, 11) cunias pro Cumas; c. 9 (p. 106, 22) prop^a pro patria; c. 11 (p. 110, 5) fueris (uel fucris?) pro farris; c. 15 (p. 112, 11) prostorumque pro priscorum; c. 17 (p. 113, 12) stilum pro solum; c. 25 (p. 120, 15) cam pro causa (ca in exemplari), (p. 121, 18) latinis pro latius; c. 30 (p. 126, 4) sobolasticus pro scholasticus; et sescenta alia.

Multa uerba omissa in hoc codice reperies, alia inconsulte ut c. 25 (p. 122, 22) uerba inde a puer ad (l. 23) Olim; c. 1 (p. 100, 9) quod; c. 3 (p. 102, 1) editum; c. 5 (p. 104, 16) quoque; c. 10 (p. 108, 17) quorum, (p. 109, 2) nihil aliud; c. 15 (p. 112, 15) gratis; c. 23 (p. 117, 7) etiam; alia quidem ubi lacunae religiose sunt relictae, quasi his locis aut exemplar aliquod damnum perpessus esset, aut librarius compendia scribendi uel scripturam haud satis compositam explicare non ausus esset. Haec verba inter alia spatiis uacuis relictis omissa sunt: c. 6 (p. 105, 4) Zmyrnae; c. 23 (p. 117, 14) nominis; c. 24 (p. 119, 4) postmeridianis; c. 26 (p. 123, 14) rhetorem; c. 27 (p. 124, 2) uetere more; c. 29 (p. 125, 4) et ioci causa.255 Compluriens etiam, ubi compendia resoluere non ausus est, librarius primis uel ultimis uerborum litteris scriptis lacunas ceteris litteris postea implendas reliquit: c. 2 (p. 100, 20) ca.... (caria in M); c. 4 (p. 104,9) pat... (cf. prum in H); c. 15 (p. 112,10) popi... g₃; c. 18 (p. 114, 5) graphos; c. 23 (p. 117, 1) tex. . . . ; c. 24 (p. 118, 14)est pro adnotare; c. 25 (p. 122, 4) super....; c. 29 (p. 125, 3) con....pro congiarium; c. 30 (p. 125, 16) con...pro contubernium.

K adnotations bus marginalibus eiusdem generis atque M sed copiosioribus instructus est. Hae adnotationes in M et K ex eodem sonte non profluxerunt, cum nisi in nominibus propriis numquam conspirent. Exempla in K sunt: ad c. 4 (p. 103, 7) litteratus & eruditus secundum Cornelium; ad c. 4 (p. 104, 3 sq.) pueri sicci: aridi; ad c. 16 (p. 113, 17) quis primus poetas legerit; ad c. 25 (p. 123, 1 sq.) Appellatio ude (sic) $d\bar{r}$; ad c. 30 (p. 126, 2 sq.) Gestus in orando. Omnes adnotationes marginales ex eadem manu atque ipse codex, quod iudicare possim, profluxerunt, neque in toto codice certa indicia secundae manus repperi.

Non infitior K compluriens cum ceteris huius stirpis conspirare, ubi M a partibus meliorum librorum stat, ut c. 7 (p. 106, 1) & pro etiam; c. 14 (p. 111, 14) sit (si $\mathbb{C} \Delta \mathbb{Q}$) pro sint; c. 25 (p. 121, 11) atque pro ac, (p. 122, 11) et sic pro Sic; uel cum uno et altero stirpis γ contra ceterorum omnium testimonia facere, ut c. 2 (p. 100, 16) bellum punicum (= H U Δ) pro Punicum bellum; c. 11 (p. 110, 13) \widehat{ois} (= omnis H $\mathbb{C} \Delta$) pro omnes; c. 18 (p. 114, 3) L. omis. (= H $\mathbb{C} \Delta \mathbb{Q}$). Sed codex K in uniuersum non eadem peccata quae

266 Sic in exemplari.



H U C Δ Q prae se fert, et talis conspiratio, ut rarius fortasse ad archetypum γ referri potest, sic saepius fortuita habenda est. Mirum esset, nisi libri tam corrupti hic illic eadem uitia exhiberent.

3. Ceteri Stirpis γ Codices e communi Archetypo deperdito ζ Ortus ducere probantur

Ex altero codicis γ apographo, quod ζ nomino, reliqui codices HPUC F Δ Q, ut iam dixi, ortus uariis gradibus ducunt, quod facile persuasum habebis si hanc tabulam perlustraueris: 257

Nunc ad codicis f progeniem accedit codex Neapolitanus IV. B. 4. bis (S), ut lectiones huius sectae propriae in eo quoque deprehensae demonstrant. Haec tamen in S bene restituta sunt: c. 10 (p. 108, 22) breviario; c. 11 (p. 110, 5) Quem; c. 18 (p. 114, 13) compararetur; c. 25 (p. 121, 13) processerint; c. 28 (p. 124, 15) praecipitatum. C. 21 (p. 116, 6) \overline{aios} compendiose ut H ostendit S; c. 25 (p. 119, 14) compendium senat. consult., ut uidetur, in senatores consules resolutum est; c. 28 (p. 124, 12) 9sus (?) in censueris explicatum est. C. 23 (p. 117, 18) S perinde callium (sc. e promealium corruptum) exhibens ipsi f propius quam ceteri accedere uidetur. Codicem S neque ex f (uide infra p. 156) neque ex f (uide infra p. 166) profluxisse multa persuadent, quamquam has lectiones cum f communes habet: c. 3 (p. 102, 6) Post hec; c. 15 (p. 112, 10) turconem; c. 17 (p. 113, 14) Is erat liberalis; c. 18 (p. 114, 14) in sexti; c. 26 (p. 123, 14) hordearium; his etiam locis cum f facit: c. 15 (p. 112, 6) telluris aedem; c. 16 (p. 113, 9) Epirota pro Et Epirota; c. 17 (p. 113, 20) contra; c. 23 (p. 118, 2) dictoque; c. 29 (p. 125, 1) cum. C. 22 (p. 116, 10) ad id sar (e compendio adisar pro aduersario), eundem errorem atque f et hec mea in f and f are the compendio adisar f pro aduersario), eundem errorem atque f et hec mea in f.

Manum emendatricem alicuius uiri docti haec in S deprehensa detegunt: c. 23 (p. 117, 14) pepercisse (= O L U); c. 25 (p. 122, 3) tum utilia . . . tum perniciosa (sic fere B); c. 30 (p. 126, 2) incipere (= H); c. 14 (p. 111, 16) possim (cum praecedente habuero pro haberem); uerba Graeca c. 25 (p. 122, 5) θέσωσ, ἀνασκευάσ, κατασκευάσ, (p. 123, 1) συνθέσωσ; c. 25 (p. 122, 6) exoleverunt; c. 29 (p. 125, 4) risus tibi et ioci pro tibi et ioci, (p. 125, 5) compotatorum pro competitorum in exemplari, (p. 125, 7) & in tuos (uide infra p. 165). Hae tamen ineptiae inter permulta alia docent ipsum codicem S ab illo uiro docto non esse exaratum: c. 15 (p. 112, 5) suscrutauit pro sustentauit; (p. 112, 9) statua pro satura, (p. 112, 13) catonis pro catenis; c. 17 (p. 113, 18) sexterna pro sextertia; c. 18 (p. 114, 11) nec asua pro nota sua; c. 20 (p. 115, 7) uentitiam pro notitiam, (p. 115, 8) palemiae pro palatinae; c. 21 (p. 116, 5) corpore pro componere; c. 23 (p. 117, 18) effumas pro officinas. Statuendum igitur est tertium codicis ; apographon deperditum, cuius pars prior (ad c. 12; uide supra p. 35) in epitomen redacta erat, unde est transcriptus noster codex S. Fortasse hi deteriores stirpis γ codices plerumque ex eadem schola ita profluxerunt, ut hic illic in diuersis codicibus eaedem grammaticorum correctiones inuenirentur (uide supra p. 35).

²⁶⁷ Hic quoque uera lectio in singulos codices coniectura nonnumquam reuocata est. Q autem saepissime e Pontani libro est correctus.



	ζ (H P U C F Δ Q)		МКω
c. 3,	p. 102, 8 12	aliud (aliquid Q) nummis (num- mum Δ)	aliquid (aliqua X) nummum
c. 4,	p. 103, 6	Corneliusque cett. (= Corque B) Cornelius Δ	Cornelius quoque
	10	appellant H C Δ appellantur U ap- pellat Q	appellandos (appellando B)
	16		a grammatista (a grammatica D)
	19	Nam (Nanque Q)	Namque wel Nanque
	26		nihilo minus (nominus B)
c. 4 ,	p. 104, 8	omis. spatio uacuo relicto H P C omis. nullo spatio relicto Δ F uero U rèmoto Q	remoto
	10	in numero H U C in numerum Δ Q	in numerum
с. б,	p. 105, 8	& numero H U C e numero Δ ex nu- mero Q	ex numero
	8		huius (unius W Huic D) cognomen in plerisque
c. 7,	p. 106, 5		ipsius
c. 8,	p. 106, 10	_	etiam
	13	principium cett. precipuum Q	praecipuum
	13	enim (n. H) H C \(\Delta \) .i. U Ennii Q	Ennii (Enni B V)

ΜΚω ζ (H P U C F Δ Q) c. 9, p. 106, 19 migrantibus H Δ F magistratibus inigrantibus C omis. U magistratibus Q 22 omis. cett. Ro-Romam (Rhomam B) mam O p. 107, 4 negligenter ac H negligentia (neglegentia G I) aut negligenter at C (negligentiore, om. aut D) negligentur ac Δ omis. U negligentia aut Q c. 10, p. 107, 22 omis. cett. est Q est c. 10, p. 108, 8 omis. cett. Her-Hermam mam O breuiore H omis. 22 breuiario U breuiare C Δ breuia Q p. 109, 3 celeri & H C Δ celerique et M K ciuilique et w omis. U ciuilique et Q c. 11, p. 110, 5 Quam Quem c. 13, p. 110, 21 Vide supra p. 84. Libri alteram lectionem uel partim uel in toto in textum susceperunt. c. 14, p. 111, 5 .M. C O Marco H .C. UΔ 18 nosti inter nitie H nosti Niciae (uel Nitiae) ω nostre nosti inter Nicie U Nicie O nrae Niciae W nosti inter nitii C Δ nosti Nicie Q omis. c. 16, p. 113, 3 ita c. 17, p. 113, 11 exercitandum H C exercitanda Δ excitandum U exercitandū in exercitanda corr. Q 14 at H C ac U △ Q aut c. 18, p. 114, 13 compararet H U Q compararetur(comperaretur BV M K comparare C Δ comperaretur I L)

```
\zeta (H P U C F \Delta Q)
                                                     MΚω
            14 omis. C A Q in H
                                     ad (Q. om.) M K ad Q. w atque258
                                     O W ad Q. atque a
                 U
c. 19, p. 114, 17
                                     Libonis
                uxoris
c. 20, p. 115, 4
                omis. (=GI)
                                     Duerum
                 omis.
                                     eo
c. 21, p. 116, 6 alos H animos U
                                     alios
                 C A alios O
c. 22, p. 116, 8 omis. cett. M. Q
                                     M. (Marcus N D L)
                modestissimus H
                                     molestissimus
                 U \subset \Delta (= D) moles-
                 tissimus Q
                 & in callium H
c. 23, p. 117, 18
                                     promercalium (prouincialium I
                 inde callium C A
                                     Gm.1
                 inde carnium Q
                omis. U
                                     senatum consuluit
c. 25, p. 119, 14 Senat. Consult: U
                 senat consult C
                 senatus consulto \Delta
                 omis. H O
                                     interiecto
c. 25, p. 120, 3 interrupto (= Gm.
                 1 I)
     p. 120, 12 euenire cett. eo ue-
                                     eo uenire
                nire O
            13 ostendamus H C
                                     ostenderemus (ostendemus D K)
                Δ omis. U osten-
                deremus Q
                                     processerint (processer \mp K)
     p. 121, 13
                processerunt (= I
                 Gm.1
                          processe-
                 rint O
                                     infuit ω affuit D V L
     p. 122, 17 fuit H U C △ ad-
                fuit Q
            17 porta U C Δ porca
                                     sporta
                H sporta Q
c. 28, p. 124, 12
                considis H om. U
                                     consularis
                g_{sus}^{ri} C \Delta consularis
                 0
            14 ab Epidio H C
                                     a.C. Epidio W G I D V L M a.C.
                 ab Epulio U a
                                     Epidio N a .C. epidico B .A. cepidio
                 .C. Epidio(-mine-
                                     O acepidio K
                 mo) Q
   258 Vide supra p. 106.
```

 $\xi (H P U C \Delta Q)$ MΚω c. 28, p. 124, 15 principatum cett. praecipitatum precipitatum Q c. 30, p. 125, 13 omis. cett. contra contra 18 itaque H U ∆ itaatque ita ω mores ita X actaque ita que ita C atque ita Q p. 126, 7 ne cett. nec Q nec operandi cett. peperorandi (proorandi W) rorandi O

Qui has lectiones perlustrauerit, continuo iudicabit librarium 5 perpauca de industria mutauisse, sed saepius propter imperitiam et neglegentiam errauisse. Ne una quidem bona lectio inuenitur. C. 28 (p. 124, 14) ab Epidio Rothius probauit neque edere dubitauit. Non infitior praenomen illi deo uix conuenire, sed nemo dubitare potest quin C littera locum in Hersfeldensi libro obtineret.

4. CODICES H P U E COMMUNI ARCHETYPO DEPERDITO 7 ORIGINEM TRAXISSE DEMONSTRANTUR. NECESSITUDO INTER CODICEM H
ET EDITIONEM QUAE INCERTA VOCATUR EXCUTITUR.
NONNULLA DE CODICE U DICUNTUR.

Vitiosus ille codex ζ duos procreauit filios, quos η et θ nomino, qui ita ut pater eorum perierunt. Ex η codices Harleianus (H) cum eius apographo Parisino (P) et Vrbinas (U) (neuter tamen primo gradu) originem trahunt, e θ autem ceteri codices, Cheltenhamensis (C) cum eius apographo Florentino (F), Vaticanus 4498 (Δ), Berolinensis (Q).

Codices H et U e communi archetypo η manauisse lectiones quas infra expono docebunt. In dextra columna eis lectionibus quae in γ aut ζ exortae sunt²⁶⁹ primum locum attribui, cum librarius η has corruptelas nonnumquam sanauerit uel sanare conatus sit.

	η (E	IPU)	ω
c. 1,	p. 100, 8	si quid	siquidem γ si quid ω
	12	feruntur $(= \mathbf{Q})$	ferantur
c. 2,	p. 100, 14	Aristarchi $(=\beta \Delta)$	Aristarci (Haristarci X)
	16	bellum punicum	punicum bellum
		$(= \mathbf{K} \Delta)$	retractarent (tractarent B retrac-
	p. 101, 2	recitarent	tarent L)
c. 3,	p. 102, 6	post haec \mathbf{H} post hec $\mathbf{U} (= \mathbf{B})$	Posthac a Post hoc (Post hos L) ω

250 Vide supra p. 143 sq.; p. 152 sq.

```
η (H P U)
             9 in urbe fuisse (in
                                      fuisse in urbe
                 urbe om. in text.
                 sed add. ead. man.
                 in marg. binis uir-
                 gulis ante fuisse in
                text. et infra in in
                 marg. positis H)
            16 doctissimis (= I B
                                      notissimis (nocissimis G nouissimis
                                      Δ)
                 F)
                                      illum
c. 4, p. 103, 17 istum illum (=B)
     p. 104, 8 uero mane (=DK)
                                      mane uero
                                      stāti γ statim ω
                 statim
            10
c. 7, p. 105, 12
                                      M. (uel Marcus)
                omis.
     p. 106, 3 & si athenis H &
                                      Etsi Ateius
                 syrarenis U
c. 14, p. 111, 10
                 me omis.
                                      me (m C)
                                      Vidium (Nidium Q)
                 nudicum H iudi-
                 cum U
            14 omis. (=0)
                                      \tau \circ \hat{v} (tot W toum \Delta Io. Q)
            18 molliciem
                                      uide supra p. 98
c. 15, p. 112, 10 Laustaurum (Lau-
                                      lastaurum
                 strarum P)
            10 lurconem (=0 L)
                                      lurchonem uel curchonem; uide
                                      subra b. 98
c. 17, p. 113, 14 is erat liberalis
                                      id erat liberalis \gamma id erat liber ali-
                                      quis ω
                tunc palatii
                                      palatii (palati a V C) tunc
            18
c. 18, p. 114, 14 in
                                      omis. & ad w
c. 22, p. 116, 19 Gallus (= a L Q)
                                      gallius
c. 25, p. 120, 3 .GN. (= Gn.VLQ)
                                      .CN.
                                      exoluerint (exsoluerunt D exoluerit
c. 25, p. 122, 6 exoluerunt
                                      K)
                                      hordear y uide supra p. 118
c. 26, p. 123, 14 hordearium (=N)
                 H ordeanum<sup>260</sup> U
c. 27, p. 124, 4 .GN. (=W Gn. V)
                                      .CN.
                 LQ) HG. U
c. 28, p. 124, 17
                 comperisse H com-
                                      comparuisse (conperuisse B C)
                 perisse U
c. 29, p. 125, 8 audite (= W D)
                                      audite audite
```

³⁶⁶ Ex ordearium corrupt. Cf. in U c. 30 (p. 125, 12) nouanensis et (p. 127, 5) nouanam pro Nouariensis et Nouariam. Huc adde quod c. 18 (p. 114, 9) hanc, et (p. 114, 11) uota, ubi duplices lectiones in Hersfeldensi codice pono, H U soli inter stirpis γ codices eas lectiones quas scriptas uides exhibent.

In Harleiano (H) codice ita ut in Bodleiano²⁶¹ (B) duo diuersa genera lectionum propriarum inueniuntur, quorum unum manum emendatricem alicuius uiri docti; alterum ineptias librari indoctissimi et neglegentissimi retegit. Quam ob rem compertum habeo nostrum Harleianum non ex ipso n transcriptum esse, sed potius apographon esse corruptissimum alterius cuiusdam codicis quem uir aliquis doctus ex n transcripserit. Primo ergo eum codicem qui inter H et n intercedit quodam modo restituere conabor. Virum illum doctum qui Harleiani patrem exarauit artis metricae haud ignarum fuisse uera lectio c. 11 (p. 110, 4) sit sapientiam (= L Q F) pro sapientiam sit restituta, et c. 16 (p. 113, 9) Epirota pro Et Epirota, uerbo Et metri causa deleto, 202 persuadent. Eiusdem doctrina in notis marginalibus deprehenditur: uide mihi ad c. 1 (p. 100, 5) Liuius Andronicus; ad c. 15 (p. 112, 11) Quintilianus liº ·V·/ Et uerba antiqui mult/268 furate Catonis/ Crispe ingurtine con/ditor historiæ.264 Idem uir doctus c. 15 (p. 112, 9) lacerauerit (= X B V L Q) pro lacerauit in exemplari restituit; c. 20 (p. 115, 7) polyhistorem pro polihistorem²⁶⁵ recte scripsit; c. 25 (p. 122, 19) brundisii pro brundusii in exemplari posuit. 2008 Idem librarius nisi fallor c. 2 (p. 101, 1) ubi compendium aiorum pro aliorum iam in t in animorum falso resolutum erat,267 amicorum substituit; c. 5 (p. 104, 15) corruptelae ferturque (pro fecitque), quae in y exorta erat, feruntque scribens medelam adferre conatus est; c. 14 (p. 112, 2) e possem, quod in exemplari legere debebat, possim effecit, 268 c. 17 (p. 113, 18) sestertia (= N G V L) pro sextertia restituit. Eidem quoque attribuo c. 4 (p. 103, 25) tam pro iam tam; 269 c. 11 (p. 109, 20) in summa pauperie et pene inopia pro in summam pauperiem et pene inopiam;²⁷⁰ c. 25 (p. 123, 1) synthesis.²⁷¹

³⁶¹ Vide supra p. 122.

²⁶⁵ Vide supra p. 129. Putet aliquis hanc correctionem librario ζ attribuendam, cum in C Δ Q quoque inueniatur. Quod non credo, cum pristina lectio in U se habeat, neque inscius ille librarius ζ talem emendationem facere posset.

²⁰⁰ Litterae um a bibliopega resectae sunt.

²⁶⁴ Hoc epigramma re uera apud Quintilianum VIII 3, 29 inuenitur.

¹⁶⁶ Sic in γ: polikistorem M U polikystorem K C (=B) pollikistorem Δ polybistorem Q.

²⁶⁶ Vide tamen supra p. 71 adn. 88.

²⁶⁷ Vide supra p. 148.

³⁶⁶ Fortasse etiam in ζ uera lectio non possit in margine scripta durauerat. Similiter librarius V lectionem non possit respuit, nisi quod litteram i supra e in possem scripsit. Vide supra p. 78; p. 96 adn. 5.

[∞] Vide supra p. 83.

²⁷⁰ Vide supra p. 125.

²⁷¹ Vide supra p. 102 sq.

Ad Harleiani archetypum, quod H₁ nomino, restituendum in editione quam Rothium sequens Incertam appello testem pretiosissimam habemus. Earum lectionum quae totius stirpis γ propriae sunt has fere in Incerta editione inuenies:²⁷² c. 3 (p. 102, 11) laeneus; c. 4 (p. 104, 3) scilicet omis.; c. 5 (p. 104, 15) tum, (p. 104, 17) indicatur; c. 9 (p. 107, 5) omni sermone, (p. 107, 20) exemplum; ²⁷⁸ c. 10 (p. 108, 6) Declamantum, (p. 108, 24) Asinium pollionem; c. 11 (p. 109, 15) probabantur; c. 14 (p. 111, 15) habuero, (p. 112, 1) coitus; c. 17 (p. 113, 14) liberalis, (p. 114, 2) publicaret; c. 22 (p. 116, 17) auctoritatem; c. 23 (p. 117, 16) carperet; c. 25 (p. 122, 11) & sic; c. 26 (p. 123, 13) a Cratino, (p. 123, 14) subiratoque; c. 27 (p. 124, 1) uoltacilius; c. 28 (p. 124, 9) docendi; c. 29 (p. 124, 10) extitisse. Has deinde lectiones cum 5 communes habet editio Incerta: c. 4 (p. 103, 19) Nam; c. 10 (p. 107, 22) est omis., (p. 109, 3) celeri &; c. 11 (p. 110, 5) Quam; c. 17 (p. 113, 14) ac; c. 25 (p. 120, 13) ostendamus; c. 28 (p. 124, 14) ab epidio. Has etiam lectiones cum n communes exhibet: c. 2 (p. 100, 16) bellum punicum; c. 3 (p. 102, 9) in urbe fuisse; c. 4 (p. 104, 8) uero mane; c. 7 (p. 105, 12) M. omis.; c. 14 (p. 111, 14) τοθ omis.; c. 17 (p. 113, 14) Is erat liberalis; c. 22 (p. 116, 18) gallus; c. 25 (p. 122, 6) exoluernnt.²⁷⁴ Has denique lectiones non nisi in Incerta editione et H inuenies: c. 17 (p. 113, 14) carior pro rarior; c. 24 (p. 118, 9) memoria antiquorum pro antiquorum memoria, (p. 119, 2) aliquos pro aliquot; c. 25 (p. 121, 18) liberius pro uberius; c. 26 (p. 123, 10) uirorum pro hominum, (p. 123, 14) hordearium (= N). Sed editio Incerta eis turpissimis uitiis, quibus Harleianus codex laborat, quorumque nonnulla infra ostendam, omnino caret, neque dubium mihi uidetur quin is, qui Incertam comparauit non ex ipso Harleiano sed ex eius archetypo H₁, de quo supra uerba feci, hauserit. Quod etiam, ut spero, infra probabo.

Cum in Incerta editione multa eorum uitiorum quae in $\gamma \zeta \eta$ exorta sunt²⁷⁶ non legantur, satis constat, quod Rothius etiam suspicatus est (p. LX adn.), eum qui hanc editionem curauit alio quoque codice usum esse. Hunc alterum codicem unum fuisse ex stirpis β libris hae lectiones demonstrant:²⁷⁶ c. 2 (p. 100, 15) secundum et; c. 4 (p. 104, 1) ipsos, (p. 104, 3) alia; c. 6 (p. 105, 8) divarum. Neque certissima argumenta desunt, quae doceant quem ad codicem stirpis β haec editio referenda sit. C. 17 (p. 113, 10) Incerta editio MVERIVS, quod sine dubio est typographi error pro M. VERIVS, te-

²⁷² Incerta editio indice caret.

²⁷⁸ Vide supra p. 146.

²⁷⁴ Typographorum error pro exoluerunt.

²⁷⁶ Eodem iure suspicari licet alias interpolationes, quas librarius H₁ introduxit, huius alterius codicis opera ex editione Incerta sublatas esse. Nam has lectiones peculiares in H uiro illi docto qui eius archetypum exarauit quam imperito librario qui ipsum Harleianum confecit attribuere malim: c. 3 (p. 102, 14) numis pro annuis; c. 4 (p. 104, 10) mersisse pro transisse, (p. 103, 17) quidam pro quidem; c. 9 (p. 107, 5) omnes pro omni.

²⁷⁶ Vide supra p. 116 sq.

statur. Osannus hoc praenomen ex hac ipsa editione textui primus restituit, quamuis confessus sit se ignorare unde sumptum esset, cum in Incerta nullus esset index. Duo soli codices B et W hoc praenomen ex indice restitutum exhibent. In illo etiam nomen una littera R ut in Incerta scriptum est.277 C. 8 (p. 106, 13) Enni elenchorum in codice & in enim elenchorum corruptum abierat; Incerta editio autem ennillencorum, quod nusquam nisi in **B** (enniclencorum) reperies, exhibet. C. 10 (p. 108, 1) ubi stirps γ uerae lectionis notus memoriam amiserat nihil nisi alteram lectionem natus testans, Incertae editor ex altero codice auxilium petens nominatus scripsit, quod autem in solo B se habet. Haec quoque non nisi in Bodleiano et Incerta editione inuenies: c. 3 (p. 102, 13) apuleum pro apuleium in codicibus; c. 20 (p. 115, 9) Claudio pro Clodio; c. 25 (p. 119, 11) esse pro etiam, (p. 122, 3) tum... tum278 pro dum... dum in Hersfeldensi; c. 28 (p. 124, 14) epidicus.²⁷⁹ Haec autem habet Incerta cum B et paucis aliis libris scriptis: c. 11 (p. 110, 5) et selibra (et selibia B) (= M), (p. 110, 15) Zenodocti (= K); c. 20 (p. 115, 3) hyginus (= \mathbf{V}), (p. 115, 11) uixit (= \mathbf{K} Q); c. 28 (p. 124,11) canutius (=0); c. 30 (p. 127, 1) excanduisset (= X D). In H carminum uersus continue in ordine scripti sunt, cum B in c. 11, c. 18 (p. 114, 8 sq.), c. 22 (p. 116, 20-21) eos κατά στίχον compositos exhibet. Incerta editio eandem rationem atque **B** secuta est, nisi quod c. 22 (p. 116, 20-21) nullam habet uersuum distinctionem. Is qui Incertam editionem curauit rei metricae ignarus fuisse uidetur, cum c. 11 (p. 110, 4) sapientiam sit, c. 16 (p. 113, 9) Et Epirota cum B scripserit, quamquam H₁ emendationes lectiones exhibebat.280

Constat igitur eum qui Incertam editionem curauit praeter Harleiani archetypum alio codice ei Bodleiano simillimo usum esse. Non tamen puto eum ipsius Bodleiani copiam habuisse, sed potius eius codicis e quo B transcriptus esset. 281 Quod quidem nisi fallor probari potest. Nam compluriens et H et B corruptas lectiones habent, saepius etiam inter se fortuito consentientes, ubi Incerta ueram scripturam profert. Quodsi his locis U cum H conspirat, consentaneum est ueram lectionem in Harleiani archetypo se habere non potuisse. Unde uerisimillimum mihi uidetur In-



³⁷⁷ Marcus Verius B. M. Varrius W. Cum et H et U indice careant, uerisimile est indicem iam in η defecisse; unde colligitur eum qui Incertam curauit hoc praenomen in \mathbf{H}_1 reperire non potuisse.

²⁷⁸ tum . . . et tum in B.

⁵⁷⁸ In eodem uersu Incertae editor codicis H_1 lectionem *ab epidio* praetulit, et continuo ubi ueram scripturam *nucerino* in B (=X) invenire potuerat, corruptam *nuncino* (*nucino* in Inc.) ex H_1 suscepit. C. 3 (p. 101, 15) Incerta lectionem *istilio* uel ex B_1 uel ex H_1 accipere potuit, cum hi duo nescio quo casu hanc eandem corruptelam exhiberent. Item c. 15 (p. 112, 9) lacerouerit in Incertam ex alterutro fonte manare potuit.

See Vide supra p. 158.

set Vide supra p. 122.

certae editorem ueras lectiones in Bodleiani archetypo inuenisse ubi ipse B pessum ierit. Qui loci sunt:

η (H U) (falso)		B (falso)	Incerta Ed. (recte)
c. 1 (p. 100, 2)	rudi	rudi	rudi .s.
c. 2 (p. 101, 2)	recitarent	tractarent	retractarent
c. 3 (p. 102, 16)	doctissimis	doctissimis	notissimis
c. 4 (p. 103, 6)	Corneliusque	Corque	Cornelius quoque
c. 15 (p. 112, 13)	praeceptisque	praeceptisque	perceptisque

Eodem pertinere uidetur quod c. 11 (p. 110, 5) Incerta editio et selibra formaris testatur, **B** et selibia furis, **H** et libra farris; ubi uerisimile est in Bodleiani archetypo compendium aliquod pro farris extitisse, quod librarius **B** in furis, Incertae editor in formaris explicauerit. Selibia in **B** merae depravationi deberi uidetur.

Eodem modo, nisi fallor, demonstrari potest Incertae editorem non ipso Harleiano sed eius archetypo H_1 usum esse; siquidem c. 3 (p. 101, 16), optimatum, et c. 23 (p. 116, 22), Rhemmius, Incerta editio cum tota stirpe γ facit, in ipso Harleiano tamen haec uerba omissa sunt. Nam Incertae editor has lectiones ex B_1 accipere non potuit, cum B cum ceteris suae stirpis optimatium (quimanum D) et Rheminius testetur.

Est nihilo minus quaedam confusio in Incertae editionis testimoniis, uelut c. 3 (p. 103, 2) Sisennius (Sistenius H om. B), (p. 103, 3) opius (Oppius H B) cum U \(\Delta\) praebet; c. 4 (p. 103, 13) rigido (rigida H tigida B), c. 30 (p. 125, 18) actaque ita (itaque H Atque ita B) cum K exhibet; c. 5 (p. 104, 19) Posthumius cum Q profert. Quae tamen omnia fortuita mihi uidentur. Haec editio propriis lectionibus minime caret, quarum partem maximam typographorum erroribus attribuo, ut c. 18 (p. 114, 14) ad .R. Sexti; c. 23 (p. 117, 9) . N. uarronem. Tres notabiliores lectiones animaduerti: c. 18 (p. 114, 5) mimographus (= X); c. 23 (p. 117, 19) insitam pro institutam; c. 25 (p. 121, 2) consulibus Hirtio et Pansa pro cum consulibus Hirtio et Pansa. Mimographus restitui debere supra (p. 82) iudicaui, sed quo pacto in hanc editionem inrepserit non extrico. Consulibus Histio et Pansa uerbo cum omisso Aldus suscepit; Burmannus cum primus restituit, quod Baumgarten-Crusius sine iusta causa iterum deleuit. Insitam pro institutam Rothius edere ausus est. Alia in Incerta editione ad libitum immutata uidentur, ut c. 4 (p. 103, 13) Ficrio pro Furio, (p. 103, 20) quemquam pro quem; c. 10 (p. 108, 7) professor pro praeceptor, (p. 108, 19) collegimus pro coegimus; c. 30 (p. 126, 8) timore pro pudore.

Is qui Incertam editionem curauit utrumque librum manuscriptum satis accurate contulisse uidetur, secundum hanc normam, nisi fallor, ut codici H_1 ubi textus sanus sibi uideretur oboediret, eis autem locis ubi H_1 corruptelis laborare iudicaret auxilium a B_1 peteret. Rothius (p. LVI) edi-

tionem Florentinam 1478 ueterum omnium longe optimam iudicauit. Ego quidem Incertam ueriorem Suetoniani opusculi imaginem praebere censeo.

Vt ad ipsum Harleianum redeam, tam multis propriis uitiis scatet, quae non nisi ob librari neglegentiam exoriri potuerint, ut hunc librum qui aetatem tulit nullo modo ei uiro docto, cuius operam supra (p. 158) descripsi, uindicare possim. Librarius igitur aliquis indoctus praestantius illud exemplar una cum notis marginalibus exscripsit, sed ita inepte et neglegenter ut haec inter multa alia admiserit: c. 3 (p. 102, 1) Socerus pro Seruius; c. 4 (p. 104, 21) dicit pro diem; c. 7 (p. 105, 15) crediderunt pro crediderim; c. 10 (p. 108, 11) herniam pro Hermam in exemplari, (p. 108, 18) signant pro significat, (p. 108, 18) aliam nostris pro nostram aliis, (p. 108, 19) coeginius pro co egimus; c. 21 (p. 116, 6) nouem pro nouum; c. 24 (118, 6) quibus pro Probus; c. 28 (p. 124, 12) considis pro consularis; uerba passim omissa, ut c. 1 (p. 100, 4) eius, (p. 100, 10) eodem; c. 2 (p. 101, 6) quos; c. 3 (p. 101, 16) optimatium; c. 23 (p. 117, 12) omnium.

Restat ut de duabus bonis lectionibus quas H solus²⁸² exhibet uerba faciam. C. 22 (p. 116, 18) uerbo, ubi ceteri libri omnes uerba testantur, inuenies. Dicat aliquis hanc esse coniecturam eius uiri docti qui H₁ exarauit, quod tamen non puto, cum indoctus ille librarius qui ipsum Harleianum confecit litteras a o e saepius inter se confuderit, ut c. 4 (p. 104, 5) iō pro iam, quod etiam librarius P in ideo explicauit; c. 10 (p. 109, 1) Antiquo pro antiqua; c. 11 (p. 109, 6) ipo (ipso in P) pro ipse; c. 14 (p. 111, 7) eo pro ea. Quare hanc bonam lectionem, quamquam eam edere nullus dubitabo,²⁸² sorti magis quam coniecturae deberi suspicor. C. 30 (p. 126, 2) incipere in H ex in opere correctum legitur. Talis correctio ab eo librario, qui hunc codicem exarauit uix fieri poterat, sed mea opinione alicui lectori attribuenda est. Quod quomodocumque se habet, haec correctio ante Parisinum transcriptum facta est, cum hic incipere ostendat.

Vt rem haud multis uerbis dignam hic absoluam, Parisinum codicem Harleiani esse apographon Peterson Gudemannusque Dialogum castigantes recte iudicauerunt. Osannus tamen in Suetoni libello curando haud recte negauit. Namque argumenta omnia ab Osanno ad suam opinionem confirmandam prolata falsa collatione alterius utrius codicis nituntur. Has igitur discrepantias inter H et P extare ille longe a uero aberrans existimabat: c. 6 (p. 105, 2) primo H patrio P; c. 7 (p. 106, 3) Atteius H Athenis P, (p. 106, 5) ipsius H impensius P; c. 9 (p. 107, 20) filium H R_z^m P; c. 24 (p. 118, 11) se H omnes P; c. 26 (p. 123, 10) hominum H uirorum P, (p. 123, 15) appellat H omis. P. Genuina tamen horum codicum eisdem locis testimonia hic habes: prio H patrio P; impensius H P; athenis H P; R_z^m H P;



²⁸² Cum Parisino, ut semper, nisi aliter moneo.

²⁸³ Nulla est causa cur tam longe a fide codicum discedatur, ut G. Faerni (apud Statium) coniecturam *uerbis* cum Reifferscheidio suscipiamus. Vide supra p. 81 sq.

se H P; uirorum H P; appellat omis. H P. Quocirca eosdem locos quos ad negandum protulit Osannus ego ad affirmandum exhibeo. Quibus etiam accedunt multae aliae lectiones, quae in his solis codicibus inueniuntur: c. 1 (p. 100, 4) eius om., (p. 100, 10) eodem om.; c. 2 (101, 1) amicorum, (p. 101, 4) etiam, (p. 101, 6) quos om.; c. 3 (p. 101, 16) optimatium om., (p. 102, 1) Socerus (pro Servius), (p. 102, 8) scriberet H scriber&ur P; c. 4 (p. 103, 2) Sistenius, (p. 104, 3) huius generis, (p. 104, 5) io H ideo P (pro iam), (p. 104, 10) mersisse; c. 5 (p. 104, 14) Niganor; c. 7 (105, 15) crediderunt, (p. 106, 2) excesserint; c. 9 (p. 106, 17) more, (p. 106, 18) die in inimicorum, (p. 106, 21) inde om., (p. 107, 13) quo nam artificio; c. 10 (p. 108, 11) herniam, (p. 108, 12) quibus, (p. 108, 18) aliam nostris, (p. 108, 19) coeginius, (p. 108, 24) Asinium om.; c. 11 (p. 109, 5) Vulerius, (p. 109, 6) ipso, (p. 109, 20) extremam bis; c. 13 (p. 111, 1) litteratum; c. 14 (p. 111, 7) eo (pro ea), (p. 111, 11) Nudicum, (p. 111, 13) sum om., c. 16 (p. 113, 9) miracula; c. 17 (p. 113, 14) carior, (p. 114, 1) marmori; c. 19 (p. 114, 17) scrobonia; c. 20 (p. 115, 4) exalexandrinum; c. 21 (p. 115, 14) ingenitus, (p. 116, 6) et fecit; c. 22 (p. 116, 16) et (si) om., (p. 116, 18) uerbo; c. 23 (p. 116, 22) Remmius om. spat. uac. nouem fere litt. relicto, (p. 117, 4) insanus, (p. 117, 12) omnium om., (p. 117, 18) uestium om., (p. 117, 19) CCCLX, (p. 118, 4) possit; c. 24 (p. 119, 4) plurimi; c. 25 (p. 119, 15) ex rhetoribus, (p. 120, 12) ut (pro et), (p. 121, 18) liberius, (p. 122, 8) sicuti, (p. 122, 17) porca; c. 28 (p. 124, 10) in quibus, (p. 124, 12) considis; c. 30 (p. 126, 2) in opere in incipere corr. H incipere P, (p. 126, 6) uerius et rarius. Peculiares autem lectiones in P plerumque eiusmodi sunt, quae ob librari neglegentiam exoriantur.284

Nunc ad Vrbinatem longe pessimum omnium mutilatum illum codicem et quasi umbram opusculi Suetoniani transeo. Cuius in foliis perlustrandis non unius sed complurium codicum fata legere mihi uideor; quae ad enarranda ab hoc ipso codice qui aetatem tulit progrediar. Codicis U librarius incredibili stultitia et neglegentia codicem suum exarauit. Exemplari multis glossis instructo usus esse uidetur, cum c. 2 (p. 100, 18) uerba acroasis subinde spatio uacuo complurium litterarum relicto omiserit, post lacunam autem .i. interrogationes scripserit; c. 23 (p. 117, 8) post ex tempore scripserit subito, quod tamen expunxit. Vix aliter explicari possunt tales corruptiones quales sunt c. 2 (p. 100, 13) arbitramur pro

Hae fere sunt c. 6 (p. 105, 10) id om.; c. 9 (p. 107, 6) et om.; c. 10 (p. 108, 1) notus (natus H) om., (p. 108, 4) affectione, (p. 109, 2) toto (pro noto); c. 11 (p. 109, 15) probantur (recte; sed al' hiero probabantur in H); c. 13 (p. 110, 21) VABERIVS (V Taberius in H), (p. 110, 21) Heros (heros H); c. 15 (p. 112, 10) Laustrarum P Laustaurum H; c. 16 (p. 113, 5) Latine om.; c. 21 (p. 115, 17) cum bis; c. 23 (p. 118, 1) mulieribus P mulierebus H, (p. 118, 3) fuerunt; c. 24 (p. 118, 7)donec . . . contulit om., (p. 119, 1) grammatic.s P grammatices H, (p. 119, 6) quaedam om.; c. 25 (p. 121, 6) cum diceret P 9diceret H; c. 30 (p. 126, 8) moetu.



opinamur; c. 3 (p. 101, 15) preco fuerat pro praeconium fecerat; c. 4 (p. 103, 10) uocantur pro nominentur; c. 8 (p. 106, 9) retinendum pro tuendam; c. 14 (p. 111, 15) ad Athicam in epistola de Nicia; c. 23 (p. 117, 18) ita pro adeo; c. 25 (p. 122, 13) exempli gratia pro exempli causa. Nescio qua peruersitate uerborum ordinem sescenties immutauit, ut c. 4 (p. 104, 3) omnino sicci, (p. 104, 15) peruenit docendo; c. 7 (p. 105, 17) nec minus grece doctus quam latine; c. 10 (p. 108, 3) uerborum priscorum; c. 14 (p. 111, 6) uxorem pompeii; c. 23 (p. 117, 10) et natas litteras et morituras. Alia futilia huius librari hic uides: c. 3 (p. 102, 1) siti pro sit; c. 4 (p. 104, 3) nouis genus pro hoc genus; c. 6 (p. 105, 9) iudicibus (= Q) pro indicibus, (p. 105, 10) id ipse perdico pro ipse id per duas; c. 7 (p. 106, 3) & syrarenis pro etsi Ateius; 286 c. 11 (p. 110, 6) tegida pro tegula; c. 14 (p. 111, 16) Niciam illum nostrum pro mecum illum; c. 17 (p. 113, 11) inclamauit pro inclaruit; c. 25 (p. 121, 5) .C. Ciceroni pro .C. Curioni. 286

Alterius cuiusdam librari opus discernere uideor, qui non tam exemplar libelli Suetoniani quam breuiarium conficere uoluit. In uita Orbili Pupilli (c. 9) omnia post destitutus (p. 106, 19) usque ad ut Horatius (p. 107, 6) omisit, nisi quod ad Suetoni uerba reuocanda haec sola interpolauit: hic in discipulos asper. Deinde post Domiti Marsi uersiculum (1.9) haec inuenies: Quinquagessimo anno Consule Cicerone docuit maiore fama quam emolumento, quae ad praecedentia (p. 106, 22) referenda sunt. Cetera autem omnia quae sequuntur in hac uita deficiunt. Item in Atei Philologi uita (c. 10) uerba inde ab nonnullum (p. 108, 10) ad capitis finem deficiunt, nisi quod (p. 108, 20) coluit familiarissime C. Salustium scripta inuenies. C. 11 (p. 109, 10) e Suetonii uerbis, ut quidem apparere uel his uersiculis potest, idem librarius, ut uidetur, haec effecit: ut quidem apparet his versiculis. C. 18 (p. 114, 5) post adiuuit (sic in U) uerba ad haec (l. 7) omisit et scriberentur in scribuntur mutauit. C. 23 (p. 117, 17) uerbis a diligentissimus ad agros (1. 18) omissis adeo coleret in ita coluit mutauit, cum coniunctiuus coleret non haberet unde penderet. C. 24 (p. 118, 14) emendare in emendauit immutauit atque sequentia ad soli omisit. In eodem capite uerba a perraro (p. 119, 6) ad Reliquit (1.7) omisit. Librarium qui nostrum libellum his aliisque locis tam foede mutilauit eundem fuisse qui ipsum Vrbinatem exscripserit uix credo, cum huic ne istam quidem scientiolam attribuere possim.

Haud scio an tertius fuerit librarius qui foedissimas interpolationes ubique introduxit, ut c. 1 (p. 100, 6) utranque linguam (= a) pro utraque lingua; c. 3 (p. 102, 6) meruit pro increuit, (p. 102, 14) a Delphitio pro ab Aeficio; c. 4 (p. 103, 25) quasi iam tum disertis pro quamquam iam tam discretis, (p. 104,



²⁸⁶ Fortasse etsi Athenis in exemplari. Vide supra p. 157.

²⁶⁶ Nonnumquam idem librarius sua mira futilia in margine correxit, ut c. 11 (p. 110,9) in text. *Oratio*, in marg. *modo*; c. 15 (p. 112, 14) in text. *I psorum*, in marg. *precium*; c. 25 (p. 120, 5) in text. *nimos*, in marg. *homines*.

2) elocutiones pro allocutiones. Sed quid parua enarrem? Idem c. 11 (p. 109, 6) ubi Suetonius scripserat ipse libello, cui est titulus Indignatio, haec concinnauit: Ipse in libro cuius titulus est indagatio; c. 21 (p. 116, 1) ad corruptum quod elegantem (pro quo delegante) sanandum haec effecit: quod eleganter curam Bibliotecarum ordinandarum haberet in Octauie porticu suscepit. C. 22 (p. 116, 10) Syllogismum et (l. 14) sylogismo pro soloecismum et soloecismo scripta inuenies; ibidemque pro Suetoni uerbis arguere perseuerauit uidebis argute perscrutauit. Denique in eodem codice c. 23 (p. 117, 19) pro manu eius institutam satis constet haec leguntur: ex eius manu consitam et institutam constet satis.²⁸⁷

Sunt tandem in codice U haud pauca uestigia manus emendatricis eius uiri docti qui optime de Suetonio meruit. Qui c. 29 (p. 125, 4) Cicerone adhibito corruptelas quae iam in Hersfeldensi codice extabant olim sanauit, licet posteriores librarii hunc quoque locum satis maculatum effecerint. Codex U solus Tu uero adhibes²⁸⁸ pro Tibi et (tibet W omis. O tibi omis. B) in ceteris, compotorum pro competitorum, in te quae pro in quem, haec omnia fere ut in Ciceronis altera Philippica (42) ostendit. Cui (1, 6) in U ut in ceteris libris nostris deest. Vbi codices nostri falsum (corr. in salsum L) et Ciceronis codices salsum testantur, U O insulsum profert. Verba autem in te et in tuos dicta dicere ut in Ciceronis libris leguntur, in codicibus tamen Suetonianis et in tuos dicere, in U omnino omissa sunt. Idem codex (1.8) audite et et omittit; item (l. 9) iugera pro iugerum, (l. 10) non iniuria pro immunia (immuni in Suetoni codicibus praeter 0) scripta habet. Sed nemo. ut opinor, credet eum uirum doctum qui hunc locum Ciceronis opera sanauerit eodem tempore istos ineptissimos errores admisisse. Vt cetera ad libellum nostrum sanandum ab eodem uiro docto collata attingam, c. 3 (p. 102, 5) praemortua pro praemortui restituit, quod cautissimi editores suscipere non dubitauerunt; 289 c. 7 (p. 105, 15) is solus ueram scripturam Scytobrachionis assecutus est; c. 23 (p. 117, 14) pepercisse (= 0 L) suo loco restituit;200 c. 25 (p. 122, 23) libertatem pro libertate, quod alibi non nisi in B inuenitur, 291 recte scripsit; c. 29 (p. 125, 2) meliorem formam temptare (= W K primitus in G) posuit. Idem librarius haec haud inepte emendauit: c. 21 (p. 116, 5) inscribuntur (= G L) pro scribuntur; 202 c. 23 (p. 117, 11) presaeiente (= Δ) pro praesagante.293 His quoque locis textui medelam adferre

²⁸⁷ Verba quae sequuntur CCCL XV uasa edidisse. Sed omissa sunt.

³⁶⁶ Nonnulli Ciceronis codices sic testantur, quamquam meliores *At uero adhibes* habent. Vide supra p. 79.

²⁶⁰ Praemortua in editionibus Stephani coniecturae debetur. Osannus solus codicum lectionem restituit; dubito an recte.

²⁰⁰ Vide supra p. 82.

⁵⁹¹ Vide supra p. 119.

²⁵⁰ Vide supra p. 111 adn. 65.

²⁸³ Beroaldus praesagiente primus edidit; quod Aldus suscepit atque uulgauit. Trossius, Osannus, Rothius ad codicum lectionem praesagante reuerterunt. Reifferscheidius praesa-

sibi uisus est: c. 1 (p. 100, 6) notum est ($=\Delta$ correcta lectio in L) pro adnotum est in exemplari; c. 2 (p. 100, 16) in regione pro regione (=G); c. 4 (p. 103, 15) simulque grammaticum pro simul grammaticumque; c. 6 (p. 105, 4) simul (= L Q) pro simulque; c. 14 (p. 111, 14) Verum (= I) pro utrum. C. 4 (p. 104, 10) statim, c. 14 (p. 111, 10) putem, c. 23 (p. 117, 16) caperet, quae in γ in stati, pate, carperet abierant, 295 bene restituit. C. 2 (p. 101, 5) scriptura pro scripta in ζ reuocauit; c. 4 (p. 103, 10), ubi librarius ζ appellant pro appellandos scripserat, hic uir doctus appellantur coniecit; c. 4 (p. 104, 8) ubi remoto in ζ spatio uacuo relicto omissum erat, uero suppleuit. 296

Codex U propter hoc quoque est insignis, quod c. 30 (p. 127, 4) is solus Regum, quod Decembrius in Hersfeldensi libro legit, testatur. Quomodo hic nodus soluendus sit nescio. Cum Decembrius Regum legerit, nostri autem codices legum testentur, uerisimile mihi uidetur regum in textu Hersfeldensis libri stetisse, alteram lectionem legum in margine scriptam fuisse; sed hanc lectionis uarietatem usque ad Vrbinatem codicem durauisse, neque in ullo alio codice qui aetatem tulit in lucem prouenisse omni probabilitate caret.

Hunc codicem pluribus uerbis quam quibus est dignus enarraui, ut aperte demonstrem turpissimum istum librum qui hodie est superstes nullo modo primo gradu ex η profluxisse potuisse, sed duos saltem codices deperditos inter U et η ponendos esse.

5. Codices C F Δ Q Editio Veneta a. 1474 e communi Archetypo deperdito θ Ortus ducere probantur

Ex altero codicis ζ apographo, quod θ nomino, reliqui quattuor libri, Cheltenhamensis (C) et eius apographon Florentinus (F), Vaticanus 4498 (Δ), Berolinensis (Q) profluxerunt. Cum Berolinensis, ut infra demonstrabo, e duobus exemplaribus confectus sit atque saepenumero a suae sectae memoria discedens cum ceteris fere libris conspiret, ad archetypum θ restituendum editionem Venetam a. 1474, quae his codicibus est coniunctissima, adhibeamus necesse est. Hanc igitur editionem quam siglo Ven. indico, in tabulis infra expositis tamquam librum manuscriptum adhibeo. Discrepantias inter libros CF Δ Q Ven. praeter orthographiam et litterarum maiuscularum et minuscularum vices accurate adnotaui; eorum autem codicum, quorum testimonia in dextra columna ostendo, grauiores modo discrepan-

giente resuscitauit, sed temere, cum Suetonius non sua sed Palaemonis uerba hic proferat. Nam, qui uariis nec uulgaribus metris utebatur, sine dubio uerba inusitata affectabat. G. M. Lane, Harvard Studies IX (1898) p. 23, uerba proxime praecedentia secum et natas et morituras litteras carminis uersum olim fecisse demonstrat. Fortasse sed praesagante Vergilio quoque ex aliquo Palaemonis uersu a Suetonio sumpta sunt.



²⁴ Vide supra p. 133 adn. 180.

²⁹⁴ Vide supra p. 143 sq.

³⁰⁴ Vide supra p. 152 sq.

tias indicaui. Florentinus codex ubique cum Cheltenhamensi conspirat, nisi aliter moneo; post autem c. 18 (p. 114, 4) hic initio deficit.

	θ (C	F Δ Ven. Q)	мкни ω
c. 1,	p. 100, 1	Grammatica olim Romae ne in usu quidem	Grammatica Romae ne in usu quidem olim
	3	nec tum (nec tunc Q)	necdum
	8	latine praelege- bant C latine per- legebant Δ Ven. Q	praelegebant (praeallegabant ²⁰⁷ D V L)
c. 2,	p. 100, 14	~	in urbem
	14	aullotes $\mathbf{C} \Delta$ aullotes $\mathbf{Ven.} \mathbf{Q}$ Millotes $\mathbf{F} (= \mathbf{B})$	Mallotes
	16	omis.	Palatii
	p. 101, 8	legisset	legisse se
	13	$\mathbf{multi} \ \mathbf{ac} \ (= \mathbf{U})$	multique ac
c. 3,	p. 102, 6	gratia (et omis.) C Δ Ven. et gratia Q	et gratia
	9	omis. C \(\Delta \) Ven. uero Q	uero
	p. 103, 4	gressu C Δ Ven. ingressu Q	ingressu
c. 4,	p. 103, 6		libello
•	-	litteratos	litteratores
	19	âicius C Accius F	alicuius
		omis. spatio vacuo	
		decem fere litt. re-	
		licto A ditius Ven.	
		alicuius Q	
	20	producerent C Δ Ven. produceretur	produceretur
		F Q	
		omis. $(=L)$	et
	p. 104, 7		nomine
		romae (non omis.) F Ven. nomine Q	
	11	patronum $C \triangle Ven$.	
		patronorum Q	patronorum

³⁰⁷ Vide supra p. 123.

•	θ (C F Δ Ven. Q)		мкни _ω
c. 5,		omis. C & Ven. per	per
c. 6,	p. 105, 10	inperastichi de li- bellis C impera- stichi delibellis F in perastichi de li- bellis Δ in pera- scichi de libellis Ven. In perasci- chide libellis Q	in parastichide libelli (in parastichi de libelli W)
	11		inscribitur
c. 7,	p. 105, 22	omis. C Δ Ven. non nisi Q	non nisi
	22	mundis $C \triangle Ven.$	nundinis
	p. 106, 4	tradat C \(\Delta \) Ven. tradit F Q	tradit
	5		esse
c. 9,	p. 106, 20	induit C \(\Delta \) Ven. meruit O	meruit
c. 9,	p. 107, 6	sed ut C F Ven. ut (sed omis.) Δ ut et Q	ut et (et <i>omis</i> . B U)
c. 10	, p. 108, 17		sic
	p. 109, 1	· • • •	eum (om. U)
	2		Salustio
c. 11	_	et idem rursus	et rursus
	, p. 110, 18		libertum edidit. librum
c. 13	, p. 110, 21		uide supra p. 84

MKHU w θ (C F Δ Ven. Q) erasuomene Ven.) emptus heros empturus Ven. O. c. 14, p. 111, 7 retulisset (rettulispertulisset set Δ) 14 si τοῦ C F sitoum sit τοῦ K sit (τοῦ omis.) H U sint Δ si Io. Ven. Q. τοῦ (sint tot W τοῦ omis. O) ω coitus M K H U uictus w p. 112, 1 cintus C tritus A comitus Ven. uictus O c. 15, p. 112, 5 aliisque filiisque 6 telluris aedem C Δ telluris (telluris templum D) telluris ede Ven. O 9 uerecundo C Ven. inuerecundo \mathbf{Q} uerecunde Δ 9 subscripsisset C Q scripsisset Ven. scripsisset Δ c. 16, p. 112, 16 actici Sati C At-Satti (uide supra p. 75) tici Sati A actici Stati F atticisati 0 p. 113, 9 Epirota (= H L Et Epirota m.3) c. 17, p. 113, 10 libertus libertinus 17 acciperet (=B)reciperet 20 contra circa c. 18, p. 114, 5 mimographis C mimographus X mimographos ω minographis \(\Delta \text{Ven.} \) c. 20, p. 115, 5 audii (ex audit) audiit (audiuit γ N I) et imitatus est imitatus est C omis. A auide imitatus est Ven. Q 8 profuit C Ven. praefuit profuit in praefuit corr. Q praefuit Δ c. 21, p. 116, 1 omis. Augusto etiam insinuatus est omis. C & Ven. componere componere Q

θ (C Δ Ven. Q)		МКНUω
c. 23, p. 116, 22	militaris C Δ Ven. mulieris Q	mulieris ω in litteris \boldsymbol{B} militis \boldsymbol{U}
p. 118, 2	dictoque C Δ Ven. dicto quoque Q	dicto quoque ²⁹⁸
2		non infaceto
	quicum (= BD)	-
c. 24, p. 118, 8	grammatisten C Δ Ven. grammatis- tam Q	grammatistam
9	sic cum Romae C	sicut Romae
	Δ Ven. sit ut Ro- mae Q	
p. 119, 6	minus C Δ Ven. nimis Q	nimis (unius X)
c. 25, p. 122, 5	anascenas $C \triangle Ven$. (= B Lm.3 M) anascenas Q	anasceuas
p. 123, 4	_	reperientur (repererunt U)
c. 27, p. 124, 1		Voltacilius M H Voltatilius K uolacilius U Oltacilius uel Octacilius ω ²⁹⁹
12	9 sus C Δ consucis Ven. consularis Q	consularis (considis H omis. U)
c. 28, p. 124, 13		Epidici
c. 29, p. 125, 1	cum C \(\Delta \) Ven. cui \(\Q \)	cui
c. 30, p. 126, 10	parentem $C \triangle Ven$. parentes Q	parentes
14	sedis C Δ Ven. cedis Q	caedis uel cedis

De propriis huius sectae lectionibus non est multum quod dicam. Librarium θ non omnino indoctum fuisse emendationes c. 16 (p. 112, 16) Attici Satti, (p. 113, 9) Epirota, c. 28 (p. 124, 13) Epidii demonstrant; sed

²⁹⁸ Perperam Reiff. in apparatu.

²⁹⁹ Vide supra p. 93 sq.

interpolationibus libidinose eum indulsisse atque transcribendi opera neglegenter functum esse cuiuis apparet. C. 18 (p. 114, 5) mimographis, hi codices Hersfeldensis memoriam, licet imperfecte, reuocare mihi uidentur, sed libenter concedo eos leuissima esse auctoritate.²⁰⁰

Vna interpolatio uel error horum codicum, c. 23 (p. 118, 3) qui cum, in editionibus usque ad hanc diem permansit, nisi quod Reifferscheidio qui (cum) eum edere placuit. Et codicum testimonia et linguae Latinae usus postulant ut locus sic edatur: qui eum in turba osculum sibi ingerentem, quamquam refugiens, deuitare non posset.

C. 17 (p. 113, 20) contra pro circa Vahlenus³⁰¹ restituendum esse iudicauit, quod sine dubio numquam fecisset, nisi Reifferscheidius lectionem contra libris O N I falso attribuisset. Quem errorem idem Reifferscheidius postea³⁰² correxit, sed in alterum delapsus est, cum scripturam contra non ante saeculum sextum decimum in editiones inrepsisse dixit. Nam contra ab Aldo ex editione Veneta a. 1474 susceptum uulgatum est; quod a Trossio etiam neglectum Osannus primus reiecit.

Libri $C \Delta Q$ editioque Veneta et ipsi in duas sectas ita sese distribuunt, ut nullus eorum ex ipso θ transcribi potuerit, sed ad duo codicis θ apographa deperdita, quae ϵ et μ nomino, referendi sint. Ex apographo ϵ Cheltenhamensis (C) et eius apographon Florentinus (F), et Vaticanus 4498 (Δ) ortus ducunt. Ex apographo μ autem profluxerunt editio Veneta 1474 et Berolinensis (Q), sed ea ratione ut librarius qui Berolinensem exarauit Pontani quoque librum adhiberet.²⁰³

6. Inter Codices C F Δ et θ Archetypum dependitum ϵ ponendum demonstratur.

Consensus mirus inter codices C et Δ in inscriptionibus, ubi uerba historici et proemium interpolata sunt, supra (p. 142) uideri potest. Librarium γ libellum nostrum bipertite distribuisse supra (p. 141) adnotaui. Quod opus in C Δ ita est perfectum, ut grammaticorum index ei parti quae est de grammaticis, rhetorum autem index alteri parti quae est de rhetoribus praemissus sit. Cum tamen indices in C et Veneta editione deficiant, nulla est causa cur haec distributio ad codicem C referri non possit. In C C singulis capitibus singulae inscriptiones in ipso ordine praefixae sunt. Praeter grammaticorum et rhetorum nomina singulis capitibus praemissa haec quoque inuenies: ad c. 1 (p. 100, 1) DE GRAMMATICES INVENTIONE C De inuentione grammatices C: ad c. 4 (p. 103, 5) De appella-

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200 Vide supra p. 82.
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²⁰¹ 1877, p. 4.

³⁰² 1877, p. 4.

³⁰³ Vide infra p. 181 sq.

²⁶⁴ Librarius F libri inscriptionem suo arbitrio mutauit. Vide supra p. 142.

tione grammaticorum; ad c. 25 (p. 119, 9) De rhetoricae (Rhetorices Δ) inuentione et inuentoribus. Ad c. 11 (p. 109, 11) in utroque codice legitur: Endecasyllabi de Catone. In Berolinensi quoque et Veneta editione singulorum grammaticorum nomina singulis capitibus praemissa sunt, sed ita ut cognomina compluriens deficiant. Ceterae capitum inscriptiones, quas modo enarraui, in Q et Ven. non inueniuntur; sed haud scio an omnes codici θ uindicandae sint. Namque ad c. 20 (p. 115, 3) C inscriptionem M. iulius phriginus exhibet, sed in textu Caius³⁰⁶ iulius priginus profert; Q autem et in inscriptione et in textu M. IVLIVS Phryginus³⁰⁶ testatur; Δ etiam in inscriptione et in textu Caius Julius Phriginus.³⁰⁷ Quae cum ita sint, huius capitis inscriptio certa ratione codici θ assignanda est. Cheltenhamensis, ut semper, ueriorem codicis θ imaginem repraesentat, cum librarius Q praenomen M. ex inscriptione in textum perperam susceperit, librarius autem Δ praenomen Caius e textu inscriptioni recte restituerit.

Sunt tamen haud paucae aliae codicum C Δ proprietates, quae nullo modo ad θ referri possint, sed in eius apographo ϵ originem habere debuerint. Quae uitia correctoris manus in C nunc radendo nunc uerbis omissis addendis nunc super uersum scribendo partim sustulit. In tabula infra exhibita lectiones in C quae e priore manu fluxerunt semper ostendi, sed eis locis ubi secunda manus medelam adtulit asteriscum adfixi. Codex F cum correcta lectione in C semper conspirat nisi aliter moneo.

	ε (C F Δ)	Ven. Q ω
c. 1, p. 100,	9 quidem $(=\mathbf{B})$	quod
c. 3, p. 103,	$3 h^7 \mathbf{C} \text{ hoc } \Delta$	hic
c. 4, p. 104,	3 ht genus C habet genus Δ	hoc genus (huius generis H nouis genus U)
c. 6, p. 105,	2 nouissim C nouis- simum Δ	nouissime
	4 *& composuit que C & composuit que Δ	composuitque
c. 7, p. 105, 1	7 singularem	singularis
2	1 *ut traderet omis. C ita traderet omis. **08 Δ	ita ut quotidie (cotidie W) praecepta eloquentiae traderet
• •	3 incuriis (iniuriis F) 5 ne	iniuriis naturae (nė K)

³⁰⁶ C in litura ut uid.

²⁰⁰ PHRIGINVS in inscriptione.

²⁰⁷ Eadem confusio in Veneta editione uidetur, qui M. Iulius Phryginus in inscriptione habeat, sed praenomen in textu omittat.

²⁰⁸ ita post declamare (sic) insertum Δ .

e	(C F Δ)	Ven. Q ω
	5 quas (quos F) (= D)	-
	6 deme (deinde F)	deinde .
	1 h ⁷ mã C mea Δ	hermam (uel haere)
	$8 h^7 ma$ C hec mea Δ	hermam
1	9 *quas	quam
c. 11, p. 109,		eoque
	8 licenter $(=\mathbf{U})$	licentia
c. 13, p. 111,	2 tanta cum	tanta eum (eum tanta B U tantarum W)
	4 recepit	receperit
c. 14, p. 111, 1	0 *curae	cures $Ven. Q$ curare ω
1	3 *triticus (= K)	criticus
c. 15, p. 112, 1	0 & pompinonem	popinonemque
	quae C & pompi-	
	nonem Δ & popi-	
	nonemque ${f F}$	
c. 16, p. 112, 1		se
c. 17, p. 113, 1	3 *quam materia C	materia quam
	qua materia ∆	
1	7 docuit: quae (do- cuitque F)	docuitque
c. 18, p. 114, 1	3 comparare	compararet H U Ven. Q comparare-
		tur ω
c. 19, p. 114, 1	8 *Verrus	Verrius
	9 fuit quae \mathbf{C} Fuit Δ	fuitque
c. 21, p. 116,		absoluitque
c. 22, p. 116, 1	0 ad id sar. sr C ad	ab aduersario (adaduersarios N)
	id sr° Δ	
c. 23, p. 118,		sibi
c. 26, p. 123,	6 *scire fert C scire	sic refert
	refert Δ	
_	3 *omis.	de ui
c. 29, p. 125,	4 *coti	ioci

Hae lectiones praeter dubitationem demonstrare mihi uidentur codices $C \Delta$ non ex ipso θ sed ex eius apographo ϵ transciptos esse, quamquam non infitior tantam esse testimoniorum confusionem in huius interpolati generis libris, ut uix sperem me omnia ad liquidum perducturum.

300 Sic c. 3 (p. 102, 8) supra, c. 7 (p. 106, 5) impensius, c. 17 (p. 114, 1) marmore (marmori H), c. 30 (p. 125, 18) itaque, quae omnia in H U Δ leguntur, librario ζ attribuenda uidentur, quamquam eisdem locis C. Ven. haec testantur: super, ipsius impensius, marmoreo, itaque ita.

C exemplar multo fidelius quam librarius Δ transcripsit. Ille compendia quae resoluere non ausus est religiose repetiit, dum hic compendia saepius falso explicauit, corruptelis quas in exemplari repperit nonnumquam medelam adferre conatus est, compluriens etiam uerba corrupta quae idoneam sententiam praebere non uidebantur omnino omisit.

Correctoris manus in C, ut e tabula quam modo ostendi apparet, saepius ea uitia quae in ϵ , communi archetypo codicum C Δ , exorta sunt sustulit, sed numquam, quod sciam, corruptelas quae in γ β θ exortae sunt sanauit; unde conicere licet correctorem ipso codice θ usum esse. Idem corrector nonnulla uitia quae in solo C se habebant sustulit, ut c. 9 (p. 106, 17) pipillus in pupillus corr.; c. 20 (p. 115, 12) Modestas in Modestus corr.; c. 25 (p. 122, 1) illustros in illustres corr. Alia suo Marte immutauit, ut c. 10 (p. 108, 18) hylen in hylen; c. 20 (p. 115, 4) et ante non nulli additum; c. 23 (p. 117, 9) si post ut additum.

De codicis Cheltenhamensis propriis lectionibus, quae non permultae sunt, nihil est quod dicam. Ne unum quidem uerbum omissum in C, nisi quae in Δ et Veneta editione deficiunt, animaduerti. C. 2 (p. 101, 9) C cum solo M ueram scripturam lenaeus (pro leneus in libris) testatur, quod tamen in ε originem habuisse corruptela lenatus in Δ demonstrat. C. 11 (p. 110, 3) Mirator pro Miratur R. Ellisio²¹⁰ ualde placuit, qui tamen leuem auctoritatem huius codicis perspexisse non uidetur. Quin etiam in hoc ipso codice Mirator e Miratur est correctum, nisi fallor.²¹¹



Item c. 4 (p. 104, 2) C peraphrasis ostendit, ubi H U Δ Ven. periphrasis habent. His etiam locis C cum editione Veneta contra codicum Δ Q ceterorumque testimonia conspirat: c. 4 (p. 104, 9) declarare pro declamare; c. 5 (p. 104, 20) infantiam pro infamiam; c. 8 (p. 106, 11) cumam pro Cumas; c. 11 (p. 110, 1) nimio pro minio. His denique locis Veneta cum Δ contra C Q ceterosque facit: c. 10 (p. 109, 3) interque Ven. indeque Δ pro uitetque; c. 18 (p. 114, 6) pergula pro percula uel parcula in ceteris; c. 25 (p. 123, 1) sinthesis (uide supra p. 99; p. 102). Haud paucos codices huius interpolati generis olim in usu fuisse puto, ita ut aliorum lectiones in aliis a lectoribus margini adtextae inde in contextum inrepserint.

no Journal of Philology XIX (1891) p. 181.

²¹¹ Non solum in ipso codice apparet, sed etiam eius apographon Florentinus miratur cum ceteris profert. In Cheltenhamensi codice copiosae sunt adnotationes marginales, quarum nonnullae manum alicuius uiri docti detegunt, ut ad c. 1 (p. 100, 5) Liuius andronicus; ad c. 4 (p. 103, 21) L. sylla ob opprobium (sic) lvātor est appellatus, quae, nisi fallor, ad Catullum 14, 9 respiciunt; ad c. 4 (p. 104, 7), ubi C Δ (uide supra p. 167) Romae non pro nomine habent, Cladius hic fuit; ad c. 7 (p. 105, 12) De hoc gniphone apud plinium; ad c. 15 (p. 112, 4) De Leneo apud plinium; ad c. 25 (p. 119, 13), ubi Suetonius senatus consultum et censorium edictum profert, Hoc & gellius; ad Ploti Galli uitae initium (c. 26, p. 123, 5) De hoc etiam quintilianus. Hae adnotationes, quod iudicare possim, eidem manui (uel manibus? haud scio an scriptura inde ab c. 23 [p. 117, 8] faciebat [fol. 14b] ex altera quadam manu fluxerit) quae ipsum codicem exarauit attribuendae sunt. Probabilius mihi uidetur eas non in C originem habuisse, sed ex eius archetypo transcriptas esse. Fortasse librario θ, qui non indoctus erat (uide supra p. 170), uindicandae sunt. In Δ Q nullae omnino sunt notae marginales.

Ouin Florentinus codex Cheltenhamensis sit apographon uix dubium uidetur, cum easdem lectiones quibus C∆ sunt insignes exhibeat, eis autem locis ubi corrector errores in e exortos ex C sustulit, F cum correcta lectione in C consentiat. 412 Has etiam lectiones non nisi in C et F inuenies: c. 2 (p. 100, 15) actalo; c. 4 (p. 103, 11) nominemur, (p. 104, 4) arridi (= B), (p. 104, 9) declarare; 213 c. 5 (p. 104, 15) fertur quae C ferturquae littera a interlita F, (p. 104, 16) saturam C staturam priore littera t deleta F, (p. 104, 20) infantiam²¹³ (= M); c. 7 (p. 106, 5) ipsius impensius;²¹³ c. 8 (p. 106, 11) cumam;313 c. 9 (p. 106, 19) aperpituram, (p. 107, 4) negligenter at, (p. 107, 6) sed ut Oratius; c. 14 (p. 111, 9) decollegimus (pro de eo legimus), (p. 111, 14) acticum, (p. 112, 1) cintus. Florentini codicis librarium non indoctum fuisse tales lectiones persuadent: c. 1 (p. 100, 5) Liuium Andronycum; c. 3 (p. 102, 11) daphniden; c. 4 (p. 103, 16) grammatisten (pro grammatistam in (c); c. 9 (p. 107, 17) ubinams pro ubinam est; c. 11 (p. 110, 4) sit sapientiam pro sapientiam sit in archetypo. Fortasse hic librarius et ipse grammaticus erat, cum ad c. 4 (p. 103, 23), ubi Suetonius ueteres grammaticos olim rhetoricam docuisse affirmat, haec in margine scripserit: Sic fit hodie et male quidem. 314 Quare non est admirandum si librarius F uitiosum exemplar C saepius emendare temptauit (nonnumquam etiam ueras scripturas restituens), ut c. 2 (p. 100, 14) Aullotes C Millotes ³¹⁵ F (= B); c. 3 (p. 102, 5) uiuerit C uixerit $F(=\Delta)$, (p. 103, 1) docueret C docuerunt F; c. 4 (p. 103, 19) dicius C Accius 116 F, (p. 103, 20) producerent C produceretur F, (p. 104, 7) romae non ($=\Delta$; pro nomine) C romae F; c. 5 (p. 104, 20) quadam C quandam F; c. 7 (p. 105, 18) numquam C unquam F, (p. 105, 19) liberalite C liberalitate F, (p. 106, 1) fungerent C fungeretur F, (p. 106, 4) tradat C (= Δ) tradit F; c. 9 (p. 106, 19) inigrantibus C migrantibus F (pro magistratibus), (p. 106, 19) deme C deinde F, (p. 107, 3) incuriis C iniuriis F, (p. 107, 5) ne acerbae (pro naturae acerbae) C inacerbae F, (p. 107, 5) quas C (= Δ D) quos \mathbf{F} ; c. 10 (p. 108, 5) atenis \mathbf{C} ateius \mathbf{F} , (p. 108, 6) deme \mathbf{C} (= Δ) deinde \mathbf{F} ; c. 11 (p. 109, 5) bursem C Burseni F, (p. 109, 22) actor C auctor F, (p. 110, 15) cratis C cratetis F; c. 14 (p. 111, 6) memini C memii F, (p. 111, 6) strupro C stupro F, (p. 111, 16) humanite C humanitate F. Nonnulla peccata uel libidinose uel neglegenter admisit librarius F: in inscriptione C. Suetonius Tranquillus Rhetor; c. 1 (p. 100, 2) fuit pro erat; c. 2 (p. 100, 13) opinatur,

ans Vide supra p. 172 sq.

⁸¹³ Sic tamen in e ut uidetur. Vide supra p. 173 adn. 309.

³¹⁴ Librarius F codicem suum copiosis indiculis et adnotationibus marginalibus instruxit. Quod ad c. 4 (p. 103, 18) *Orbilius lucius* scripsit, praenomen ex indice in exemplari C accepisse uidetur, licet ipse indicem non transcripserit.

³¹⁶ Litterae au- in C pro mi- facile capere possis.

⁸¹⁶ Compendium pro *alicuius* ipse librarius C non intellexit; librarius F autem nomen proprium inde effingere uoluit, ut nota marginalis, *Accius uenalis*, docet. Vide supra p. 167.

(p. 101, 2) retractarentur, (p. 101, 11) Instruxerum pro Instruxerunt; c. 3 (p. 102, 9) traduntur (= D), (p. 102, 16) doctissimis (= B H U) pro notissimis; c. 4 (p. 104, 10) e omis., (p. 104, 12) prodi omis.; c. 5 (p. 104, 21) decessisse (secessiss& C); c. 6 (p. 105, 7) indicaret; c. 7 (p. 105, 21) quotidia; c. 8 (p. 106, 14) nummis pro nummum; in inscriptione ad c. 9 P. Pupillus beneuentanus Orbilius; c. 10 (p. 108, 22) componere om.; c. 11 (p. 109, 10) quidam (= Δ Q), c. 13 (p. 111, 2) honestitate; c. 16 (p. 113, 7) praelegegere; c. 17 (p. 113, 15) praeceptor om., (p. 113, 17) catilianae; c. 18 (p. 114, 4) cognominauit (= O). Florentinus codex, ut supra dixi, post c. 18 (p. 114, 4) hic initio deficit.

Vaticanum 4498 e Cheltenhamensi transcriptum esse non puto, cum c. 29 (p. 124, 30) C extricte se, Δ extitisse testetur, quae lectionis uarietas ad codicem γ et meo quidem iudicio ad ipsum Hersfeldensem referenda est. 21 Quidam errores etiam in Δ ob exemplaris scripturam haud satis compositam et claram exorti esse uidentur, ut c. 14 (p. 111, 6) rodicillos pro codicillos; c. 20 (p. 115, 5) Alexandria capta studiose et audiit et 318 omissa spatio uacuo tredecim fere litterarum relicto; c. 21 (p. 115, 17) rideret pro uideret; c. 23 (p. 117, 18) restium pro uestium, sed nulla est causa cur codicis C scriptura talem confusionem inductura fuerit.

Codex \(\Delta \) aliquanto est deterior quam Cheltenhamensis. Multa uerba deficiunt, quorum nonnulla consulto omissa esse uidentur, ut c. 7 (p. 100, 2) tum, (p. 100, 5) qui idem (quidem in libris); c. 7 (p. 105, 21) autem; c. 14 (p. 111, 7) ei_{i}^{319} c. 28 (p. 124, 9) dicendi (docendi in γ). Alia neglegenter omissa sunt, ut c. 6 (105, 7) iudicaret; c. 9 (p. 107, 12) diversae partis advocato; c. 10 (p. 107, 22) Hunc Capito Ateius notus (natus in γ); c. 12 (p. 110, 19) suis; c. 20 (p. 115, 9) poetae; c. 22 (p. 116, 14) Hic idem cum ex oratione Tiberium reprehendisset; c. 23 (p. 117, 4) mox. Interpolatio in codice Δ manifesta est, ut unum certissimum exemplum citem. C. 27 (p. 124, 1) corruptela Volcatius pro Voltacilius in θ exorta est, quamquam C in indice (p. 99, 3) ueram scripturam Voltacilius exhibet. In Δ autem uolcalius in indicem e contextu inrepsit. Duae optimae lectiones, quae iure in editionibus locum obtinent, in hoc solo libro manuscripto inueniuntur: c. 18 (p. 114, 6) pergula pro percula uel parcula; c. 24 (p. 118, 10) repeteret pro repetere in codicibus. 20 C. 24 (p. 119, 4) Δ solus cum plurimum exhibet, quod Ihmius restituendum iudicauit. 221 C. 1 (p. 100, 7) notum (= U correcta lectio in L) pro corrupto adnotum; c. 4 (p. 103, 20) titulis pro titulos in exemplari haud inepte substi-



²¹⁷ Vide supra p. 145 sq.

²¹⁸ Vide supra p. 169.

⁸¹⁹ Et in e ut uidetur, cum C sic testetur.

editione 1474 se habet, sed repeteret in editione Romana (uide supra p. 36). Osannus repeteret primus edidit, quod iam dudum a Schotto uel coniectura, uel, quod suspicor, ex editione Romana propositum erat. Pessime hoc loco Reifferscheidius codicum testimonia obscurat.

²²¹ Vide supra p. 124 adn. 129.

tuit; c. 2 (p. 100, 14) Aristarchi (= β H U) recte scripsit. C. 23 (p. 117, 16) librarius Δ ueram scripturam caperet, quae in γ in carperet abierat, restituit. Has etiam lectiones, quae in ζ pessum ierant sanauit: c. 3 (p. 102, 11) nummum pro nummis; c. 4 (p. 104, 11) numerum pro numero; c. 6 (p. 105, 8) e numero pro & numero. La Earum corruptelarum quae in θ exortae sunt has bene correxit librarius Δ : c. 15 (p. 112, 9) scripsisset pro subscripsisset; c. 20 (p. 115, 8) praefuit pro profuit.

Alia in Δ temere mutata sunt, ut formae Graecae substitutae, c. 2 (p. 100, 13) grammatices, (p. 101, 11) grammaticen, c. 3 (p. 102, 16) grammatice, c. 27 (p. 124, 4) Rhetoricen; c. 2 (p. 101, 11) Lucilius pro L.; c. 4 (p. 103, 10) appellantur pro nominentur, ³²⁶ (p. 103, 22) in litteris pro litteris; c. 11 (p. 109, 20) in summa pauperie et pene inopia (= H); ²²⁷ c. 12 (p. 110, 17) Kalatorque pro calatorque; c. 23 (p. 117, 11) presagiente (= U) pro praesagante; ²²⁸ c. 25 (p. 120, 11) Neque ita placet neque ita uidetur. ²²⁹ Alia quidem huius codicis propria ita merae depravationi debentur, ²³⁰ ut dubitem an hae omnes proprietates quas enumeravi in uno atque eodem libro originem habuisse potuerint. Vix dubium uidetur quin inter Δ et ϵ tertius quidam codex ponendus sit, sed codex tam uitiosus quam Δ indignus est qui altius indagetur.

7. CODEX Q ET EDITIO VENETA A. 1474 E COMMVNI ARCHETYPO DEPERDITO μ PROFLUXISSE, LIBRARIUS TAMEN Q DVOBUS EXEMPLARIBUS VSVS ESSE DEMONSTRATUR

Relinquitur ut codicem μ commune archetypum Berolinensis codicis et Venetae editionis restituam. Cuius ad uitiosam memoriam reuocandam lectiones quae sequuntur satis habeantur:

$$\mu$$
 (Ven. Q) $C \Delta \omega$

c. 1, p. 100, 5 et oratores semi- et semigraeci graeci³³¹

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In U Q quoque restitutum. Vide supra p. 145.
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²²³ Vide supra p. 152 sq.

^{224 &}amp; numero pro ex numero in .

²²⁵ Vide supra p. 167 sq.

me nominemur in C.

²⁰⁷ Vide supra p. 125 adn. 132.

²⁰³ Vide supra p. 165 adn. 293.

³¹⁰ Propter corruptam lectionem in exemplari. Vide supra p. 145.

²⁰⁰ E. g., c. 3 (p. 102, 16) nouissimis pro notissimis; c. 4 (p. 104, 6) ne quidem pro me quidem; c. 6 (p. 105, 8) aut pro ait; c. 9 (p. 107, 15) erat is pro aetatis; c. 20 (p. 115, 12) ustius pro Iulius. Vide et supra p. 176.

²⁰¹ Errauit Rothius (p. LVI) cum hanc lectionem nulla fuisse in editione impressa ante Aldinam affirmauit.

	μ (Q	Ven.)	C Δ ω
c. 2, p. 10	0, 20	sunt imitati	imitati
p. 10	1, 4	unico	uno
	6	quo	quos
	7	Vertius	Vectius (uettius 0)
	9	Ianeus	leneus (lenaeus M C lenatus Δ Lę- neus N G laenius W)
c. 3, p. 10	1. 16	Tantus	Tantum (tamen I)
,	17	fauor	fautor
р. 10	2, 12	Panosgarema	panosagacema ³³²
•	15	conductum multos	conductus (uel conductos) multos
		edocuisse	edoceret (mutoscedo doceret O W) 223
c. 4, p. 10	3, 9	appellat	appellant (appellantur U) ζ appellandos ω
c. 5, p. 10	4, 19	posthumius	vide supra p. 87
c. 7, p. 10		•	temporum
c. 9, p. 10			appituram C preturam Δ apud pre-
			turam H omis. U apperituram G
			aperituram I appituram B ap-
- 10 10	0 22	hi.	pituram V apparituram ω
c. 10, p. 10	5, 22	Dreuia.	breuiare $\mathbf{C} \Delta$ breuiore \mathbf{H} omis. \mathbf{U} breuiario ω
c. 11, p. 10	9, 19	doctrina	dictinna ³³⁴
c. 13, p. 11	0, 21	hierausuomene	uide supra p. 84
	21	deacatasta	de catasta
c. 14, p. 11	1, 10	cures	curae $\mathbf{C} \Delta$ (corr. m. 2 in \mathbf{C}) curare ω
c. 14, p. 11	1, 12	expersum	expensum
	14	utrum si Io.	utrum si τοῦ C utrum sitoum Δ u-
			trum sit τοῦ K utrum sit H Verum
			sit U utrum sint τοῦ (tot W τοῦ omis.
			Ο) ω
c. 15, p. 11			comes
c. 16, p. 11			damnationem
c. 18, p. 11			Tarentinus
c. 20, p. 11	-		audiit325 uel audiuit
c. 21, p. 11			Spoleti natus
	15	curiae et ob indu- striam	cura et industria
p. 11	6, 2	octauis	Octauiae
202 Vide s	upra p	. 95 sq.	
Wide s			
*** Vide :			
*** Vide 1	upra p	. 109.	

μ (Q	Ven.)	C Δ ω
c. 23, p. 117, 8	uero ex uariis	uero uariis
18	inde carnium	inde callium $C \triangle H$ omis. U prouincialium $Gm.1I$ promercalium ω
c. 25, p. 120, 6	ludos	ludum
10	omis. $(=B)$	malorum Δ maiorum ω
10	placent (neque omis.) Q placant (neque omis.) Ven.	placet neque Δ placent neque ω
c. 26, p. 123, 6	titumium	titomnium Δ Titinnium ω Titini- um O K Ticinium W

Librarius µ, quamuis huic libidinosae interpolationi quam uidisti indulserit, haud pauca uitia, quae in suo exemplari θ legit, correxit. Primo c. 25 (p. 119, 13 sq.) in senatus consulto et censorum edicto Gellio etiam adhibito complures corruptelas sanauit. L. 13 Q Ven. cum solo L Messalla (messala L) pro sala exhibent; (p. 120, 4) soli Q Ven. ueram lectionem ita edizerunt proferunt; l. 7 latinos rhetoras recte testantur, cum latinos alibi in solis O W N Gm.2 inueniatur, inque eisdem rhetora sibi pro rhetoras ibi386 scriptum sit. Vera scriptura (l. 11) recta quae in γ pessum ierat²³⁷ in Q Ven. restituta est. Vbi Q cum ceteris fere libris ne renuntiatum ostendit, Ven. genuinam scripturam renuntiatum $(=0)^{238}$ profert. Quocirca librarium μ renuntiatum pro ne renuntiatum e Gellio restituisse, sed librarium Q corruptelam e Pontani libro repetisse iudico. Q autem (l. 12) eo uenire et (l. 13) ostenderemus recte exhibet, dum Veneta editio corruptelas a librario ¿ admissas euenire et ostendamus repetit, ita ut haec uitia a librario u in Gellio adhibendo neglecta esse uideantur, librarius Q autem ueras formas e Pontani exemplari restituisse censendus sit. Alia eodem loco quae e Gellio corrigere potuit librarius μ neglexit: (p. 119, 13) C. omis., (p. 120, 2) ut si ei rei $p.^{229}$ pro uti ei e re p., (p. 120, 9) quae a librario γ omissum. Neque lectiones Suetonianas (p. 119, 15) rhetoribus et (p. 120, 12) uidetur mutauit, ubi Gelli codices de rhetoribus et uisum est testantur. Gravia etiam vitia hoc loco idem librarius, ut uidetur, admisit, (p. 120, 10) maiorum et (11) neque (recta) omissis.³⁴⁰ Vt cetera a librario μ bene correcta attingam. c. 11 (p. 110,

²³⁶ Correxit eadem man. in O. Vide supra p. 88.

³³⁷ Vide supra p. 145.

³³⁸ Vide supra p. 45.

²³⁰ Sic in **H Q Ven.** *ut si* in omnibus codicibus Suetonianis praeter **O W**. Vide supra p. 78 sq.

In Veneta editione inter rhetoribus (p. 119, 15) et de ea re interpolatio S. Cos. inrepait, quae ab Aldo suscepta est. Cum librarius Q uerba a praetor (p. 119, 14) ad animaduerteret (p. 120, 1) ob uerba M. Pomponius praetor repetita neglegentissime omiserit, nescio utrum hacc interpolatio ad codicem μ referenda sit necne.

4) sit sapientiam (= L H) pro sapientiam sit restituit, et hos locos, qui a librario γ corrupti erant, sanauit:

μ (\mathbf{Q}	Ven.) ω .	γ
c. 1, p. 100, 8	siquid	siquidem (siquid H U)
c. 5, p. 104, 17	indicat	indicatur
c. 11, p. 109, 21	modico (modice X)	medico
c. 15, p. 112, 9	lacerauerit	lacerauit $(= a D)$ (lacerauerit H)
c. 23, p. 117, 16	caperet	carperet (caperet U Δ)

His etiam locis corruptelas in ζ exortas in integrum restituit librarius μ :

μ (Q Ven.) ω			<i>\$</i>
c. 2,	p. 101, 5	scriptur Ven. scriptura ω	scripta (scriptura U)
c. 4,	p. 104, 10	in numerum	in numero (in numerum Δ)
c. 6,	p. 106, 13	precipuum	principium
c. 25,	p. 121, 13	processerint	processerunt

Tales correctiones coniectura fieri facile potuerunt, neque uerisimile mihi uidetur librarium μ alia subsidia atque exemplar θ et Gelli aliquod exemplar uel manuscriptum uel impressum habuisse. Non tamen liquet unde librarius μ c. 11 (p. 110, 5) et selibra (= M Ed. Inc. et selibia B) acceperit, neque quo modo c. 9 (p. 107, 20) exemplum (= M K) uel in codicem μ uel in Venetam editionem inrepserit. Duas lectiones exhibent Q Ven. quae librorum D V L sunt propriae, c. 4 (p. 103, 7) quidem uulgo (= U) pro uulgo quidem; c. 12 (p. 110, 17) filioque pro filio quoque; quae sorti deberi mihi uidentur.

Codice μ quodam modo restituto, qui tabulas supra (p. 142 sq.; p. 152 sq.; p. 167 sq.) expositas perlustrauerit, continuo perspiciet Berolinensis librarium multas corruptelas in $\gamma \zeta \theta$ exortas, quas in exemplari μ legere debebat, sustulisse. Hunc librarium, praesertim cum se neglegentissimum et satis indoctum praestiterit, tam multas genuinas lectiones coniectura reuocauisse nemo credet. Satis constat igitur librarium Q praeter exemplar μ alterius quoque codicis a tota stirpe γ omnino alieni copiam habuisse. Neque certissima argumenta desunt, quae doceant hunc alterum codicem unum fuisse e stirpis β libris, cum Q has lectiones uel totius stirpis β uel

²⁶¹ Nonnumquam Veneta editio corruptelis quae in f exortae sunt medelam adferre frustra conata est, ut c. 8 (p. 106, 10) eius pro enim in f (corruptum ex etiam), (p. 106, 13) enim (corruptum ex Ennii in f) omissum; c. 9 (p. 107, 4) negligenter ab pro negligenter ac in f (corruptum ex negligentia aut). Cum f his locis ueras lectiones e Pontani libro reuocare posset, non diiudicari potest, utrum tales coniecturae ei qui Venetam editionem curauit an librario f attribuendae sint.

³⁴⁸ Librarius μ R_x^m in exemplari θ legere debebat. Vide supra p. 146. Q ueram lectionem filium e Pontani codice restitutum habet.

codicum D V L peculiares habeat: c. 3 (p. 102, 13) Catullo; c. 4 (p. 104, 1) ipsos, (p. 104, 3) alia; c. 6 (p. 105, 8) divarum; c. 8 (p. 106, 8) grammaticae; c. 18 (p. 114, 4) pasides; c. 22 (p. 116, 13) sibi sed; c. 23 (p. 116, 22) Rheminius; c. 4 (p. 103, 25) iam; c. 5 (p. 104, 21) obisse; c. 15 (p. 112, 13) perceptisque e praeceptisque corr.; c. 25 (p. 121, 11) profluit, (p. 122, 17) adfuit; c. 27 (p. 124, 3) &; c. 30 (p. 126, 4) adornate, (p. 126, 13) sui, (p. 126, 15) personalem. Neque minus est dubium ad quem potissimum stirpis \(\theta \) codicem liber Q referendus sit, siquidem hae lectiones Leidensis codicis propriae in Berolinensi quoque inueniuntur: c. 4 (p. 104, 6) reputo; c. 6 (p. 105, 4) simul (= U); c. 7 (p. 105, 20) adhuc omis.; c. 9 (p. 106, 21) non omis.; c. 14 (p. 111, 8) magister Ciceronis, (p. 111, 13) obelixi; c. 25 (p. 120, 2) non essent; c. 30 (p. 126, 5) tamen. Antonius igitur Sinibaldus Florentinus, qui Berolinensem codicem Neapoli anno 1477 exscripsit, praeter exemplar u uel ipsum Leidensem codicem, qui, ut Georgius Wissowa (p. XXI sq.) demonstrauit, etiam post annum 1476 Neapoli erat, uel Leidensis archetypum, quod Iouianus Pontanus ibidem anno 1460 exarauit, adhibuit. Si ipso Leidensi usus est Sinibaldus, hoc in promptu est, hunc codicem correctoris manum (m.3) nondum expertum esse. Nam has lectiones exhibet Q una cum L, quas m.3 in L postea mutauit:343 c. 16 (p. 113, 8) uersiculis; c. 25 (p. 121, 11) profluit, (p. 122, 5) anasceuas, 344 (p. 122, 22) res cogniti sunt; c. 30 (p. 127, 2) redigerent. Sed, nisi fallor, aliqua uerisimilitudine demonstrare licet O non ex ipso L sed e Pontani codice hausisse. C. 2 (p. 102, 11) Berolinensis a tota stirpe γ discedens genuinam scripturam Leuius (Laeuius scribendum erat) profert. Eodem loco nescio quo casu L suae sectae memoriam respuens Leneus, idem fere quod stirpis γ codices praeter Q exhibent, testatur.345 Constat igitur librarium Q scripturam Leuius neque e codice µ neque ex Leidensi accipere potuisse. Quocirca Leneus in L non Pontani coniecturae attribuendum uidetur sed eius qui ipsum L exarauit, et librarius Q, nisi omnia fallunt, ueram scripturam Leuius in Pontani libro inuenit. Item c. 17 (p. 113, 11) Leidensis daruit, quod alibi non nisi in Q et H inuenitur, in ordine exhibet. Eadem autem manus quae codicem L exarauit litteris in supra uersum scriptis claruit in inclaruit ad ceterorum fere codicum memoriam correxit. Cum Q claruit testetur, uerisimile est hanc formam e Pontani libro acceptum esse, neque librarium L sui ipsius sed Pontani errorem correxisse, cum in supra uersum scripserit. Aliud argumentum in c. 11 (p. 110, 15) inuenisse mihi uideor, ubi codex V crateris (= M K U) pro Cratetis ostendit, Lautem, cuius pater Pontani exemplar tamquam frater codicis V habendus est,346 Crateri profert. Q autem a suae sectae memoria347

³⁴³ Vide supra p. 136.

²⁴⁴ anascenas in μ se habere debebat. Vide supra p. 170.

³⁴⁵ leneus in editione Veneta quoque. Vide supra p. 143.

³⁴⁶ Vide supra p. 128 sq.

³⁴⁷ Cratetis A Ven. cratis C.

discedens Crateris ostendit, quod non ex Leidensi sed e Pontani codice suscipi debebat.

Ipsum Berolinensem non alium quendam codicem, e quo ille transcriptus sit, e Pontani exemplari hausisse puto, cum compluriens ubi Q suae sectae lectiones haberet, postea ad Pontaniani libri memoriam correctus sit: c. 15 (p. 112, 13) praeceptisque in perceptisque; c. 17 (p. 113, 11) exercitandum in exercitanda; c. 20 (p. 115, 8) profuit in prefuit. C. 22 (p. 116, 8) librarius Q molestissimus e Pontani libro accepit, sed ne alterius lectionis modestissimus memoria periret, litteram d supra l scripsit.

Ouamquam Berolinensem codicem ex editione Veneta Pontani etiam exemplari adhibito confectum esse non credo, hoc eadem fiducia qua Rothius³⁴⁸ affirmare non possum, cum cuiuis apparere debeat, locos ab Rothio prolatos nihil ualere ad suam opinionem confirmandam, siguidem omnibus eis locis ubi Veneta editio falsas peculiares lectiones exhibet Q ueras lectiones e Pontani codice restituere potuit. Est tamen exigua copia lectionum, quae demonstrare uideantur Rothium uerum coniecisse. etiam si non probauit. C. 26 (p. 123, 14) Ven. hordear meum pro hordearium eum habet, Q autem hordear eum. Sed librarius Q hanc lectionem e Pontani libro suscipere non potuit, quippe qui ordinarium eum testetur. Haec discrepantia inter Q et Venetam editionem ad quoddam compendium in communi eorum archetypo referenda est, et qualis esset huius compendi natura hordear in K et C et hordea in M nos docent. Idem compendium librario Δ fraudes fecit, siquidem hordeare scripsit. Item c. 29 (p. 125, 3) editio Veneta congiarium recte profert, Q falso congiar. Qui error in Q manifesto ad compendium congiar uel tale quid referendus est. C. 18 (p. 114, 4) Veneta editio se sonans nominauit pro se transnominauit exhibet; Q uerae lectioni propius accedens se transuolauit testatur, quod e Venetae editionis testimonio effingi numquam poterat.

Vna lectio, quae in solo Q inuenitur, digna est quae commemoretur. C. 3 (p. 101, 15) nescio quo casu is solus ueram scripturam stilo pro istilo praebet.

8. Consensus inter Stirpes α et γ tractatur

Quaedam affinitas inter stirpes a et γ quaestionem prouocat, num artius uinculum inter has duas stirpes quam inter a et β aut inter β et γ statuendum sit. Sic c. 23 (p. 117, 7) a et γ nec non etiam recte proferunt

⁸⁴⁸ Praefat. p. LVIII: "Non esse hunc codicem excriptum e Veneta editione a.1474, cum qua mira ei necessitudo intercedit, multa comprobant, ut una eademque pagina 258 hae lectiones: uiueret, atque magis, pretia uero, ingressu, epistola ostendit, rigida (perperam hoc!), quarum loco editio illa has praefert: uixerit, ac magis, pretia, gressu, epistola, tigida."

³⁴⁰ Dialogi editores hanc necessitudinem inter α et γ agnoscere uidentur. Vide Gudemanni stemma infra p. 191 exhibitum. Stirps $\beta = X$ in Dialogi stemmate.

contra nec ni etiam in X et β ; c. 26 (p. 123, 14) hordearium, litteram e inter d et a recte ostendunt, ubi X et β litteram i exhibent. Deinde c. 15 (p. 112, 10), quamquam sine dubio lectio duplex lurchonem: curchonem uel codici Y uel Hersfeldensi assignanda est, curchonem non nisi in a et γ reperitur. Sunt denique complures corruptelae quas α et γ communes habent:

α γ	(falso)	X β (recte)
c. 3, p. 101, 16 c. 13, p. 110, 21 c. 15, p. 112, 8	empturus	optimatium (quimanum D) emptus (uide supra p. 84 sq.) oris probi (probi oris O oris probum
••	-	D probi in probri mut. m.2 W)
9	lacerauit a M K U C \(\D \) (= D) lace- ra\(\text{ra}\) it H lacerauerit Q	lacerauerit
c. 17, p. 113, 18	sestertia (uel sex- tertia) centena	centena sestertia (wel sextertia)
c. 20, p. 115, 5	audiuit N I γ o-mis. in text. add. audiit in marg. m.2	audiit
c. 25, p. 121, 18	consueuerant ω consueurant e consuerunt corr. eadem man. ut uid. G consuerant e consuerunt corr. ut uid. H consuerant C Q consueuerunt U	consucrant
c. 30, p. 126, 5	tantum modo (= tantum mo B) (ta- men non Q)	tantum non (tamen non L)

Neque est infitiandum codices G et I ueriorem imaginem archetypi a praebere posse quam codicem N, cum hic contaminationem e familia X perpes-

^{***} Vide supra p. 92; p. 118.

ssi Vide supra p. 98. surconem in B e lurconem corruptum puto.

sus sit, atque archetypi a corruptelas hoc modo sanare potuerit. His igitur in locis G I cum γ contra N X β faciunt:

G I
$$\gamma$$

c. 5, p. 104, 17 per hoc (= D) per haec N L Q per hec ω

c. 7, p. 105, 20 prius (in primum corr. m.2 G) (primum²⁵³ Q)

c. 24, p. 118, 11 se (= B) (corr. in omnes omnes m.2 G omnes O)

Huc accedunt quattuor lectiones quas G I una cum eis stirpis γ codicibus qui ex ζ profluxerunt exhibent:

Eodem forte pertinet quod c. 17 (p. 114, 1) G cum codicis f nepotibus praeter C Q marmore pro marmoreo testatur; c. 22 (p. 116, 18) etiam G eum, I eum ostendit, quamquam scriptura eum alibi non nisi in solo U inuenitur. 556

Quibus ex testimoniis, quorum non tam numerum quam indolem pensitare oporteat, num quid certi concludi possit perdubium mihi uidetur. Discrepantiae inter optimatum et optimatium, lacerauit et lacerauerit (compendiose lacerauit), audiuit et audiit, consueuerant et consuerant, tantum mo et tantum nō, hoc et hec, processerunt et processerint, tam paruae sunt ut facile in duobus codicibus omnino fortuito exoriri potuerint. Quae opinio hoc confirmari uidetur quod lacerauit et hoc in D quoque, tantum mo

⁸⁸² Vide supra p. 87; p. 113.

ass primo in ed. Ven.

⁸⁸⁴ Compendiose mamoro in I. Codicis H lectio marmori ad marmore sine dubio referenda est.

³⁶⁵ olim m.2. in G.

etiam in B leguntur. Ordo uerborum ut in sestertia centena et centena sestertia a librariis oscitantibus tam saepe mutabatur ut hunc errorem in duobus codicibus factum esse nihil esset admirandum; neque est quod in prius: primum et interrupto: interiecto magnopere haereas. Duplicem lectionem omnes: se uel codici Y uel ipsi Hersfeldensi attribuo, 366 cum se in B quoque reperiatur, et discrepantia parie i: perite eadem ratione explicari potest. Non tamen infitior probi: improbi aliquem scrupulum mihi inicere. Sed hic error et in α et in γ e uerbo sequente inverecundo nasci poterat: neque a uero alienum uidetur librarios α et γ hunc locum emendauisse sibi uisos esse, siquidem in W probi in probi secunda manu mutatum demonstrat facetiam quae his uerbis inest scribas eius aetatis fefellisse. Tam omnino est exiguus textus nostri libelli Suetoniani ut quae fortuita esse possunt non iniuria quandam cognationem inter stirpes α et γ indicare uideantur. Altior inquisitio de Dialogi codicum nexu, quam breui me suscipere posse spero, huic obscuritati lumen diffundet. Si codices a et γ non ex ipso Y sed e quodam eius apographo deperdito fluxisse censemus, non omnia ad liquidum perducuntur, quoniam corruptelarum quas G I cum ; praeferunt nulla ratio redditur. Restat igitur altera coniectura, codicem a quasdam lectiones ex adsciuisse; quod fieri posse non nego, sed certa argumenta desunt. Mirum quidem esset, si inter multa et uaria stirpis a peccata et stirpis y uitia, quae sescenta sunt, eaedem corruptelae hic illic non deprehenderentur.357

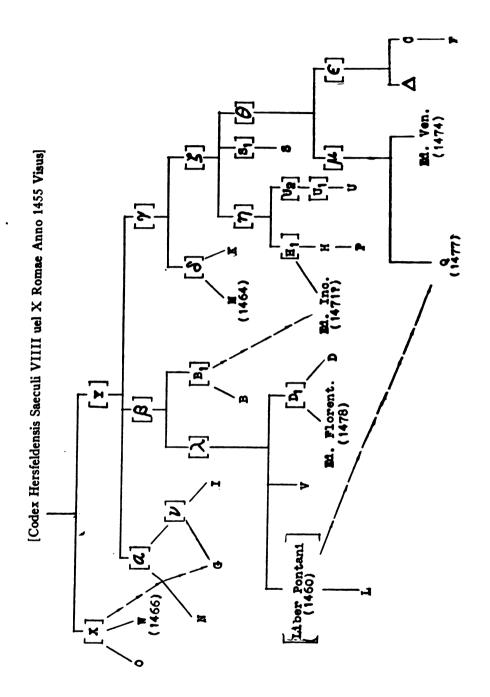
Quae tandem de codicum undeuiginti nostrorum nexu comperta habeo hoc in stemma contuli:348

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ssa Vide supra p. 101.
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⁸⁵⁷ Bis etiam easdem corruptelas in β et γ animaduerti:

β γ a X
 c. 5, p. 104, 19 post huius (wide supra p. post hoc G I omis. N posthus X 89)
 c. 10, p. 109, 2 nil nihil

³⁶⁶ Sigla ad codices deperditos designandos uncis inclusi.



CAPVT V

QVID VIRI DOCTI IN SVETONI FRAGMENTO ET DIALOGO TACITEO RECEN-SENDIS DE NOSTRIS CODICIBVS ADHVC IVDICAVERINT

Non ignoro ea quae de codicum Suetonianorum consortione supra exposui ualde differre ab eis quae ex indagationibus uirorum doctissimorum in Suetoni fragmento et *Dialogo* Taciteo recensendis prouenerunt. Restat igitur ut de opinionibus quas alii de hac re conceperunt breuiter disseram.

De Suetonio non est multum quod dicam, siquidem uiri doctissimi, qui ad hunc libellum edendum curam atque doctrinam contulerunt, familiis stirpibusque ordinandis numquam studuerunt. Trossius Leidensem codicem tam eximia esse bonitate duxit, ut ceteri omnes neglegi possent. Osannus illius codicum exiguae copiae qua usus est ueram indolem ita parum perspexit, ut non solum L, qui etiam hodie inter meliores libros habendus est, sed etiam turpissimos istos codices Harleianum, Parisinum, Berolinensem, omnes quasi apographa ipsius Hersfeldensis libri haberet. Quid, quod ob collationes neglegentissime factas ne hoc quidem perspexit, Parisinum ex Harleiano transcriptum esse! 359

Neque Rothius, quamuis editionem prioribus longe antecellentem confecerit, magnum processum in nexu qui est inter nostros codices rite aestimando habuit. Quod ex eo apparet, quod Leidensem et Gudianum codices "duo quasi apographa" libri Hersfeldensis statuit. Duo omnino genera librorum distinguit Rothius, quorum unum indice grammaticorum et rhetorum praeditum sit, alterum indice plerumque careat. Quam opinionem, ut ab Rothio enuntiatam, cum parum sibi consentanea mihi uideatur, ipsius uerbis proferre malim:361 "Distinguimus igitur duo librorum genera, quorum alterum indice praefixo notabile codices Vaticanos 1518 et 1862, Leidensem, Gudianum, Neapolitanum, praeterea Florentinam editionem complectitur, simulque interna sua praestantia commendatur, alterum libros continens Vaticanum 4498, Florentinum, Venetum, Berolinensem, Harleianum, Parisinum cum editionibus Incerta ac Veneta a. 1474 et indice caret et auctoritate. Et indicem quidem per se spectatum ad librorum bonitatem nihil facere, Florentina editio et Vaticanus liber 4498 conuincunt, quorum illa indice carens meliori librorum generi, hic indice praeditus deteriori assignandus fuit. Sed facilius hoc argumento tibi persuadebis, deteriores libros omnes ex aliquo exemplo melioris generis iam satis depravato,

³⁵ Vide supra p. 162 sq.

²⁶⁰ Praefat. p. LXVI.

³⁶¹ Praefat. p. LX.

qualis Vaticanus 4498 est, facta insuper indicis iactura, esse derivatos." Duo iudicia inter se repugnantia prompsisse Rothius mihi uidetur: primo indicem quoddam esse bonitatis pignus, deinde indicem per se spectatum nihil ad bonitatem facere. Ouorum enuntiatorum huic libenter assentior. illud a uero abhorrere neque ad rem pertinere iudico. Rothi opinio etiam ipsius rei ignoratione nititur, cum Neapolitanus codex indice non sit praeditus sed indice careat; Venetus codex, quem indicis iacturam perpessum ille existimauit, indicem habeat; neque in Florentina editione index consilio editoris, ut Rothius alibi362 iudicauit, omissus uideatur, sed propterea quod in exemplari quo editor usus est iam deficiebat, siquidem in Hauniensi codice non inuenitur. 2013 Cuiuis hanc quaestionem inuestiganti apparet indicem non solum in duobus apographis X et Y ex Hersfeldensi libro transcriptum esse, sed etiam in omnibus tribus apographis codicis Y locum obtinuisse. In stirpe a optimus codex N indice caret, ceteri deteriores G I indicem habent. In stirpe 8 duo optimi libri V L et unus deterior B indicem conservant, cum alter deterior codex D eum omiserit. In stirpe γ optimus codex M indicem praebet, dum K H P eo caret, quamquam integriores sunt quam C et Δ qui indice praediti sunt. Duo autem reliqui codices U O uterque pessimus indicem amiserunt. Quae cum ita sint, quamuis optimi libri fere omnes indicem exhibeant, contrarium pessimos libros indice carere non sequitur; neque index quicquam ualet ad genera librorum statuenda. Hanc rem haud multis uerbis dignam haberem, nisi Ihmius quodam modo Rothi sententiae suffragari uisus est. 264

Reifferscheidius in codicibus nostris ordinandis aliquantulo processit, cum Vaticanum 1862 et Pontani librum, e quo Leidensis transcriptus est, e communi archetypo profluxisse recte iudicauerit. Hunc autem Vaticani et libri Pontaniani parentem ex apographo Henochiano transcriptum haud recte censuit Reifferscheidius. Quo de apographo Henochiano, quod numquam nisi in Reifferscheidi mente extitit pauca infra (p. 192) dicam. Codices stirpis γ , quam nomino, sua indagatione omnino indignos existimauit Reifferscheidius; neque codicum Bodleiani et Hauniensis, quorum ille, nisi fallor, uiro doctissimo omnino ignotus erat, ullam rationem habuit. Quattuor reliquos libros O N G I quibus usus est sic summatim dimisit: "quattuor igitur illi, quamquam inter se singuli affines sunt et omnes interdum secum consentiunt, discrepant a Vaticano, tamen modo hic modo ille propius ad Vaticani memoriam accedunt. nec possis omnino ex

¹⁰⁰ Praefat. p. LVIII.

³⁶³ Vide supra p. 126 sq.

³⁴⁴ Op. cit. p. 543: "Das sind 11 Handschriften; aber es existiren mehr, mindestens 18, von denen, glaube ich, wenigstens die jenigen einer genaueren Prüfung unterzogen werden sollten, die den index capitum aufweisen. Denn Roths summarische Classification: libri meliores mit dem index, deteriores ohne den index, hat manches für sich."

³⁴⁵ Op. cit. p. 415.

eis unius apographi imaginem restaurare, ut ex diuersorum librorum testimoniis conflati uideantur."

Codices Suetoniani post Reifferscheidium quasi perpetua obliuione obruti sunt. Contra in Dialogo Taciteo recensendo uiri doctissimi inde ab Adolfo Michaelisio (a. 1868) usque ad Alfredum Gudemannum (a. 1914) huic de codicum nexu ac fide inquisitioni summum studium adhibuerunt, atque sententias ualde discordes conceperunt. De priorum Michaelisi, Baehrensi, aliorumque sententiis nihil est quod dicam, cum omnes docta illa Friderici Scheueri disputatione explosae sint. Restat igitur ut stemmata a Scheuero Gudemannoque efficta proferam, atque pauca de opionione a Fr. Car. Wickio nuperrime proposita dicam, quo lector facilius intellegere possit, quid uiri doctissimi de Dialogi codicum nexu hodie existiment.

Priusquam ad hoc negotium transeo, nonnulla de codice Vaticano 4498 (Δ) excutienda sunt. Viri docti in Dialogo recensendo codicis Δ rationem fere semper habuerunt, ceteros meae stirpis γ codices quibus Dialogus continetur tantum non silentio praetermiserunt. Ergo quaeritur quo pacto Dialogi editores huic corruptissimo codici tantum negoti dederint, ceteros autem huius stirpis uel longe praestantiores ut M et K, uel aliquanto integriores ut H et P sua inquisitione indignos habuerint. Quod ego intellegere prorsus nequeo, si Dialogus a codicis A librario ex eodem archetypo transcriptus est e quo Suetoni fragmentum. Sed librarium A Suetoni libellum ex uno archetypo corruptissimo, Dialogum autem ex alio archetypo omnino alieno et longe praestantiore transcripsisse, nisi omnia me fallunt, facile tibi persuadebis. Ego quidem, cum ea legi quae Dialogi editores de codice Δ scripserunt, eundem librum quem in Suetonio ante oculos habeo agnoscere omnino nequeo. E tabulis a Scheuero (p. 19 sq.) exhibitis primo obtutu apparet Dialogi codicem \(\Delta \) cognatissimum esse cum libris Neapolitano et Vaticano 1518. In Suetonio autem nulla necessitudo cum his libris, praeter eam fortuitam conspirationem inter stirpes a et γ , de qua modo (p. 182 sq.) uerba feci, ei intercedit. Deinde teste Baehrensio²⁶⁷ codex Δ numquam e studio emendandi est immutatus; sed in Suetonio hic codex turpissimis interpolationibus est foedatus. Denique, si Gudemanno fidem habemus³⁶⁸ codex Δ perpaucas lectiones peculiares, quae nullo in alio codice inueniantur, habet; in Suetonio e contrario multas lectiones (praecipue uerba omissa) quas alibi frustra requiras ostendit. Si stemmata infra prolata inspexeris, hunc codicem auctore Scheuero tertio gradu, Gudemanno auctore secundo gradu ex Hersfeldensi libro originem ducere uidebis; in Suetonio autem codicem sex uel pluribus gradibus ab Hersfeldensi remotum³⁶⁹ demonstraui. Praeterea tota indoles huius codicis, si externa inspicimus, docere debet Dialogum et Suetoni fragmentum non ex eodem



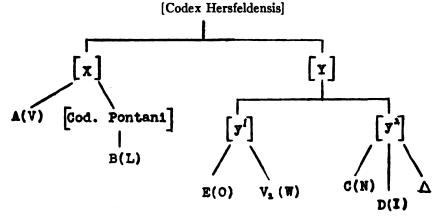
³⁶⁶ Vide tamen supra p. 57 sq.

Bet Comment, Crit. p. 46.

²⁰⁰ Ed. alt. p. 121.

³⁶⁹ Vide stemma supra p. 186.

archetypo acceptos esse. Hic codex insignis est quod solus inter nostros libros quattuor ea opuscula Agricolam, Germaniam, Dialogum, Suetoni fragmentum, quae in ipso Hersfeldensi se habebant, continet. Sed nemo est. quod sciam, qui existimet hunc codicem ab ipso Hersfeldensi antequam Agricola recisus esset, transcriptum esse. Quod si uerum esset, hic ceteris omnibus praeferendus esset; cum tamen eum in Suetonio post Vrbinatem pessimum omnium pronuntiare uix dubito. In promptu igitur est, huius codicis librarium Agricolam ex alio fonte atque Dialogum, Germaniam, fragmentum Suetonianum sumpsisse. Quis autem negare audeat Dialogum et Suetoni libellum e duobus diuersis fontibus in hunc codicem profluxisse? Quid uero quod codex A multa alia praeter haec quattuor opuscula continet!870 Nonne hoc plane demonstrat eum ex diuersissimis exemplaribus conflatum esse? Adde quod libellus Suetonianus in Δ non est coniunctus cum opusculis Taciteis, sed inter eum et Agricolam, qui primum locum inter opuscula Tacitea obtinet, intercedit Plinius (!) De Viris Illustribus. Postremo inspiciamus eos codices qui in libello Suetoniano codici A cognatissimi sunt. Totius stirpis γ praeter Δ unus solus M Germaniam, Dialogum, fragmentumque Suetonianum complectitur, K H U P Dialogum et Suetonium habent, ceteri C F Q nullum horum opusculorum nisi Suetoni fragmentum continent. Verisimile igitur est Germaniae iacturam iam in factam esse, codicem autem θ , e quo C F Q una cum Δ profluxerunt, nihil nisi Suetoni libellum habuisse. Quod si uerum est librarius Δ Suetoni fragmentum ex eodem archetypo e quo Dialogum et Germaniam nullo modo transcribere potuit. Hoc igitur admonito, eam partem codicis A quae Dialogum complectatur minime eiusdem sectae haberi posse atque eam partem qua Suetoni libellus contineatur, stemmata a Scheuero et Gudemanno restituta exhibebo. Sigla quibus in Suetonio usus sum iuxta ea a Scheuero Gudemannoque usurpata posui. 871 Haec igitur Scheuer effinxit:

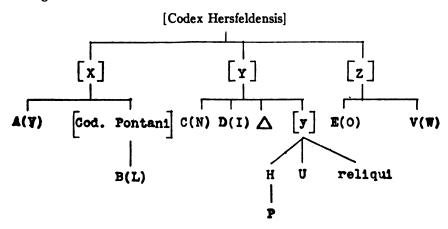


³⁷⁰ Vide supra p. 34.



³⁷¹ Codices Gudianus, Bodleianus, Hauniensis *Dialogo* carent.

Duabus rebus longe a mea opinione discedit Scheuer; primo quod Ottobonianum et Vindobonensem codices non e fratre sed e filio codicis Y transcriptos iudicat; deinde quod e contrario Vaticanum 1862 et codicem Pontanianum non e codicis Y filio, ut ego censeo, sed ex eius fratre originem traxisse existimat. Quo iure Scheuer Ottobonianum et Vindobonensem codices ad archetypum Y referat non extrico, neque ille quicquam nisi paucissima atque leuissima argumenta³⁷² ad hanc opinionem confirmandam protulit. Quod etiam Georgius Andresenus recognouit, qui, quamquam ad Scheueri opinionem inclinabat, hoc iudicium de patrueli condicione codicum O W et N I altiore inquisitione egere censuerit.³⁷³ Quam inquisitionem Alfredus Gudemannus in altera editione a. 1914 instituens Scheueri opinionem falsam esse arguit, atque codices Ottobonianum et Vindobonensem diuersa uia ac ceteros originem ex Hersfeldensi libro trahere recte iudicauit. Hoc igitur stemma effinxit Gudemannus:



Vt Gudemanno libenter assentior in eo, quod de codicum Ottoboniani et Vindobonensis dispositione conclusit, sic nullo modo eiusdem opinioni de codicibus Vaticano 1862 et Leidensi suffragari possum, cum ille sicut Scheuer hos duos libros familiae a ceteris distinctae assignet, ego autem omnes codices praeter O W uni atque eidem Hersfeldensis libri apographo Y referam. Qua in re nihil noui protulerunt Scheuer et Gudemannus, sed modo opinionem a Reifferscheidio Michaelisio ceterisque sequentibus con-

²⁷⁹ Ex his lectionibus Suetonianis argumenta elicere sibi uisus est Scheuer: index (p. 98, 5) grifo OW grapho GI; c. 4 (p. 103, 25) tam OW in tam NGI; c. 18, p. 114, 14 atque OW ad Q. atque NGI. Quae ratio de tam et atque habenda sit, supra (p. 83 et p. 63) demonstraui. Corruptelarum grifo et grapho diuersos origines minime perspexit Scheuer. Nam grapho consultam esse interpolationem eadem forma in NGI c. 7 (p. 105, 12) textui inserta aperte demonstrat. Grifo autem est inconsultus error a librario parum diligente ob confusionem inter litteras n et ri admissus, siquidem in textu c. 7 (p. 105, 12) O gnifo, W giinpho testantur.

373 Wochenschr. f. Klass. Phil. XVII (1900) p. 702.



ceptam secuti sunt. Sed, cum uiri docti opinionem Reifferscheidi Michaelisique de codicum Vaticani 1862 et Leidensis origine adhuc retineant. alteram opinionem huic coniunctissimam, quae id temporis uulgabatur, haud ita diu reicere coacti sunt. Nam Reifferscheidius nonnullas corruptelas in libris V L extare, quarum insignis est c. 30 (p. 127, 3) vs bed ex 9s best pro conspectu.374 quae non nisi ob scribendi compendia male explicata exoriri potuissent, perspexit. Cum autem talia compendia saeculorum noni et decimi consuetudine omnino abhorrerent, non illud antiquissimum exemplar Hersfeldense (Fuldense vel Corbeiense ut Reifferscheidius putauit). sed modo eius apographon ab Enoch Asculano confectum Romam relatum esse iudicauit ille. Neque eadem res Rothium fefellerat, qui hanc alteram e duabus causis posuerit, cur Hersfeldensi libro maiorem quam saeculi tertii decimi aetatem tribuere nollet.376 Viri docti igitur olim inter Rothi Reifferscheidique opiniones fluctuabant, sed nunc Decembri testimonio et codice Aesino in medium prolatis nemo est qui dubitet, quin ipse antiquissimus Hersfeldensis codex Romam reportatus sit, isque non saeculo tertio decimo sed saeculo nono uel decimo assignandus sit. Corruptelae tamen ob compendia exortae in libris V L adhuc manent, neque hunc nodum soluere possis. si unum modo codicem inter eos et Hersfeldensem librum interponas.

Nuperrime tamen hanc difficultatem recognouit Fridericus Carolus Wickius, qui hoc iudicio prompto, re in archetypo ipso Hersfeldensi plura eademque magis uaria quam censent suisse compendia, omnia ad liquidum perducere sibi uisus est. Quam ad opinionem confirmandam haud pauca Dialogi corruptas lectiones profert, quarum aliae uelut aut pro et, et pro ac, neque pro nec, uix e compendiis extitisse potuerint; aliae, cum in omnibus libris se habeant non ad compendia in Hersfeldensi codice sed ad compendia in antiquiore quodam codice, quae Hersfeldensis librarius haud recte resoluisset, erant attribuendae; pars tamen maxima ad compendia in ipso Hersfeldensi referendae erant, si re uera archetypum codicum V L (familiae X in editionibus Taciteis) ex ipso Hersfeldensi libro transcriptum esset. Non infitior in Hersfeldensi praepositiones per-, prae-, pro- siglis indicari potuisse, quamquam perraro; aut litterarum nexus -er-, -ur- compendiose hic illic scriptos extare potuisse, quippe quae omnia in Agricola Aesino, rarissime quidem, se habeant. 377 Sed talia compendia crebra fuisse existimare, aut impeditiora compendia, qualia exempla a Wickio prolata postulent, Hersfeldensi codici contra Agricolae Aesini certissima testimonia uindicare non licet. Sin Wickius non unum sed duos uel plures codices inter V L et Hersfeldensem librum intercedere statuisset, hanc opinionem de compendiis in nostrorum codicum archetypo comminisci non coactus esset.

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<sup>874</sup> Vide supra p. 123.
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³⁷⁵ Vide supra p. 69 sq.

²⁷⁶ Praefat. p. XVI sq.

⁸⁷⁷ Vide supra p. 62 sq.

Hoc quoque animaduerti, *Dialogi* editores iam dudum codices Vaticanum 1862 et Leidensem in peculiaribus lectionibus parui esse preti iudicant. Ego quidem uehementer suspicor hanc opinionem, quae totam familiam e solis libris V L constituat, quoddam esse residuum eius superstitionis quae olim primum locum Leidensi codici²⁷⁸ attribuit, quaeque Franciscum Ritterum, ut omnes codices praeter Vaticanum 1862 ex ipso Leidensi profluxisse affirmaret, induxit.²⁷⁹ *Dialogi* editores stirpem γ , quam nomino, uel omnino uel paene neglexerunt. Si hos libros diligentius adhibuissent, haud scio an ad alia de ceteris concludenda peruenturi fuerint. Hoc pro certo habeo, si codex Venetus (M) in *Dialogo* eiusdem sit bonitatis atque in Suetoni fragmento, editores Taciteos haud recte eum neglexisse.

De Dialogo tamen nimium praestare nolim, neque mihi est opus e Dialogo adminicula quaerere, cum codex Bodleianus nunc repertus cuiuis aperte demonstret, quod ad Suetonium attinet, non unum sed duos codices inter V L et Hersfeldensem librum intercedere. Sin, ut opinor, satis demonstraui codices O W tota indole a ceteris differre, atque ceteros omnes propter hoc ipsum, quod inter se fere consentiant ubi ab O W discrepent, uni atque eidem archetypo assignandos esse, tum mihi libenter concedes non duos sed tres codices inter V L et Hersfeldensem codicem intercedere. Nihil omnino in peculiaribus lectionibus meae stirpis β (familiae X in editionibus Taciteis) uideo, cur hanc potissimum stirpem alia uia ac ceteros libros praeter O W originem ex Hersfeldensi traxisse iudicem. Totidem fere causas inuenio cur uel stirpem α uel stirpem γ totam constituere familiam a ceteris absolutam existimem.

³⁷⁸ Vide supra p. 138.

²⁷⁹ P. Cornelii Taciti Opera, Lipsiae 1864, p. XX.

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